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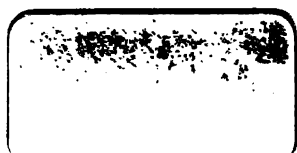
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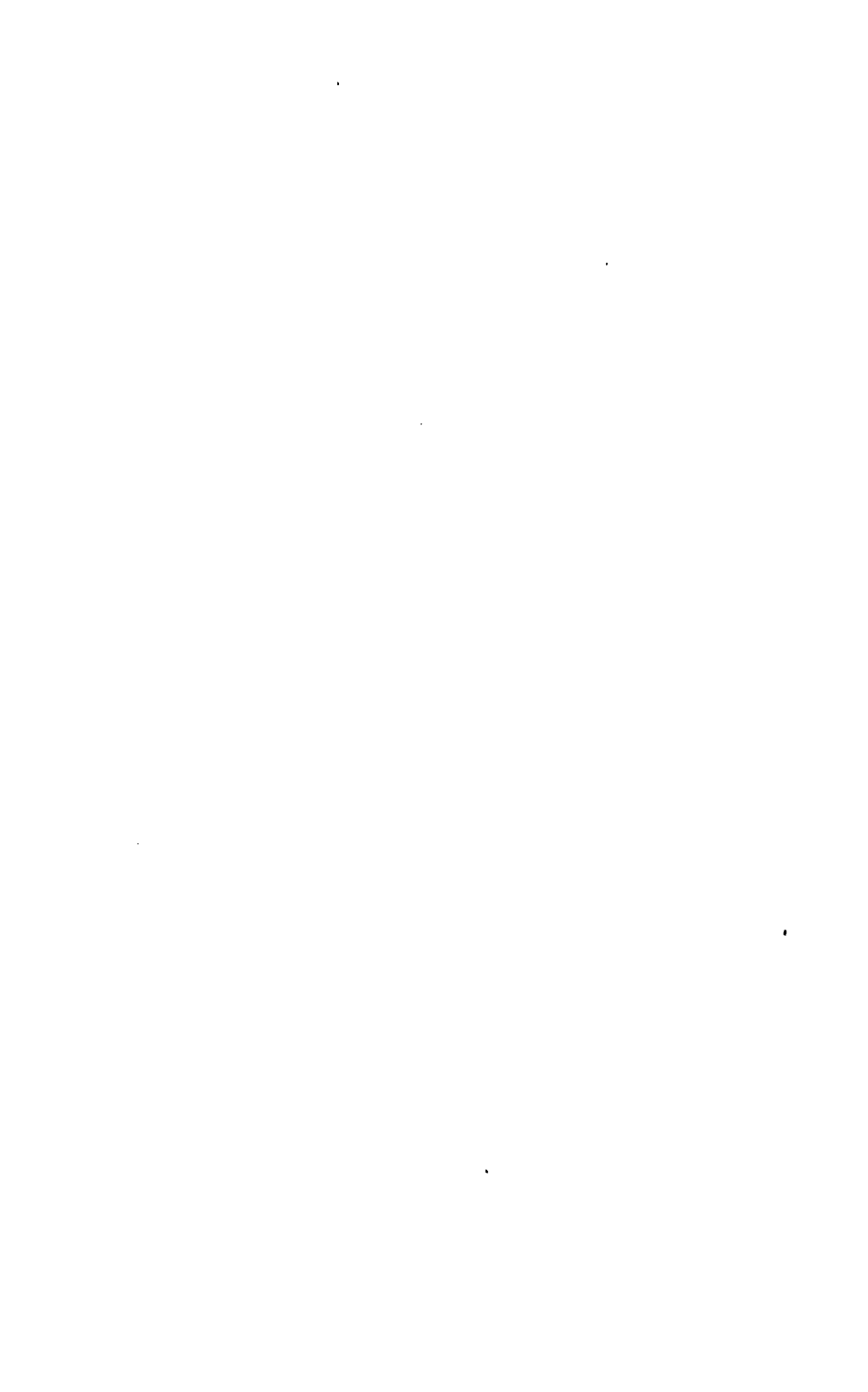
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Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript.

Ballads and Romances.



EDITED BY

JOHN W. HALES, M.A.

FELLOW AND LATE ASSISTANT-TUTOR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

AND

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A.

OF TRINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

ASSISTED BY

PROF. CHILD, OF HARVARD UNIV., U.S.; W. CHAPPELL, Esq., &c. &c.

Vol. I.

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1867.

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NEW-STREET SQUARE

Dedicated
TO
PROFESSOR FRANCIS JAMES CHILD
OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S.

AT WHOSE INSTIGATION,
AND TO RELIEVE ENGLISH ANTIQUARIANS FROM WHOSE REPROACHES
(TOO WELL DESERVED,)

This Work
WAS FIRST UNDERTAKEN.

Easter 1867.



TEMPORARY NOTICE.

THE PREFACE, and the General Introduction by Mr. Hales, will appear with the Glossary and Indexes, after the whole MS. is printed.

The Introductions in this volume are all by Mr. Hales, except that to *Mary Aumbree*—which is reprinted from Percy's *Reliques*—and those to *Merline* and *King Arthur's Death*, with that on "Arthur," which are by Mr. Furnivall. To the "Arthur" is prefixed a valuable statement of the evidence for that hero's historic existence, for which the Editors are indebted to Mr. C. H. Pearson, Fellow of Oriel, author of *The Early and Middle Ages of England*. The Introductions are intended to afford a reader coming fresh to each poem such information about it as he would wish to get together for himself in order to understand the belongings of it.

The text of the poems has been left as it stands in the MS., with the exception of 1. the few corrections marked by [], or noticed in the notes signed F., and 2. the expansions of contractions in italics. The Editors resolved at first, without any hesitation, not to attempt to make the best text possible out of

the MS., as that would have often involved restoring the copy of 1620 A.D., or later, to its original of 1420 A.D., or earlier, thus destroying the very copy which it was their sole purpose to give. Emendations have therefore been introduced into the text with a very sparing hand, and have been sometimes confined to the notes. Mr. Furnivall is, in the main, responsible for the text, the proofs and revises of which have been read thrice with the MS.

It has been thought due to Bishop Percy's work and memory to print all the notes and readings that he wrote in the margin of the MS.—whether the Editors agree with them or not—except where the readings were only clearer copies of the words of the MS., and meant to assist an inexperienced reader. All such notes and readings are marked by a —P. The contractions used by Percy are chiefly those of the Glossaries to Gawain Douglas and Urry's edition of Chaucer.

The Editors tender their thanks to Professor Child, Mr. Wm. Chappell, Dr. Robson, Mr. C. H. Pearson, Mr. David Laing, Mr. D. W. Nash, Mr. Thomas Wright, Mr. Pattrick, and the Rev. W. W. Skeat, for their help.

April 20, 1867.

CONTENTS.

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.



	PAGE
INTRODUCTION TO THE ROBIN HOOD BALLADS	1
ROBIN HOOD, A BEGGAR, AND THE THREE SQUIRES	13
ROBIN HOOD AND THE BUTCHER	19
ROBINE HOOD AND FRYER TUCKE	26
ROBIN HOOD AND THE PINDAR OF WAKEFIELD	32
ROBIN HOODE AND QUENE KATHERINE	37
LITTLE JOHN, THE BEGGAR, AND THE THREE PALMERS	47
ROBIN HOODE HIS DEATH	50
KING ARTHUR AND THE KING OF CORNWALL	59
SIR LIONELL	74
CAPTAINE CARRE	79
SIR LANCELOTT OF DULAKE	84
THE TURKE AND GOWIN	88
THE MARRIAGE OF SIR GAWAINE	103
LORD BARNARD AND THE LITTLE MUSGRAVE	119
MUSLEBOOROWE FEILD	123
THOMAS LORD CROMWELL	127
LISTEN JOLLY GENTLEMEN	130
THE CHILD OF ELL	132
KINGE JAMES AND BROWNE	135

	PAGE
SIR LAMBEWELL	142
SIR ALDINGAR	165
THE HEIR OF LIN	174
LORD OF LEARNE	180
SCOTISH FEILDE	199
OLD ROBIN OF PORTINGALE	235
AS IT BEFELL ONE SATURDAY	241
GLASGERION	246
CAME YOU NOT FROM	253
I HAUE A LOUE THATS FAIRE	255
EARLES OFF CHESTER	258
EARLE OF WESTMORLANDE	292
FLODDEN FEILDE	313
EGER AND GRINE	341
ARTHUR : A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO "MERLINE" AND "KINGE ARTHURS DEATH"	401
MERLINE	417
KINGE ARTHURS DEATH	497
KINGE JOHN AND BISHOPPE	508
MARYE AUMBREE	515

FOREWORDS.

(By F. J. FURNIVALL.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Cause of the publication.</i>
2. <i>Groans about it, and gains by it.</i>
3. <i>Description of the MS.</i>
4. <i>Date and dialect of it.</i>
5. <i>Supposed writer of it.</i>
6. <i>Pieces printed from it since the Reliques.</i> | 7. <i>Percy's handling of his MS.</i>
8. <i>Proportion of pieces from it in the Reliques.</i>
9. <i>Our handling of the MS.</i>
10. <i>Our Introductions and helpers.</i>
11. <i>Work ahead. Print the other Ballad Collections.</i> |
|---|--|

1. The cause of the printing of Percy's MS., of the publication of this book, was the insistence, time after time, by Professor Child, that it was the duty of English antiquarian men of letters to print this foundation document of English balladry, the basis of that structure which Percy raised, so fair to the eyes of all English-speaking men throughout the world. Above a hundred years had gone since first the *Reliques* met men's view, a Percy Society had been born and died, but still the Percy Manuscript lay hid in Ecton Hall, and no one was allowed to know how the owner who made his fame by it had dealt with it, whether his treatment was foul or fair. No list even of its contents could be obtained. Dibdin and Madden, and many a man less known, had tried their hands, but still the MS. was kept back, and this generation had made up its mind that it was not to see the desired original in type. One of that nation, however, whose greatest man since Washington proclaimed its way of getting things done, by his homely phrase "keep pegging away," pegged away at this MS., and the result is before the reader.

As an Englishman one could not but feel it a disgrace that an American should take more interest in an English MS. than oneself, and the more a disgrace that in this case the genuineness or falsity of the text of a score of our best ballads was involved. Was one to acknowledge that the old Sidney spirit had taken flight from its native land, and found a new home even in that noble North which had at last gone "thorough" for the slave, fighting the worthiest fight one's life had seen? Hardly; much as one admired that home. So, though the Percy MS. was long after the time of my section of Early English work, though my hands were otherwise more than full, I tried to get access to the MS. some half-dozen years ago. Repulsed, I tried again when starting the Early English Text Society. Repulsed again, I tried again at a later date, but with the like result. Not rebuffed by this, Professor Child added his offer of 50*l.* to mine of 100*l.* through Mr. Thurstan Holland, a friend of his own and of the owners of the MS., and this last attempt succeeded. We obtained the right to hold the MS. for six months, and make and print one copy of it. This six months the owners kindly extended from time to time to thirteen, to enable all the proofs and revises to be read with the MS. before it was returned to them—for sale, as we afterwards heard, to the British Museum.

2. Of the value of the work, others must judge. The long delays and the trials of temper involved in it, the large money-risk still impending,¹ the unsatisfactoriness of being able to give only half-hours of hardly-earned pause from other work to points that needed a week's leisure to study, the great annoyance by which one subscriber has answered our efforts in the cause,—these things have dulled one's pleasure in the book, have lowered one's estimate of the usefulness of it. Still, to say the least, it is the getting done a thing which ought not to have

¹ The debt on the book is over 800*l.*

been left undone, the ridding ourselves of a well-deserved reproach. It is something to have helped to secure the MS. for the nation, something that ballads like *The Child of Elle*, *Sir Cawline*, *Sir Andrew Bartton* (iii. 403), *Old Robin of Portingale* (i. 235), can be read without Percy's tawdry touches, something that "Robin Hood and Randle Erle of Chestre" get fresh clearness to our view, that a new Sir Lionell (i. 74) lives for us, and *Balowe* (iii. 518) is restored to its English home.

It is more that we have now for the first time *Eger & Grime* in its earlier state, *Sir Lambewell* (i. 142) besides, the *Cavilere's* praise of his hawking (iii. 369), the complete version of *Scottish Feilde* (i. 199), and *Kinge Arthur's Death* (i. 487), the fullest of *Flodden Feilde* (i. 313), and the verse *Merline* (i. 417), the *Earle of Westmorlande* (i. 292), *Bosworth Feilde* (iii. 233), the curious poem of *John de Reeve* (ii. 550), and the fine alliterative one of *Death and Liffe* (iii. 56), with its gracious picture of Lady dame Life, awakening life and love in grass and tree, in bird and man, as she speeds to her conquest over Death.

Real gains to our literature are among these. Let any one contrast the contents of this Percy MS. with those of the other great Ballad-Book of our day, the volume of purloined Helmingham ballads, selected by Mr. Daniel, and bought (and rightly and generously printed) by Mr. Huth, but not containing even one third-rate work, and he will then have a better notion of the value he should put on the pieces that are good in our book. Some are for all time; others witness only that the neglect they have met with is more or less deserved. Yet of them even may be repeated what has been said elsewhere of one of the romances or novels of our ancestors "made, al trew louers for to glade" . . . Though we may often be tempted to smile at the plots and incidents of the books of its class, we must yet remember that those who once delighted in them were men

of Noble birth,
 Valiant and Vertuous, full of haughtie Courage,
 Such as were growne to credit by the warres :
 Not fearing Death, nor shrinking for Distresse,
 But always resolute, in most extreames.

Written, as the present poem was, in the sixth Henry's time, Talbot himself may have seen it; he, "the great Alcides of the field," perchance enjoyed it with his boy, "the Sonne of Chinalrie;" and though it lacks somewhat, as well the fire as the simple pathos, of stories of an earlier day, yet there is no need to ask for it a favouring ear from those who, with M. Hippeau, know "ce n'est jamais sans profit que l'on recueille quelques-uns des nombreux anneaux de la chaîne qui permet de suivre à travers les âges toutes les transformations que subissent les mots d'une langue et les idées d'un peuple." (*Messire Gauvain*, Preface, p. xxxiv, in *A Royal Historie of the excellent Knight Generides*, p. xv.)

3. The Manuscript itself is a "scrubby, shabby, paper" book, —about fifteen and a half inches long by five and a half wide, and about two inches thick,—which has lost some of its pages both at the beginning and end. Percy found it "lying dirty on the floor under a Bureau in y^e Parlour" of his friend Humphrey Pitt of Shiffnal in Shropshire, "being used by the maids to light the fire." He begged it of Mr. Pitt, and kept it unbound and torn till he was going to lend it to Dr. Johnson. Then he had it bound in half-calf by a binder who pared off some of the top and bottom lines in different parts of the volume.

4. The handwriting was put by Sir F. Madden at after 1650 A.D.; by two authorities at the Record Office whom I consulted, in the reign of James I. rather than that of Charles I.; but as the volume contains, among other late pieces, one on the siege of Newark in Charles I.'s time (ii. 33), another on the taking of Banbury in 1642 (ii. 39), and a third, *The King enioyes his rights againe*, which contains a passage¹ that (as

¹ full 40 yeeres his royall crowne
 hath beene his fathers and his owne.
 (ii. 25/17-18).

Mr. Chappell observes in *Pop. Mus.* ii. 438, note 2,) fixes the date of the song to the year 1643, we must make the date about 1650, though rather before than after, so far as I can judge. I should keep it in Charles I.'s reign, and he died Jan. 30, 1649; but within a quarter of a century one can hardly determine. The change of the shape of the *c*, from the accented foreigner's shape *ç* to a big *Q* (ii. 559, note ³), and that of the shape of the *x* from a form like the MS. & to the modern one (iii. 342/558, note ⁶), which occurs towards the end of the volume, may help some future and more learned writer to settle the date more closely than I can.

The dialect of the copier of the MS. seems to have been Lancashire, as is shown by the frequent use of the final *st*, *thoust* for *thou shalt* (see i. 20/28, note ⁴, ii. 218, &c., and *-st* in the Glossary), *Ist* for *I will* (ii. 218/2, 219/30, 223/145, &c.), *youst* for *you will* (ii. 219/47), *unbethought* for "unbethought" (i. 76/35, 177/62, &c.), and the occurrence of northern terms like *strang* (ii. 571/332), *gange* (ii. 572/343), &c. &c. Moreover, the strong local feeling shown by the copier in favour of Lancashire and Cheshire and the Stanleys, in his choice of *Flodden Feilde* (i. 313), *Bosworth Feilde* (iii. 233), *Earles off Chester* (i. 258), *Ladye Bessiye* (iii. 319) confirms the probability that he was from one of the counties named. That much, if not all, of the MS. was written from dictation, and hurriedly, is almost certain from the continual miswriting of *they* for *the*, *rought* for *wrought*, *Knight* for *night* (once), *me* fancy for *my* fancy (ii. 30/8), *justine* for *justing* (ii. 103/673), &c. These mistakes have been left in the text, as after a little practice they do not mislead the reader, and the *they* and *the* may point to a peculiarity of pronunciation which Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, or some successor of his, may value.

5. Percy suggests that the copier of the MS. was Thomas

Blount, author of the *Jocular Tenures* (1679), *Boscobel* (1660), *Academie of Eloquence* (1654), *Glossographia* (1656), a *Law Dictionary* (1670), *Journey to Jerusalem, &c.*, a native of Bardsley, Worcestershire, and a barrister of the Middle Temple, whose date is 1618–79 (Alibone). The Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum could not find any of Blount's writing to compare with that of the MS. ; but if any one can believe that a man of Blount's training copied this MS. when he was in full power, at the age of 30 or 32, I cannot. The photolithograph of *Bell my Wiffe* represents the copier's hand, though coarsened, as in all such cases, by the giving of the soft paper when pressure was put on its back to transfer the photograph to the stone. The ink-spots from the writing on the other side, which all the pages of the MS. show, are not represented in the photolithograph, as they came out as deep in tint as the letters of *Bell* itself, and made the page so blotchy that it could hardly be read. Percy's little notes are seen in the margin.

6. Since Percy and his nephew printed their fourth edition of the *Reliques* from the MS. in 1794, no one has printed any piece from it except Robert Jamieson,¹—to whom Percy supplied a copy of *Child Maurice* and *Robin Hood & the Old Man* (or *Robin Hood, a Beggar, & the Three Squires*, as we call it,

¹ To the original editor of the *Reliques of Antient English Poetry* I owe the very curious copy of "Child Maurice,"* and the fragment of "Robin Hood and the Old Man."† Nothing could be more liberal than the conduct of the present possessor of the Folio MS. from which these fragments are extracted; and if this miscellany has been enriched with fewer pieces from that valuable repository than was at first expected,‡ the

world have no reason to be sorry for it, as the Rev. Dr. Percy of St. John's College, Oxford, the editor of the last edition of the *Reliques*,§ is collecting for a fourth volume of that work. *Popular Ballads and Songs, &c.*, by Robert Jamieson, Edin., 1806, v. i. p. vi.–vii. In 1800, Percy gave an account of *Eger & Grime* for Walter Scott's use. See i. 342 here.

* Jamieson, i. 8–15.

† *ib.* ii. 49.

‡ See a notice of him in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, viii., 147–8, notes: "He was the ostensible Editor of the fourth Edition of the *Reliques of Antient English Poetry*." On this see i. xxxix. and ii. 264, note, here.

§ See Jamieson's letter to Percy in Nichols's *Illustr.*, viii. 337–41: "Those which I am at present more solicitous to have are the

'Fragments of Robin Hood and the Beggar,' and any other Sherwood ballads that may be found in it worth preserving; and the fragments of the 'Child of Elle.' Every person that I have met with, fond of such things, has expressed a wish that you had done yourself the justice to publish the scraps of that beautiful ballad."

(For Percy's answer see p. lviii. below.)

i. 13) for his *Popular Ballads and Songs* (1806),—and Sir Frederic Madden, who was allowed—by one of Percy's daughters, Mrs. Isted, I believe—to print¹ *The Grene Knight, The Carle of Carlisle, and The Turke and Gowin*, in his *Syr Gawayne* for the Bannatyne Club, 1839. The reason given for refusing all other applicants was, I am told, that some member of the family might some day like to edit the book himself. But a glimpse of its contents was given to the public by Dr. Dibdin, who copied from Percy's list the first 72 entries, and would undoubtedly have finished the whole—says my informant—had he not been stopt as soon as his entertainers found out what he was up to. His account is given in a note to his *Decameron*, as follows:

It was in the winter of 1815, when I visited, for the second time, the worthy and hospitable owners of *Ecton Hall*, in Northamptonshire: Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Isted: the lady of the mansion being the eldest daughter of the old-poetry-loving Prelate of whom we are discoursing. The snow was on the ground: the heavens were turbid; the air was sharp and biting, and the hours of daylight were necessarily few. At such a season, and in such a mansion, what *could* be more delightful and congenial, than, sitting by the side of a blazing fire, the inspection of the VERY MS. which formed the basis of the Bishop's celebrated "RELIQUES," published for the first time in 1765, in three crown octavo volumes?! But what was there in *this MS.* so wondrously fascinating? I will tell thee, good-natured, and by this time, I trust, thoroughly-composed reader. The Bishop's work was no sooner *out*, than the critics "roared aloud" for a sight of THE MS. ! and among these "roarers" (more vociferous than Bottom's "nightingale" or "sucking-dove") no one opened his mouth so widely, or sent forth a more hideous yell, than the late JOSEPH RITSON: who at once, in imitation of Alexander the Great, drew his tremendous sabre, and cut the Gordian knot—by *denying the existence of the MS.*, and thereby implying that Dr. Percy had foisted a lie upon the public! In spite of assurances and demonstrations to the contrary, and in defiance of the Doctor's acknowledged respectability of character, Ritson went on, "roaring

¹ Whether Sir Frederic had the MS. in his custody for any time I do not know.

away," almost to the end of his life, a sceptic as to the existence of this MS. : . . of which here ensueth a most faithful and particular description: for it is not, gentle reader, as that dexterous artist, Sir Joshua Reynolds, hath represented it, in his fine portrait of the Bishop—most picturesquely curling at the corners, of a proportionate small folio—but—as you shall immediately read.

The MS. in question is a narrow, half-bound book, with blue-paper sides, and brown leather back. It is 15 inches and five-eighths in length, by about 5 and six eighths in width. Every page has a margin, to the left, of about an inch and a half in width—marked by a perpendicular line: the poetry uniformly occupying the right side of the margin. The book may be about an inch in thickness. We have the following introductory prefix, in an ancient hand: "*Curious Old Ballads wch. occasionally I have met with,*" &c., as on the page facing p. 1 here. Dibdin adds engravings of Percy's signatures and the writing of the headings and lines of the Ballads, and also

the titles of somewhat more than the *first half hundred* of the ballads contained in this curious and very interesting volume: premising that those ballads, which are objectionable on the score of indelicacy, have been *crossed through* by the Bishop's own hand.

He starts with "Page 21, No. iii., Robine Hoode his death," and stops at "p. 200, No. lviii., How ffayre shee be."

7. On Percy's handling of his MS. perhaps enough has been said in these volumes at i. 132–3, i. 174, i. 235, ii. xvii, xviii, xxii, xxiv, iii. 2, &c.

Before he learnt to reverence it, as he says, he scribbled notes over its margins and put brackets for suggested omissions in its texts. After he revered it, he tore out of it the two leaves containing its best ballad, *King Estmere*, which he had evidently touched up largely himself (ii. 600). As to the text, he looked on it as a young woman from the country with unkempt locks, whom he had to fit for fashionable society. She did not look like "an apple stuck on the point of a small skewer," as she ought to have done. (*London Magazine*, 1767, in Fairholt's *Costume*, 312.) Percy gave her the correct appearance. She had no "false

locks to supply deficiency of native hair," no "pomatum in profusion," no "greasy wool to bolster up the adopted locks, and grey powder to conceal dust." But all these fashionable requirements Percy supplied. He puffed out the 39 lines of the *Child of Ell* to 200; he pomatumed the *Heir of Lin* till it shone again; he stuffed bits of wool into *Sir Cawline*, *Sir Aldingar*; he powdered everything.¹ The desired result was produced; his young woman was accepted by Polite Society, taken to the bosom of a Countess, and rewarded her chaperon with a mitre. No one objected to the change in the damsel's appearance save one cantankerous attorney.² He demanded loudly the restoration of

¹ See the Rev. W. S. Blackley's article on the Percy Folio in the *Contemporary Review*, Nov. 1867.

² Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, 1790, p. xix.: "This MS. is doubtless the most singular thing of the kind that was ever known to exist. How such a multifarious collection could possibly have been formed so late as the year 1650, of compositions from the ages prior to Chaucer, most, if not all of which had never been printed, is scarcely to be conceived by those versed in ancient MSS., a similar instance perhaps not being to be found in any library public or private. This MS., to increase its singularity, no other writer has ever pretended to have seen. The late Mr. Tyrwhitt, an excellent judge and diligent peruser of old compositions, and an intimate friend of the owner, never saw it. It is stated by Dr. Percy to have been a present from Humphrey Pitt, Esquire, of Priors Lee in Shropshire. An acquaintance of Dr. Percy's has been heard to say that he rescued it from a maid servant at a country inn, who made use of it in lighting the fire. And it is remarkable, that scarcely anything is published from it, not being to be found elsewhere, without our being told of the defects and mutilation of the MS."

p. xxi. "Many other instances might be noticed, where the learned collector has preferred his ingenuity to his fidelity, without the least intimation to the reader.

"It follows, from the manner in which this celebrated collection is avowedly published, even allowing the MS. to be genuine, and to contain what it is said to do, that no confidence can be placed in any of the "old Minstrel ballads" inserted in that collection and not to be found elsewhere."

After Percy had answered Ritson's challenge by exhibiting the Folio, Ritson returned to the charge with the following words in his *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, ed. 1803, i. cviii-cxlii and note:

"Certainly this is a most extraordinary, as well as unfortunate, book, and the labour of the right reverend editour in correcting, refining, improving, completeing, and enlargeing, the orthography, grammar, text, stile, and supplying the chasms and hiatuses, *valde defenda!* must have equal'd that of Hercules in cleanseing the Augean stable: so that a parcel of old rags and tatters were thus ingeniously and happily converted into an elegant new suit.

"The existence and authenticity of this famous MS. in its present mutilated and miserable condition is no longer to be deny'd or dispute'd; at the same time, it is a certain and positive fact, that, in the elegant and refined work it gave occasion to, there is scarcely one single poem, song or ballad, fairly or honestly printed, either from the above fragment or other

the girl's head to its pristine state. Reviews abused him, friends

alleged authorities, from the beginning to the end; many pièces, also, being inserted, as ancient and authentick, which there is every reason to believe, never existed before its publication. To correct the obvious errors of an illiterate transcriber, to supply irremediable defects, and to make sense of nonsense, are certainly essential duties of an editor of ancient poetry; provided he act with integrity and publicity; but secretly to suppress the original text, and insert his own fabrications for the sake of providing more refined entertainment for readers of taste and genius, is no proof of either judgement, candour, or integrity.

"In what manner this ingenious editor conducted himself in this patch'd up publication, will be evident from the following parallel, which may be useful to future manufacturers in this line:"

[Ritson then prints the original, and Percy's version, opposite one another; and as you turn over the leaves, and see the blank pages of the original opposite Percy's fillings-in and alterations, and (in one case) a blank page of Percy's p. cxli. where he has left out a great piece of the original, you can hardly help smiling. It is a joke.]

"This mode of publishing ancient poetry displays, it must be confess'd, considerable talent and genius, but savours strongly, at the same time, of unfairness and dishonesty. Here are numerous stanzas inserted which are not in the original, and others omitted which are there. The purchasers and perusers of such a collection are deceived and imposed upon; the pleasure they receive is deriv'd from the idea of antiquity, which, in fact, is perfect illusion. If the ingenious editor had publish'd all his imperfect poems by correcting the blunders of puerility or inattention, and supplying the defects of barbarian ignorance, with proper distinction of type (as, in one instance, he actually has done), it would not only have gratify'd the austere antiquary, but also provided refin'd entertain-

ment 'for every reader of taste and genius.' He would have acted fairly and honorably, and given every sort complete satisfaction. Authenticity would have been united with improvement, and all would have gone well; whereas, in the present editions, it is firmly believ'd, not one article has been ingenuously or faithfully printed from the beginning to the end: nor did the late eminent Thomas Tyrwhitt, so ardent a researcher into ancient poetry, and an intimate friend of the possessor, ever see this curious, though tatter'd, fragment; nor would the late excellent George Steevens, on the bishops personal application consent to sanction the authenticity of the printed copy with his signature.*

"* The bishop of Dromore (as he now is), on a former occasion, having himself, as he well knows, already falsify'd and corrupted a modern Scottish song, 'This line,' he says, 'being quoted from memory, and given as old Scottish poetry is [by no one, in such a case, except himself] now usually printed (*Reliques* 1775, I, xxxviii.)† ('COME YE FRAS THE BORDER?') to give it a certain appearance of rust and antiquity. This identical song, being, afterward, faithfully and correctly printed in a certain *Collection* of such things, from the earliest copy known, which, like all the rest, was accurately refer'd to,

'LIVE YOU UP' the border?'

(*Scottish songs*, printed for J. Johnson, 1794, I, 266) the worthy prelate thought proper, in the last edition of his already recite'd compilation, to assert that his own corruption 'would have been readily corrected by that copy,' had not all confidence been destroyed by its being altered in the 'Historical essay' prefixed to that publication to

'YE LIVE up' the border;'

the better,' he adds, with his usual candour, 'to favour a position, that many of the pipers might live upon the borders, for the convenience of attending

"† Scottish poetry, of the 15th or 16th century, has been so printed, but not that of the 18th, unless by impostours."

of the Bishop denounced him.¹ Percy actually pulled out a

fairs, &c. in both kingdoms.' This, however, is an INFAMOUS LYE; it being much more likely that he himself, who has practise'd every kind of forgery and imposture, had some such end to alter this identical line, with much more violence, and, as he owns himself, actual 'CORRUPTION,' to give the quotation an air of antiquity, which it was not intitle'd to. The present editor's text is perfectly accurate, to a single comma, but 'this line,' as he pretends to apologise for his own, 'being quoted [in the *Essay*] from memory,' having frequently heard it so sung, in his younger days, by a north-country blacksmith, without thinking it necessary, at the moment, to turn to the genuine text, which lay at his elbow, which his lordship DARE NOT IMPEACH. 'Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see [more] clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brothers eye.' (*Gospel according to S. Matthew*, Chap. VII. Verse 5.)

¹ See one specimen out of several in Nichols's *Illustrations*, vol. viii. p. 372, Thomas Caldecott's letter to Percy, which I print entire, to ask where Warton's MS. is now.

Temple, March 21, 1803.

"My Lord,—An old respect for your Lordship, of an earlier date than my personal knowledge of you, and pursuits somewhat congenial to those of your lighter studies, have induced me to present you with the unpublished part of Mr. Warton's History of Poetry, and to persuade myself that it might prove not unacceptable. It is so far only valuable, as it might not otherwise have fallen into your hands, or would not have come there so early. On all ac-

counts we must lament that at so interesting a period the work is left in so imperfect a state, and particularly that his labours should have been discontinued for the last seven years of his life, from a dread of the animadversions of that scurrilous miscreant* who has newly done your Lordship the honour of enrolling you amongst those (whom it is very right and fit that one of his spirit and character should proscribe) the honest (see his repeated abuse of 'honest Tom Warton'), and the ingenious, his King, and his God.

"I am, my Lord, your Lordship's very humble servant,

"THEO. CALDECOTT."

From Percy's reply, dated August 17, 1803 (Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. viii. p. 373):

"I certainly think with you, that the personal abuse of poor mad Ritson was the highest honour he could do me, and can only regret that it deprived us of the ingenious labours of 'honest Tom Warton.' I assure you it would have had no such influence on me; for his assertion that my Nephew never saw one word of the Advertisement to which he set his name, and that the original editor had invented all the different pieces which he published as extracted from an old MS. which never existed, could only be exceeded by the frenzy in which he died. In his Dissertation to the Metrical Romances are malicious assertions and insinuations equally unfounded, which I should not condescend to notice, but for the kind interest you express for me in your letter." See also the episcopal answer in a letter from Percy to Dr. Anderson, Jan. 4, 1808:

"With regard to Ritson's Introduction, the torrent of gross and vulgar

* See Ritson's *Observations on the Three First Volumes of the "History of English Poetry" in a Familiar Letter to the Author (Esmon)*, London, 1782, 4to. (*Lowndes*), and digls like the following:

"It was from the MS. whence the foregoing pieces are extracted that Bp. Percy printed the Lallad of RICHARD OF ALMAIGN (Reliques, il. 1), of which he has inadvertently omitted the concluding stanza. In this inadvertency, as well as in his other variations from the ori-

ginal, he has been religiously followed by his learned friend the reverend Mr. Thomas Warton; who, nevertheless, declares that he had transcribed the ballad before he knew that it was printed in the "SECOND" edition of Percy! —How unlucky that it should be in the FIRST too! The stanza, however, is curious, and it is to be regretted that the right reverend editor should, by such an unaccountable oversight, have left his copy imperfect."—Ritson's *Ancient Songs* (1790), p. 37, note.

little of his favourite wool, scraped off a little of his loved pomatum,¹ to please this Ritson, but all in vain; he grumbled on. We know he was right, that he said no word too much against the falsifications of originals that Percy indulged in,²—that keeping-back of the evidence you find, and as you find it, which a taste that calls itself polished, a puritanism which calls itself pure, so often demands of men who should care first for facts. To tell the truth, and tell the whole truth, of a text or MS. is an editor's first duty. That done, let any amount of cooking or editing follow; its extent will be known, and no harm done. But though, as between Ritson and Percy, I hope we are all now on Ritson's side, we must not let this blind us to the great debt we all owe to Percy. No common man was the grocer's son, though no one could call him great. He led the van of the army that Wordsworth afterwards commanded, and which has won us back to nature and truth. He opened to us the road into the Early English³ home where we have spent so many pleasant hours; he helped us to a better knowledge of Northern literature; and he preserved the MS. which has given, and will give, to so many thousands delight. If he altered his originals, so did Macpherson his *Ossian*,⁴—that is, if

invective which is poured forth in it is too contemptible to merit attention, and every charge carries its own confutation with it (!), except in one place, where, having no direct accusation to bring forth, he endeavours to inflict a deeper wound by a mysterious insinuation, and there being no positive statement offered, it is impossible to answer; and it must only be submitted to candid reflection whether this wretch, who has given every possible vent to his malice, would have withheld any charge whatever if it could have been supported."—Nichols's *Illustrations of Lit.*, vii. p. 184.

¹ Compare the fourth edition of the *Reliques*, 1794, with the first, 1765. Ritson died in 1803.

² I don't, of course, justify Ritson's

insinuation that Percy forged the whole of the ballads, and told lies about the MS.

³ See his *Life* below, p. xl.

⁴ Percy helped to expose Macpherson's *Ossian* forgeries. See his *Letter and Advertisement* in Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. vi. p. 568–9, and in vol. viii. p. 382, a letter from Malcolm Laing, Esq. to Bishop Percy:

"My Lord,—I avail myself of the opportunity of Dr. Traill's returning to Ireland to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the new edition of *Ossian*. At the same time, I beg leave to return my sincere and grateful acknowledgments for the very valuable and important communications which I obtained from your Lordship through the intervention of Dr. Anderson. I have en-

he did not forge the whole of it,—so did Ramsay, Buchan, and Scott their originals, so has Villemarqué since his. Men with a turn for verse-writing seem unable to resist the temptation of falsifying and forging old ballads.¹ And as contrasted with the latest offender in this line, M. le Comte de la Villemarqué,

deavoured to adopt not only the ideas, but, as nearly as possible, the precise expressions which your Lordship suggested; and I can only regret, that the limits to which I was confined have prevented me from introducing more of that important communication into my Preface. I allude particularly to the curious passage from Taylor the water-poet, which I still hope to insert as a note in a subsequent edition, if Macpherson's Poems should survive the controversy. The moderation and charity which your Lordship has observed towards Sir John Macpherson, have taught me to soften many other passages and expressions in my Preface, which, however true, might have been too severe.

"In the 89th and 333rd pages of the second volume, an early publication of your Lordship's ('Five Pieces of Runie Poetry,') has furnished me with two curious detections of Macpherson's imitations. If the controversy should continue, I shall probably publish, as a small Appendix to this edition, the originals and translations of such ballads as have actually been found in the Highlands, under the designation of Ossian's Poems. I have the honour to be, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"MALCOLM LAING."

¹ See Jamieson's quasi-defence of forgery below, and compare with it Mr. Chappell's remarks on *Balowe* in vol. iii.

"The first, and by far the best, publication of this kind, was the *Reliques of Antient English Poetry*, a work in which the splendour of genius, and the delicacy of taste, have diffused such a light over the dusty, sombre, and unin-

viting path of the scholar and the antiquary, as has endeared to the most refined readers a kind of study which was before supposed to have no charms, but for nurses and old women. To blame the editor of that excellent work for not doing what he never purposed to do, and what, if he had done it, no one, at that time, would have applauded him for, is equally unjust and ungenerous; and it was to the allurements of that delightful miscellany, and of the charming pages of Mr. Warton, to whom he has been equally invidious and ungrateful, that Mr. Ritson owed not only his own taste (if *taste* that may be called which *taste* had none,) for antient minstrelsy; but also the public taste, which led people to purchase his compilations and republications from the *Reliques*, and other such popular works. That Mr. Ritson was most scrupulously honest, according to the strict letter of the law, I am very ready to grant; * but I can see no extraordinary merit in that, any more than in his atrabilious, furious, and obstreperous abhorrence of forgery of every kind. No man will be a thief, who dares neither use the stolen goods himself, nor hopes to meet with a receiver; and as every production of his must inevitably have borne *Mister Ritson, his mark*, upon it, there was no danger of Mr. Ritson being guilty of forgery."—R. Jamieson's *Popular Ballads and Songs*, vol. i. p. xiv-xvi.

"As the verses [continuing *Gil Morris*] are in themselves very poor, they are given here merely to shew what dispositions my good countrymen, who can forge with address, and who cannot, have manifested respecting this ballad."—*The same*, i. p. 20.

* Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's customary phrase in his *Early Popular Poetry* is "printed by Ritson with his usual inaccuracy."

Percy was moderate indeed, if M. le Men's account, or exposure, of the Count's forgeries (Preface to Lagadeuc's *Catholicon*) and a writer in the *Revue Critique* of last year are to be trusted, as I believe they are to be. Let me here withdraw the passage in my notice of Arthur (i. 412 below), about the Arthur ballads in Brittany, for M. le Men says of the songs in the *Barzaz Breiz*, "celles qui sont relatives à Gwench'-lan, à la ville d'Is, au Vin des Gaulois, à *Arthur*, à Lez-Breiz, à Nomenoë &c. &c., ne peuvent être regardées que comme le produit du génie inventif de M. de la Villemarqué. On en chercherait vainement des traces en Bretagne."

8. The extent to which Percy used his Folio MS. in his *Reliques* has been concealed by his misstatement, that of the pieces he published "The greater part of them are extracted from an ancient folio manuscript in the Editor's possession, which contains near 200 poems, songs, and metrical romances."

The *Reliques* (1st ed.) contains 176 pieces, and of these the Folio is used only in 45¹; so that for Percy's "greater part" we

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| <p>¹ Sir Cauline.
King Estmere.
Robin Hood & Guy of Gisborne.
⁴ The Child of Elle.
Edom o' Gordon (<i>or</i> Captaine Carre).
Adam Bell, Clym o' the Clough,
& William of Cloudeley.
Take thy old Cloak about thee (<i>or</i>
Bell my wife).
⁸ Sir Lancelot du Lake.
The more modern Ballad of Chevy
Chase.
The Rising in the North.
Northumberland betrayed by Doug-
las.
¹² The Not-browne Mayd.
Sir Aldingar.
Gentle Heardsman, tell to me.
The Beggar's Daughter of Bednal
Green.
Sir Andrew Barton.
Lady Bothwell's Lament.
The Murder of the King of Scotta.
(The King of Scots & Andrew
Browne, though in the Folio,</p> | <p>was printed by Percy from the
Antiquaries copy.)
Mary Ambree.
²⁰ The Winning of Cales.
The Spanish Lady's Love.
The Complaint of Conscience.
K. John & the Abbot of Canter-
bury.
²⁴ The Heir of Lynne.
To Althea from Prison (When
Love with unconfined wings).
Old Tom of Bedlam.
The Boy & the Mantle.
²⁸ The Marriage of Sir Gawaine.
King Arthur's Death. } one in the
The Legend of King } MS.
Arthur.
Glasgerion.
³² Old Sir Robin of Portingale.
Child Waters.
Little Musgrave & Lady Barnard.
Gil Morrice.
³⁶ Legend of Sir Guy.
Guy & Amarant.
The Shepherd's Resolution.</p> |
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should read "about one fourth," and, if his term "extracted" is to be taken strictly, "not one sixth." It is perhaps too bad to follow Bp. Colenso in applying the test of numbers to poetical statements, but the result may as well be known.

9. Feeling that the ballads of the Folio had been doctored enough, and that the object of our book was to give the texts just as they stood in the MS., we have left their mistakes and defects alone,¹ except in a very few cases where a word has been altered, and notice given in the notes. Wittingly there has been no concealment from the reader, though now and then a mistake may, nay must, have crept in. But we have tried to deal fairly both with the MS. and the reader, giving to the latter the former, and all the former, as it stands. Some of the tags at the ends of words which we could not distinguish from *s*'s, another reader may be able to; some of the undotted *i*'s another reader may reject as superfluous strokes: the differences likely to occur in reading a MS. may be seen by the notes of Sir F. Madden's variations from our text of the *Carle off Carlile*, iii. 277. The expansions of contractions are marked in the text by italics, after the German plan introduced (I believe) to the English public by Mr. Whitley Stokes in his edition of *The Play of the Sacrament* for the Philological Society, and wisely adopted by our Early English Text Society. The comparison of the MS. texts with those of Percy from the MS. has not been often

The Lady's Fall.

⁴⁰ The King of France's Daughter.

A Lover of Late.

The King & Miller of Mansfield.

Dulcina.

⁴⁴ The Wandering Prince of Troy.

The Aspiring Shepherd.

In some of these, as the "Child of Elle," &c., the Folio merely suggested the poem that Percy wrote and printed. In others, as the "Not-browne Mayd," &c., the Folio was only used for an occasional emendation of the copy really printed from. Percy's "Valentine &

Ursine" is his own, and mainly on the plan of "the old story-book of Valentine & Orson."

¹ This plan offers on the one hand a justification for Percy's feeling obliged to make *some* alterations in the text of his MS., and on the other lays us open to the charge of abnegating the true function of editors, &c. &c. But we deliberately declined to make our edition a critical one, though at some future time we (or one of us) may undertake the task as to the best of the ballads and romances.

attempted. It was an ungrateful task, and we have left it to future readers and editors who care to undertake it. We have, however, given a sample of Percy's corrections in *Old Robin of Portingale*, i. 235; *Conscience*, ii. 184; *Ladyes Fall* (partly), ii. 246; *Earle Bodwell*, ii. 260; *Sir Cawline*, iii. 1; *Sir Andrew Barton*, iii. 399; and others are alluded to in the Introductions. For the MS. itself, all that I have done is, to arrange and mend its fragments at the end, to stop further tears in some places by patches of gummed paper, and to prevent the further breaking-in-two of the early pages (from the weight of the first half-pages spared by the maids from Mr. Pitt's fire) by getting a binder to put a stiff guard of pasteboard behind these half pages, to carry their weight. Our constant use of the MS. also necessitated the rebacking of it; and a few bits more of eaten-through, ink-saturated patches have been broken away by the frequent turning over of the leaves. This is the only injury to it that our fuss and care could not prevent.

10. The Introductions are nearly all by Mr. Hales. The help they have been, and the pleasure they have given, to many readers, has been testified to me with a warmth which has been no slight comfort to feel. They have helped some, not only "to fleet the time carelessly as they did in the golden world," but have cheered their sick beds, and helped to the appreciation of the ballads themselves. If in some cases the prefatory words have been slight and short, if the General Introduction spoken of in p. 1, vol. i. has not appeared, this is because time, not will, has failed. The range of subjects treated has been very wide; and some little points that will pass unnoticed have taken the leisure of a week to settle the dimensions of. Volunteers, with bread to earn, cannot give up the time to these pursuits that easy men can command. Of our little we have given freely.

11. Our helpers have been many. Indeed, the way in which men like Mr. Chappell, Mr. Dyce, Mr. David Laing, Mr. Bruce,

Dr. Robson, Mr. Planché, Dr. Rimbault, on whom we had no claim of friendship or acquaintance, have stepped forward to lend us a hand, has been the pleasantest part of our work. It is to a stranger, the Rev. J. Pickford, that we owe the Life of Percy that appears in this first volume; and to another, Mr. E. Viles, that we owe the Index and Glossary to vol. ii. pt. 1, and vol. iii. Old friends' help has been given us in large measure too, as witness Mr. C. H. Pearson's valuable essay on Arthur, Mr. W. W. Skeat's on Alliterative Metre, and Professor Child's notes on vols. i. and ii. pt. 1.¹ To all of these, to the many who have interested themselves in the circulation of the book,—Mr. Henry Reeve, Mr. Trübner, Mr. H. T. Parker, Mr. Blackley, Mr. John Leigh, Mr. Louis Greg, Mr. H. H. Gibbs, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, Mr. Warwick King, Messrs. Stevenson, Ogle, Pickering, Bosworth, Bowes, Williams, and many others,—we tender again our best thanks, and must not forget Messrs. Spottiswoode's careful readers, the copiers of the MS., Mrs. E. Cooper and Mr. W. A. Dalziel, our copier in the Museum, Mr. E. Brock, and in the Bodleian, Mr. George Parker.

12. The best thanks we can give, or receive, are "the wages of going on."² The next step in this Ballad division of work is to print the whole of Pepys's Collection in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, the Roxburghe and Bagford Collections in the British Museum, the Ashmole, Rawlinson, and Douce in the Bodleian, Mr. Ewing's Collection (if he will allow it), and such MS. Ballads as can be found,—as they stand, without selection or castration.³ And as we have made a fair

¹ Mr. G. E. Adams, Mr. E. Peacock, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, Mr. Brockie, &c., have also contributed notes.

² Tennyson's "Wages." *Macmillan's Magazine*, Jan. 1868.

³ I say this without having seen any of the collections, for I think with Lord Macaulay, in what he said in his *Essays*, ii. p. 149-51, ed. 1854, when defending

Leigh Hunt's edition of the works of Wycherley, &c., that we cannot wish that a class of works "which illustrates the character of an important epoch in letters, politics, and morals, should disappear from the world." "The virtue which the world wants is a healthful virtue, not a valetudinarian virtue, a virtue which can expose itself to the

start at Ballads with this Percy book, it seems a pity to stop till we have reprinted the whole of the rest of the collections. We are bound to go through with them. I have therefore made arrangements for a *Ballad Society*, which will begin to publish next year, and work steadily through the whole of our Ballad collections. One *can not* be content with selections and scraps. The Society will begin with the Pepys Collection, unless the Fellows of Magdalene decide on reprinting it themselves, as they have for some time thought of doing. I have urged on them prompt decision in the matter, as literary men have desired the Pepys Ballads any time this hundred years, without getting them; and now that the Ballad Society is ready to print this Collection, it becomes the duty of the Magdalene men either to do the printing at once themselves, or let the Society do it. Should the College resolve on printing its own Ballads, the Ballad Society would then probably start with the Roxburghe Collection, as the oldest and best known of its kind. Mr. William Chappell and Dr. Rimbault have already kindly offered to act as editors, and other helpers in that way will not be wanting. I hope that the subscribers to the Percy Folio will take care that money for the scheme is forthcoming, and that each will send me his name for the Ballad Society.¹ For other divisions of early work I need only refer to the Early English Text Society's Report of this year. That shows some part of the mass that lies before us. Who will be the first to get his share done?

12th of March 1868.

risks inseparable from all spirited exertion"—inseparable (to take words from another part of the Review) from all intimate acquaintance "with the history of the public mind of our own country, and with the causes, the nature, and the extent of those revolutions of opinion and feeling which, during the last two centuries, have alternately raised and depressed the standard of our national

morality,"—"not a virtue which keeps out of the common air for fear of infection, and eschews the common food as too stimulating."

¹ The subscription will be a guinea a year,—for large papers, ribbed, three guineas,—and the guinea volumes will range with the Early English Text and Percy octavos.

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LIFE OF BISHOP PERCY.

BY THE REV. J. PICKFORD, M.A.

THOMAS PERCY, a name ever to be freshly remembered by the lovers of Ballad Literature, was born on April 13, 1729,¹ when George II. was king, at Bridgnorth in Shropshire. It is a quiet country town, beautifully situated on the banks of the Severn, where Percy's grandfather, and afterwards his father also, pursued the trade of a grocer.² Percy's birthplace is yet pointed out in a street called the Cartway. The house,³ now

¹ The following is the entry of his baptism at St. Leonard's church, Bridgnorth:—"1729. Thomas, son of Arthur Percy (sic) and Jane his wife, Baptis'd ye 29th April."—J. P. His mother's name was Jane Knott. H. E. Boyd, in Bellett's *Antiquities of Bridgnorth*.—F.

² This grocership having been disputed by Percy's descendants, and by a correspondent in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. vii. p. 34, &c., I asked the Rev. G. Bellett, the author of *The Antiquities of Bridgnorth*, to try and settle the question. At his request the Deputy Town Clerk of Bridgnorth searched the Common-Council Books, with the following results:

"Arthur Piercy of Bridgnorth, Grocer, was enrolled a Burgess of this Borough on the 11th of November 1695.

"Arthur Piercy (His Son) was enrolled on the 17th July 1727.

"From this it appears that the grandfather of Bishop Percy was a grocer, and his father, Arthur Piercy (but often mentioned as 'Arthur Low Piercy')

was also probably a grocer; but of this we have no certain information.

"HUBERT SMITH,
Deputy Town Clerk, Bridgnorth.
"Nov. 5, 1867."
[P.S. See Mr. Smith's further note in the Appendix to this Life.—F.]

Mr. Cornelius Paine, jun., has had the books of the Grocers' Company searched, but the name of Piercy does not appear there. Percy's father is said to have been twice bailiff of Bridgnorth. *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vii. 34.—F.

³ Mr. Bellett says of the house: "It stands at the bottom of the Cartway, adjoining Underhill Street, and is conspicuous among the dwellings which surround it, not only from its size, but from its picturesque appearance, being ornamented with several pointed gables, and being constructed partly of solid beams of oak, in some places curiously carved, and partly of masonry. It was built in the latter end of the sixteenth century, as the following embossed inscription in the entrance hall informs us:

occupied by an ironfounder, is an antique structure of timber and plaster, many specimens of which are found in the midland counties, particularly in the old towns of Shrewsbury and Chester; and the little room in which the future bishop first saw the light is still in existence.

His early education was received at the Grammar School of his native town, which, though never equalling that of Shrewsbury, has yet sent many a good scholar to both the universities: in 1746, in his eighteenth year, Percy, having obtained one of the Careswell exhibitions belonging to Bridgnorth School, matriculated as a commoner¹ at Christ Church, Oxford. The college was then under the able administration of John Conybeare, subsequently Bishop of Bristol. Few particulars are on record concerning Percy's school-days and academic life, but it is easy to suppose that the old proverb of the boy being father to the man was in this instance verified, and that from his childhood upwards literature had charms for him.

It does not appear that he ever was elected a Student of Christ Church, or even filled the post of Chaplain, though in 1753, shortly after taking his M.A.² degree, he was presented by his

“EXCEPT THE LORD BUILT THE
OWSE, THE LABOURERS THEREOF
EVALI NOTHING. ERECTED BY R. FOR *
[Qy. Foster] 1580.” (See p. lviii.
here.)

“It was a large and stately mansion, and when the Cartway was the principal entrance to the town, it was well situated, and must have been regarded as a dwelling of some importance. It is now in a neglected condition, a large part of the building is untenanted, a part of the premises is used for an iron foundry, and another part for a huckster's shop. But, even in its present rude and decayed condition, a certain degree of interest attaches to it, as being one of the few surviving relics of our old town, which interest is further enhanced from its having been, about an hundred years ago, the birthplace of one whose literary attainments may be

supposed to reflect no little honour on Bridgnorth.” [A woodcut of the house follows here.] *The Antiquities of Bridgnorth, with some Historical Notices of the Town and Castle*, by the Rev. G. Bellett, A.M. 1856, p. 183-185.—F.

¹ In a Battel or Matriculation Book at Christ Church is the following entry: 7 Julii 1746, Thomas *Piercy*, iii.

This payment was most probably for a Commons of Bread and Butter.

In a book of Caution money this occurs:

Thomas *Piercy*, Com^{rs} Caution

Rec^d of himself . . . 7*l*. 10*s*. 0*d*.

8 Nov. 1746.

P. B. T.

The initials are those of Philip Barton, Treasurer.—J. P.

² In the Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, Percy's name thus appears:

Piercy, (sic) Tho: Ch: Ch: B.A.
May 2, 1750; M.A. July 5, 1753.

college to the country living of Easton Maudit, in the county of Northampton. The living had no doubt been passed, on account of its trifling value, by those on the foundation, and came to Percy as an independent member. In an old register at Easton, upon which Percy bestowed much pains, and in which he chronicled numerous events connected with himself and the parish, is the following memorandum of his appointment :

Thomas Percy, A.M. of Xt. Church College, Oxon ; born at Bridgnorth in Shropshire (of a family originally of Worcester, chiefly seated in St. Swithin's parish), son of Mr.¹ Arthur Lowe Percy, of St. Leonard's Parish, Bridgnorth ; was instituted to this vicarage (vacant by the cession of Enoch Markham the last incumbent) by the Rt. Rev. Father in God Dr. John Thomas, Ld : Bp : of Peterborough, on Tuesday, 27th November 1753. And on Saturday, the 15th of December following, was inducted thereto by the Rev. Mr. Bennett, Vicar of Earl's Barton, and on Sunday, December 16th following, went through the services of the Church, Articles, &c.²

This continued his usual home for the long period of twenty-five years, and in the little vicarage all his six children were born.³

A more retired place, even at the present day, can scarcely be imagined than Easton Maudit. It is a little picturesque country village, with scattered farm-houses, and cottages grouped to-

In the November of 1753, the name is undoubtedly spelt *Percy* by himself in the register of Easton Maudit. The handwriting is of a singularly distinct and beautiful kind, and every letter clearly traced. In the same entry there is no mention made of his having been a student of Christ Church, ever deemed a great honour even by nobility itself. —J. P.

¹ Does not this "Mr." confirm the grocer'ship ? The father of Percy's wife is entered by him as Barton Gutteridge, *Gent.*—F.

² "In 1756 he became resident" [?not till then], says the Rev. H. E. Boyd, Percy's chaplain (*Bellett*, p. 239), "and

was presented to the rectory of Willby by the Earl of Sussex, whose mansion was close to the parsonage."—F.

³ The Vicar of Easton Maudit, the Rev. H. Smith, sends from the register the following list of Percy's children :

Anne Cleveland Percy, born March 18, 1760, died Nov. 18, 1770.

Barbara Percy, born August 3, 1761, [Mrs. Isted.]

Henry Percy, born Feb. 7, 1763.

Elizabeth Percy, born July 11, 1765.

[Mrs. Meade.]

Charlotte Percy, born Sept. 1, 1767, died January 9, 1771.

Hester Percy, born July 4, 1772, died Feb. 19, 1774.

gether at irregular intervals, and with a population of only 207 people. The church¹ dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul—now beautifully restored, where Percy for so many years ministered, guiding the rustic and the lowly born—is a handsome structure, consisting of nave with side aisles and chancel, and has at the west end one of those beautiful and graceful spires for which Northamptonshire is so famous, earning for it the title of the County of Spires and Squires. From the quiet churchyard a beautiful view of Castle Ashby, the stately seat of the Marquis of Northampton, is obtained, and in a mortuary chapel at the end of the north aisle are some fine monuments of the ancient family of Yelverton, afterwards ennobled by the earldom of Sussex :

And all around on scutcheon rich,
And tablet rare, and fretted niche,
Their arms and feats are blazed.

Their old hall used to stand on the north side of the churchyard, but has now been razed to the ground, the family having become extinct by the death of the last Earl of Sussex in 1798, one who ever showed himself a kind friend to Percy. Within the altar rails is the grave of one whose sincere piety and real benevolence have won for him an enduring name on the roll of old England's worthies—Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, who, having been ejected from his see by the parliament, died here in 1659, when acting as tutor in Sir Christopher Yelverton's²

¹ In the present age of church restoration it is perhaps undesirable, almost impossible, to preserve unsightly gravestones on the floor; but still, if the inscriptions are not transferred to the new pavement, some proper record of them ought to be preserved. The former is the case at Easton Maudit, for the inscriptions have been literally transferred to the encaustic tiles with which the church is now paved. The restoration is owing to the present Marquis of Northampton, to whom the

manor now belongs.—J. P.

² Sir Christopher Yelverton was Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards a judge of the Queen's Bench. He died in 1612, and was succeeded by his son Sir Henry, who became a judge of the Common Pleas in the reign of Charles I. and died in 1630. He was the founder of the library at Easton Maudit, which was rich in legal MSS.—J. P.

family. A humbler sepulchre than one in his own cathedral, so aptly termed the English Zion, which, huge and vast, looks down upon the Wear. It is narrated that on his ejection from his see of Durham, he refused many offers of reception as a guest into the houses of the great, preferring to gain his livelihood by teaching, to existing as a dependent. The following interesting account of his last engagement in the capacity of tutor is thus related by Hutchinson :

As Bishop Morton was riding towards London, with about 60*l.*, which was then his all, he was overtaken on the road by Sir Christopher Yelverton, who being known to the bishop, though the bishop was unknown to him, fell into discourse with him, and asked him who he was. The bishop replied, "I am that old man the bishop of Durham, notwithstanding all your votes," for Sir Christopher had too much complied with the times; whereupon Sir Christopher asked where he was going. To London, replied the good old bishop, to live a little while, and then die. On this Sir Christopher entered into further discourse with him, and took him home to his house at Easton Maudit, where he became tutor to his son, afterwards the very learned Sir Henry Yelverton. This Sir Henry had the affection of a most tender child for the good bishop. There the old man died, and was buried at his own request in the chancel of the parish church. On his deathbed he gave the small remnant of his estate: 40*l.* to one of his servants, who attended him in his last illness; 10*l.* to the poor of the parish of Easton Maudit; and to the church his sacramental chalice and paten. The remainder of his property, not exceeding 100*l.*, was sufficient to discharge his funeral expenses, and to provide a small monument to his memory in the church of Easton Maudit.¹

In 1756 Percy's income was increased by the gift of the Rectory of Wilby, an adjacent parish, in the patronage of the Earl of Sussex, and in 1759 a change took place in Percy's condition, his marriage to Anne, daughter of Barton Gutteridge, Esq., a fact which is thus recorded by him in the Register at Easton Maudit :

¹ Quoted from Howitt's *Visits to Remarkable Places*, vol. ii.—J. P.

Thomas Percy, Vicar of this Parish, was married April 24th 1759 at the Parish Church of Desborough, near Rothwell, in this County, to Anne, daughter of Barton Gutteridge,¹ of Desborough, Gent., and of Anne (Hill) his wife, daughter of Mr. Joseph Hill, of Rothwell aforesaid.

She was the "harmony of his house,"² and is described as a good wife, but indebted for her charms to her husband's poetical fancy, which has styled her "fairest of the fair." We are told that "up to the last she continued a favourite with Dr. Johnson," and that he said "she had more sense than her husband."³ The lively Fanny Burney, Madame D'Arblay, calls Mrs. Percy "a good creature, and much delighted to talk over the Royal Family, to one of whom she was formerly nurse."

A retired country home like Easton afforded plenty of leisure for the pursuit and development of Percy's literary tastes; for, as Gibbon has finely remarked, while conversation enriches the understanding, solitude is the school of genius. The fruits soon began to appear. In 1761 Percy published a Chinese novel, *Hau Kiou Chooan*, in four volumes, translated by him from the Portuguese,⁴ dedicated to the Countess of Sussex; for this he received 50*l.*, and in the same year he undertook the editing of the works of the Duke of Buckingham.⁵ These were printed,

¹ Though on Percy's tomb his wife's name is made *Goodriche*, yet, says Mr. H. Smith, the present vicar of Easton Maudit, "In the register it is clearly Gutteridge, in Dr. Percy's writing, which is so distinct that it cannot possibly be mistaken for Goodriche."—F.

² "Dr. Percy was a most pleasing companion, and to me a steady friend; there was a violence in his temper which could not always be controlled; but he had a wife,

"Without one jarring atom form'd,
And gentleness and joy made up her being."

Cradock's *Lit. and Misc. Memoirs*, vol. i.

p. 239; vol. iv. p. 292, in *Nichols*, vi. 553.—F.

³ Letter of Dr. Farmer to Percy, in the possession of Percy's descendants, describing capitally Johnson's visit to him (Farmer) at Emmanuel. Farmer's chief complaint against Johnson was his having so much of "the essence of *but*," detracting from the merits of every one mentioned.—F.

⁴ Many of Shenstone's letters to Percy, still unprinted, relate to the latter's Chinese books.—F.

⁵ *Nichols*, vi. 556. He was to have fifty guineas for his work.—F.

but never published.¹ In 1762 he published *Miscellaneous Pieces relating to the Chinese*, in two volumes,² dedicated to Barbara Viscountess Longueville; and in 1763 undertook to edit Surrey's Poems, the whole impression of which, with the exception of a few copies privately circulated, was destroyed by a fire which took place in 1808 in Red Lion Passage. In 1763 Percy also published, anonymously, *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry translated from the Icelandic Language*,³ with a notice that "This little tract was drawn up for the press in the year 1761, but the publication has been delayed by an accident." "It would be as vain to deny, as it is perhaps impolitic to mention, that this attempt is owing to the success of the Erse"

¹ *Nichols*, vol. viii. p. 74. Nichols to Percy, May 22, 1788:

"I many years ago, at your Lordship's request, took into my warehouse the whole impressions of 'Buckingham' and 'Surrey,' which if I had not done, they would have been all burnt in Tonson's old warehouse, as was the case with the two volumes of 'Spectator,' printed formerly under your Lordship's inspection, of which the whole quantity are consumed. If these volumes of 'Surrey,' &c., are at some time to be turned to waste paper, I could wish I had your Lordship's authority for doing so at present, as they really take up room (and have long done so) which I want for other purposes, and put me to some expense."

Vol. viii. p. 76. Percy to Nichols, Nov. 10, 1788:

"Dear Sir,

"I should long since have acknowledged the favour of your letter, but I have been much indisposed with a lingering illness, which has hung on me near two months; but, it now abating, I take up my pen to beg you will continue to give room in a corner of your warehouse to the quires of the unpublished books you mention, till I can come over, as I hope, and complete them; and I will, with the greatest pleasure, pay any demand for warehouse room, or indemnify you to the utmost

for any inconvenience or loss that, as you intimate, may have attended them; and shall besides remain, dear Sir, your much obliged servant,

"THO. DROMORE."

Vol. viii. p. 289. Percy to Horace Walpole, Aug. 11, 1792:

"I have at length been able to collect for your Lordship the sheets of Lord Surrey and the Duke of Buckingham. They have been printed off about twenty-five years. Since the death of Jacob Tonson, at whose instance they were undertaken, and who ought to have assigned them to other persons, they have been wholly discontinued. My fondness for these pursuits declining, I laid both these works aside till I could offer them to some younger editor than myself, who could with more propriety resume them. I have now an ingenious nephew, of both my names, who is a fellow of St. John's College, in Oxford, and both able and desirous to complete them. To him I have given all the sheets so long since printed off, and whatever papers I had upon the subject."—F.

² Lowndes gives Percy another book in 1762: *The Matrons, Six short Histories*, edited by Thomas Percy, Bp. of Dromore.—F.

³ See Appendix to this Life, vii. —F.

⁴ *Fragments of ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and*

fragments" (*Pref.*) It is inscribed to "such curious persons as study the ancient languages of the north, and that that study "is not dry or unamusive, this little work it is hoped will demonstrate." Again this industrious writer gave to the public anonymously in 1764, *A New Translation of the Song of Solomon, from the Hebrew, with a Commentary and Notes*; and in the same year he also brought out a *Key to the New Testament*, which became popular, though it is now almost forgotten.¹ It was in the summer of this year that Dr. Johnson,

"May, 1764.

translated from the Gaelic or Erse language. Edin. 1760, 8vo., pp. 70. The first Ossianic publication of James Macpherson, the "discoverer" of this poet. Lowndes.—F.

¹ In 1764, too, Percy undertook an edition of the *Spectator* and *Guardian*, and in 1765 the *Tatler* for Tonson, and was evidently much interested in the work. His editorial canons may be seen in *Nichols*, vi. 557–9, with agreements and accounts, from which the following extracts are made:

"Whereas an edition of the *Spectator* and *Guardian* is preparing for the press with explanatory notes on many passages, that by length of time are become obscure, and also an account of the names of some of the occasional writers in those books not mentioned in any of the former editions, together with a table of contents to be prefixed to each volume, and new translations of several of the mottoes, by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Percy, of Easton Mauduit, in the county of Northampton. . . ."

Nichols, Illust. of Lit., vol. vi. p. 560.

"Account between Rev. Mr. Percy and Messrs. Tonson.

J. and R. Tonson, Drs.

To the Rev. Mr. Percy.

			£	s.	d.
1761.	June 12.	By agreement for an edition of the Duke of Buckingham's Works	52	10	0
1763.	March 24.	By an agreement for an edition of Lord Surrey's Poems	21	0	0
1764.	May 5.	By agreement for notes to <i>Spectator</i> and <i>Guardian</i>	105	0	0
			178	10	0

Ibid.

"March 16, 1765.

"Whereas Thomas Percy, clerk, of Easton Mauduit, in the county of Northampton, is preparing for the press a new edition of the *Tatler*, with explanatory notes, after the manner of his new edition of the *Spectator* and *Guardian*, now printing. . . ."

Nichols, Illust. of Lit. vi. p. 561.

These works, says Percy (*Nichols*, vi. 573), "my becoming Domestic Chaplain and Secretary to the present Duke of Northumberland prevented me from

executing, as my time became appropriated, and his Grace's employment left me not sufficient leisure for so voluminous a piece of authorship." Dr. Calder took the work up; 2 vols. were printed; perhaps some sheets of a third. Nichols was to have reprinted these, and completed the edition with Percy's notes, &c. The *Tatlers* only were brought out in 6 vols. 8vo. 1786 (N. vi. 576). The principal merit of the edition is due to Dr. Calder. *Nichols*.—F.

the great lexicographer, paid his long-promised visit to the Vicarage at Easton Maudit, which was called a dull parsonage, in a dull county, and spent the greater part of the summer months with his friend Percy.¹ No doubt the little study there was the scene of many a learned argument and discussion, and the question concerning the publication of the *Reliques* again and again debated. Often, too, must they have paced the little terrace in the garden,—still called Dr. Johnson's Walk, by the side of which Northamptonshire young ladies now play at croquet,—“in sweet converse” on a subject which was at the time of absorbing interest to the Vicar's mind. For Percy had long before this been engaged on the collection of old ballads, and was on the eve of issuing a book destined not only to raise him to eminence in his profession, but to render his name a “household word” wherever the English language is spoken—the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*.

The merit of originating the work would seem in the first instance to have been that of the poet Shenstone, who thus writes on March 1, 1761, to a friend²:

You have heard me speak of Mr. Percy; he was in treaty with Mr. James Dodsley, for the publication of our best old ballads in three volumes. He has a large folio MS. of ballads which he showed me, and which, with his own natural and acquired talents, would qualify him for the purpose as well as any man in England. *I proposed the scheme to him myself*, wishing to see an elegant edition and good collection of this kind. I was also to have assisted him in selecting and rejecting, and fixing upon the best readings; but my illness broke off our correspondence in the beginning of winter.

The large folio MS.—that now edited by Messrs. Furnivall

¹ It may be worth while to add, that the latest edition of Anderson's *Life of Johnson* contains several not uninteresting notes concerning the lexicographer, which were communicated to Anderson by Bishop Percy.—A. Dyce.

This refers to the 3rd edit. by Robert Anderson, M.D., editor of the *British*

Poets, printed at Edinburgh, 1815, 8vo. Dr. Anderson paid the Bishop three long visits at Dromore, in 1802, 1805, and 1810. See art. Anderson in *Encycl. Brit.* 7th edit.—D. Laing.

² See Nichols's *Illustrations*, vii. 151.—F.

and Hales—is written in a hand apparently of the time of King Charles I.

With a view to the publication of the *Reliques*, Percy had for many years been at work collecting old ballads in every direction, for, comparatively speaking, he has published few out of the old folio MS.; and as his circle of acquaintance embraced some of the most eminent men of the day, materials must have flowed in in considerable quantities, especially as the tastes of many were of a congenial nature. There were in the number Oliver Goldsmith, and David Garrick, the first of actors and a great collector of old ballad literature. Shenstone¹ was to have been co-editor had not death prevented. Thomas Gray, at that time living in the academic shades of Cambridge, found a place in the list. An eminent antiquary and man of great research, too, must not be omitted, Dr. Birch, and also Farmer, then Fellow but subsequently Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a staunch friend and ally of Percy's;² and last not least, must not be forgotten Dr. Grainger, the author of the "Ode to Solitude" and "The Sugar Cane," who on the publication of the *Reliques* expressed the kind wish to the editor, "I hope you will sing yourself into a stall if not into a throne."

With such an efficient staff of friends and correspondents—in fact most of the eminent literati of the day on the list—the mere task of selection from their extensive stores must have been the main difficulty. What frequent and large packets³ must have come to Easton Maudit under cover to the Squire, my Lord Sussex. And be it recollected that in those times the composition of a letter was far more of a business

¹ Shenstone died on Feb. 11, 1763, and is buried in the quiet churchyard of Hales Owen, in Worcestershire, where his celebrated abode, the Leasowes, is situated.—J. P.

² Sir David Dalrymple of New Hailes should be added.—D. Laing.

³ There are several letters to Percy at Easton Maudit in Nichols's *Illustrations*, a collection in which Percy has written part of his own life, but which has not been much worked for this memoir.—F.

and labour than now, the four sides of large quarto paper being carefully filled, and the style punctiliously regarded; for correspondence, like conversation, was then studied as an art.

In February, 1765, after a four or five years' preparation, and when the editor was thirty-six years of age, appeared the first edition, in 3 vols., of the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*,¹

¹ After all the text of the volumes of the *Reliques* was printed, Percy turned the first volume into the third, shunting the Arthur ballads to make way for Chevy Chase and the Robin Hood ballads. This change he laid on the printer's shoulders—handy things for an editor, often,—but, of course, the change was due to himself or his advisers. The change becomes clear on a comparison of the two volumes, i. and ii. of the *Reliques* in Douce's collection at Oxford, of which Dr. Rimbauld told me, and which Mr. George Parker of the Bodleian has hastily examined for me. These two volumes Douce says he bought "at Dr. Farmer's sale, where they were sold as supposed waste, or imperfect; but they contain many pieces not in the published editions. See Dr. Farmer's notes in some of the pages."

If anyone will turn to pages 87-93 of the *Reliques* as published, he will see that there is no number xix. "The Lady turned Serving-man," p. 87-92, is No. xviii.; "Gil Morrise," p. 93, No. xx.

In Douce's vol. i., p. 92 is taken up with No. xix., "The Song-birds." "The Lady Turned Serving-man" ends with l. 112, "A serving-man to be a queene" (*Rel.* l. 136), and the poem is, as Dr. Farmer says, "Much altered in the Copy pub^d." For instance, stanza 4 of the Douce copy is,

But there came thieves late in the
night,
They robbd my bower, and slew my
knight:

And after that my knight was slaine,
I could no longer there remaine.

whereas the published copy reads,

And there I livde a ladye gay,
Till fortune wrought our loves decay;

For there came foes so fierce a band,
That soon they over-run the land.
They came upon us in the night,
And brent my bower, and slew my
knight;
And trembling hid in mans array,
I scant with life escapd away.

So also in p. 323, *Reliques* vol. iii., the version of "The Boy and the Mantle, as revised and altered by a modern Hand," has, in Douce's copy, this verse,

Thus none so oft in Arthur's court
Had done the deede of shame,
As [s]he who grudg'd the golden prize
To Cradock's virtuous dame!

instead of the note in the published copy about the story being taken from that of Tegan Earfron, one of Arthur's mistresses, in some of the old Welsh MSS. Pages 324, 331-2, 333-4, also differ in the two copies, and p. 1-2.

In vol. ii., by turning to pages 309, 318, the reader will see that Nos. x. and xi. are omitted, while No. ix. is "The Heir of Linne," sheet U, of which three pages are signed differently to the others in the volume, having vol. ii. on them. This is explained by turning to Douce's copy, where we find that the original Nos. ix. x. and xi. were "Cock Lorrell's Treat," "The Moral uses of Tobacco," and "Old Simon the Kinge," of which the first and last are printed in the "Loose and Humorous Songs" from the Folio, p. 37, 124.

The music of *Deo gratias* is also slightly altered, and the engraving at the end of Douce's volume ii., instead of being the published rustic sketch, is a coat of arms, over which is a coronet, with a lion and unicorn at the side, with the Percy motto "Esperance en Dieu." This was wisely cancelled, no doubt, as the Countess of Northumber-

dedicated, in an elaborate preface, to Elizabeth Percy,¹ Countess of Northumberland in her own right, and also Baroness Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitz Payne, Bryan, and Latimer. It is stated in this "that no active or comprehensive mind can forbear some attention to the reliques of antiquity. It is prompted by a natural curiosity to survey the progress of life and manners, and to inquire by what gradations barbarity was civilised, grossness refined, and ignorance instructed." The Countess was one of the most good-natured, and, as years increased, one of the stoutest of ladies, and had married Sir Hugh Smithson, a north-country baronet of Stanwick St. John, near Richmond in Yorkshire. He was the handsomest man of his time, and the story goes that he had met with a cross in love, which being mentioned to the great heiress of the house of Percy, she expressed the greatest astonishment at any one being able to refuse such a man as Sir Hugh. This having been intimated to him, Sir Hugh made her an offer, which was attended in this instance with success, and he was subsequently created the first Duke of Northumberland in the present peerage.

The sum of 100 guineas was paid to Percy by the publishers for the first edition of the *Reliques*, certainly not a great deal, considering the immense amount of labour, study and correspondence expended on its collection and compilation. Several eminent critics did not receive the work in so kind a manner as might have been expected, amongst whom may be instanced Percy's great friend Dr. Johnson, and also Warburton and Hurd; Warburton saying that "antiquarianism was to true letters what specious funguses are to the oak," and enquired sneeringly whether Percy "was the man who wrote about the

land might not then have appreciated the compliment of the grocer's son claiming kinship with her.—F.

¹ Elizabeth Percy was the daughter and successor of Algernon Seymour, Earl of Northumberland and Duke of

Somerset, who died 7th of February 1749–50. She was born in 1716, married to Sir Hugh Smithson in 1740, died in 1776, and was buried in St. Nicholas Chapel in Westminster Abbey.—J. P.

Chinese" (March 1765). Perhaps Johnson in his own mind classed most of the ballads in the same category with the Poems of Ossian, which Macpherson had brought out, but from deference to the feelings of Percy refrained at any rate on this exceptional occasion from bluntly expressing his conviction.

However, the *Reliques* gradually became popular, and as other editions were in request,¹ so did the sums paid to Percy increase; and best of all, the book attracted the notice of those in a high class, in whose power it was to forward and promote the interests of the editor, painstaking and deserving as he must be allowed to be. He became Chaplain to Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland,² the first Duke of the present creation; in 1769, Chaplain to the King, George III.; and before the expiration of the same year he had published *A Sermon preached before the Sons of Clergy*, on the text, S. John c. 13, v. 25, which is in itself an evidence of the position he was holding in general estimation. The account of his next work but one we quote:

The second of his [Percy's] two chief works appeared in 1770, namely his translation of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*. To it we are disposed to attach nearly as much importance as the *Reliques of English Poetry*. Dr. Percy was the first to direct attention to the antiquities and characteristics of the grand Scandinavian north, to make known the sublime and wonderful mythology of the Eddas to English readers, and thus originally to stimulate the study of northern literature, that in our day is producing such valuable fruit. His own learned preface, besides, to Mallet's treatise, is remarkable

¹ A Dublin edition of the *Reliques*, lent to me by Mr. Dixon of Sunderland, but not noticed in Lowndes, appeared in 1766; the 2nd English edition in 1767; the 3rd in 1775; and the 4th, in which several readings of the MS. were restored, in 1794, edited nominally by Percy's nephew, Thomas Percy of St. John's College, Oxford, but really by the Bishop himself, as Dr. Anderson informed Mr. Laing. It is of the third edition that Percy writes to Paton, "North⁴ House, Feb. 29, 1776 . . . be pleased to inform me how I can convey a set of

my Ancient Poems to you, of which Dodsley has lately published a new edition: and though I have no share in the property of this impression, I have made interest to procure a copy for you." *Letters to Paton, Edinb.* 1830, p. 58. That Percy contemplated a continuation of the *Reliques*, he often stated. A few extracts from his letters about it are added at the end of this memoir.—F.

² Mr. Boyd says that Lord Sussex introduced Percy to the Duke. (*Bellett*, p. 40.)—F.

in the history of ethnological science. In it he, for the first time in this country, clearly pointed out the essential difference between the Celtic and Teutonic races, which had been largely overlooked till then. The opposite hypothesis of the identity of the two, as assumed by Cluverius, and maintained by him with great erudition, and afterwards by such men as Keyser and Peloutier, has long been universally exploded. Let due honour be awarded to him who was the pioneer in this interesting path of ethnological enquiry.—J. J. in *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography*, p. 641.¹

In 1768 *The Household Book of the Earl of Northumberland in 1512*² (*Algernon Percy, 5th Earl,*) at his Castles of *Wressle and Leconfield in Yorkshire*, was compiled by Percy in compliance with the wishes of his patron Hugh Duke of Northumberland.³ It is a work which has done perhaps as much for the illustration of Early English domestic life as the *Reliques* have done for that of Early English Literature, and has given rise to the long series of Household Regulations and Accounts⁴ which have made every detail of the sovereign's and

¹ Dr. Rimbault kindly gave this reference to Mr. Furnivall, who furnished me with the extract, and the next paragraphs and notes.—J. P.

² The first Earl of Northumberland who died in his bed, the four former ones having met with violent deaths.—J. P.

³ But few copies were printed, and these not for sale. Percy wrote twice to Paton, hoping to get him a copy, but never did. October 27, 1772: "I wish it was in my power to give you a copy of the Northumberland Household Book, as they will not be sold: but it is not as yet in my power. His Grace printed few, and the three or four which he allowed me to send to Edinburgh, were chiefly to such as he had some particular reason of his own for sending them to." (Percy to Paton. *Letters*, p. 18. Edinburgh, 1830.) The later copies are dated 1770, says Lowndes; and the book was reprinted entire in the fourth vol. of Grose's *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1809, 4to. The second edition was published by Pickering in 1827.—F.

⁴ The chief of them are:—

1. *Liber Quotidianus*, &c. The account of the Comptroller of the Wardrobe in the 28th year of King Edward I. (Soc. Antiq. 1787.)

2. A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the Royal Household, made in divers reigns from King Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary (also receipts in ancient cookery), published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790.

3. Illustrations of the Manners and expences of Antient Times in England, in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries, deduced from the Accounts of Churchwardens, and other authentic Documents, collected from various Parts of the Kingdom, with explanatory Notes [by John Nichols, Dr. Pegge, &c.], 1797.

4. Privy purse expences of King Henry VIII. from November 1529 to December 1532, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, 1827.

5. Privy purse expences of Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII., from

rich man's home of early days almost as familiar to us as our own humble one now. And thus a third time was Percy the means of lighting the torch of knowledge whose flame instructs and cheers us still. It was in 1770 that Percy took his degree of D.D. at Cambridge, having incorporated himself at Emmanuel College, of which house his friend Dr. Farmer was Master. On November 18, 1770, a domestic calamity visited the little vicarage at Easton Maudit, the death of one of Percy's daughters, Anne Cleveland, who lies buried in the quiet village church; and almost before the sepulchre was sealed, to it was borne another child, Charlotte, who died on January 10, 1771; and in the same vault is buried yet a third child, Hester Percy, who died February 19, 1774. Just at this time (i.e. 1771) Mrs. Percy was appointed nurse to the infant Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, and father of her present Majesty Queen Victoria; and on her return from court the memorable ballad¹ was written by her husband—

March 1502 to February 1503. Wardrobe accounts of Edward IV. &c., ed. by Sir Harris Nicolas, 1830.

6. Privy purse expences of the Princess Mary from December 1536 to December 1544, edited by Sir Frederic Madden, 1831.

7. The Loseley Manuscripts, edited by Alfred John Kempe, 1836.

8. *Compota Domestica Familiarum de Bukingham et d'Angouleme 1443-52-63, quibus annexæ expensæ ejusdam comitis in itinere 1273.*—Abbotsford Club, ed. Turnbull, 1836, with 3 pages of Emendations, 1841.

9. Manners and household expences of England in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, A.D. 1265-1471, edited by Dawson Turner, Roxburghe Club, 1841.

10. Household Books of John Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas Earl of Surrey, temp. 1481-90, edited by J. Payne Collier, Roxburghe Club, 1844.—F.

¹ Knowing Percy's habits, one is not surprised to find that this ballad, for which he has been so much praised, is

little more than a paraphrase of another poem. Of "Oh Nanny," Dr. Rimbault writes: "With regard to its *originality* we will say nothing, because the following elegant little poem, from a MS. dated 1682, evidently furnished the idea. The same words, with some trifling variations, are found in Nat. Lee's tragedy 'Theodosius, or the Force of Love,' edit. 1697.

THE ROYAL NUN.

"Canst thou, Marina, leave the world,
The world that is devotion's bane,
Where crowns are toss'd, and sceptres
hurl'd,
Where lust and proud ambition reign?
Canst thou thy costly robes forbear,
To live with us in poor attire;
Canst thou from courts to cells repair
To sing at midnight in the quire?"

"Canst thou forget the golden bed
Where thou might'st sleep beyond the
morn,
On mats to lay thy royal head,
And have thy beauteous tresses shorn?"

O Nanny¹ wilt thou gang with me?
 Nor sigh to leave the flaunting town;
 Can silent glens have charms for thee,
 The lowly cot, and russet gown?
 No longer dressed in silken sheen,
 No longer deck'd with jewels rare:
 Say, canst thou quit each courtly scene,
 Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

Miss Matilda Lætitia Hawkins thus comments upon it, and on its occasion, in her "Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts and Opinions."

Recollections of the tenderest kind are called up by the mention of this exquisite ballad, which I have been told was Dr. Percy's invitation to his charming wife on her release from her twelve months' confinement in the royal nursery, in attendance on her charge Prince Edward, the late Duke of Kent. His Royal Highness's temper as a private gentleman did not discredit his nurse, for his humanity was conspicuous. (Vol. i. p. 271.)

Mr., afterwards Archdeacon Nares, Percy's successor in the Vicarage of Easton Maudit, asked him in a letter who set to music this beautiful ballad, but the reply of the Bishop is not recorded. It is not singular that Nares, from his musical

Canst thou resolve to fast all day,
 And weep and groan to be forgiven;
 Canst thou in broken slumbers pray,
 And by afflictions merit heaven?

"Say, votaress, can this be done?
 Whilst we the grace divine implore,
 The world shall lose the battles won,
 And sin shall never chain thee more.
 The gate to bliss doth open stand,
 And all my penance is in view;
 The world upon the other hand
 Cries out 'O, do not bid adieu!'

"What, what can pomp and glory do;
 Or what can human powers persuade?
 That mind that hath a heaven in view,
 How can it be by earth betray'd?
 Haste then, oh! haste to take me in,
 For ever lock Religion's door;
 Secure me from the charms of sin,
 And let me see the world no more.

Bishop Percy seems also to have been indebted to a ballad entitled 'The

Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy,' in Allan Ramsay's 'Tea Table Miscellany,' edit. 1733, p. 66. The second verse commences,

"O Katy! wiltu gang wi me,
 And leave the dinsome town awhile?"

¹ "Nanny" is a common diminutive of Anne to this day in the counties of Northampton and Buckingham.—J. P. Percy wrote it (as I have always heard and perhaps can prove) "O Nancy wilt thou go with me;" and Tom Carter, who composed the music, took the liberty of altering it to "O Nansey, wilt thou gang;" but he certainly did not alter *town* and *gown* to *toon* and *goon*, as they are sometimes printed. Of that I am sure, having his copy. It is somewhere stated that Percy did not approve of the liberty Carter had taken with his song, but I forget where.—W. Chappell. Mr. Boyd notes that the ballad has been altered, and claimed as Scotch.—F.

connections, should have made such an inquiry, for his father Dr. James Nares had been an eminent musician and organist and composer to George II. and George III. The ballad was set to music by Thomas Carter, an Irishman, who died in 1804. However, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, even as late as 1847, it is assigned to Joseph Baildon, who died in 1774, and it is there stated by Baildon's grandson that Carter purchased amongst other effects at his grandfather's sale the MS. of this celebrated ballad, and subsequently gave it to the world as his own composition.¹

The year 1771 also saw the publication of the *Hermit of Warkworth*, which, though it has been severely criticised, yet very aptly describes one of the most unique and interesting places of its kind in the north of England, and very likely was composed by Percy when on a visit to those regions as the guest of his patrons the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland. The hermitage is situated on one of the most charming of rivers, the Coquet, and in the old castle of Warkworth many of the ancient ballads had in olden times been sung by the minstrels, celebrating the heroic deeds of the valiant Percys. The little market cross was the spot where, in more recent times, the Pretender had been first proclaimed in England by General Forster in 1715; and for his share in that insurrection the last of a long line resident in the parish of Warkworth (to one of whose ancestors an enduring reputation had been given in the ballad of Chevy Chase), Lord Widdrington, was attainted and deprived of his title.

At length a most tangible promotion came to Percy in the

¹ A scandalous story without an atom of proof. If Nares had only seen a printed copy with music, he would have found Carter's name to it. The claim set up by Baildon's (not Blaidon's) grandson, in 1847, to gain credit for his grandfather in a matter of which he could not speak from any knowledge of his

own, is quite unworthy of notice. Carter was a singer, and a tasteful educated musician, who left Ireland very young, went to Italy, and settled in London. He composed another still famous song, "Stand to your guns, my hearts of oak."—W. Chappell.

shape of the Deanery of Carlisle, which was conferred upon him in 1778¹; and in 1782 a still higher position, and more increased income², from his appointment to the Bishopric of Dromore in Ireland, worth about 2000*l.* a year, a reward which he had fairly earned by his industry and perseverance. Dromore had a century before been the scene of the labours of an equally good, and perhaps of a man in one sense more talented, Jeremy Taylor, who had held it in conjunction with the adjacent sees of Down and Connor, and whose works *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* can never be forgotten but with the extinction of religion itself. And now the time came for resigning the little Northamptonshire home³—where years ago he had brought his bride—the birth-place of all his children, and the burial-place of three of them—where the prime of his life had been spent, and his chief works

¹ In 1779 he writes to Pinkerton from Carlisle, July 2, "I have been extremely ill, even at the point of death." *Pinkerton's Correspondence*, i. 15. In 1780 Percy contributed many notes to Nichols's *Select Collection of Miscellany Poems*.—F.

² "I assure you, my good friend, I never knew what it was to want money like what I have done since my great preferment. The laity little know the heavy burdens that overwhelm us ecclesiastics. The moment I entered on my bishopric, I became debtor to my predecessor in the sum of 3200*l.* for a new episcopal house, which, by the laws of Ireland, is charged upon the successor, and must be paid out of the first receipts of the see. In consequence of this I had 1200*l.* to pay at the end of the first year (besides 200*l.* for my patent) when I had only received 900*l.* To add to my burdens, my brother, whose unprosperous affairs had long been a great drawback from my revenue, is now this month become a bankrupt, and has involved me in losses occasioned by my being security for him; and is moreover with his family to be maintained by me into the bargain. So you see that all is not gold that glistens—

that under a mitre there may be heavy cares and grievous disappointments. But of all that I have suffered in consequence of these distresses, none have given me more concern than that I have been prevented by them from fulfilling my kind intentions to poor Mrs. Williams. I had engaged to add 10*l.* *per annum* to her little annuities, of which I had only been able to advance her five guineas before she was snatched away from me, and all my intentions of making it up to her by greater kindness in future rendered abortive. I wish you would mention this to Dr. Johnson, lest I should have suffered in his opinion from what may have appeared a wanton breach of my engagement, which I believe I entered into with his privity, as indeed it was he that kindly suggested it." Letter to Mr. Allen, Dec. 28, 1783. *Nichols*, vol. vi. p. 578.—F.

³ "Northamptonshire home." Though appointed Dean of Carlisle in 1778, Percy did not resign Easton Maudit until 1782, as above recorded. It continued to be an occasional residence until his nomination to the Bishopric. He also resigned the Rectory of Wilby at the same time.—J. P.

composed. The circumstance is thus noted in the old Register at Easton Maudit :

April 20th, 1782.—This day the Rev. Dr. Percy resigned this Vicarage into the hands of the Bishop of Peterboro', being promoted to the Bishoprick of Dromore in Ireland.

The following amusing account of the vicarage, church, and country, from a hitherto unpublished letter of his successor, Mr., afterwards Archdeacon Nares,¹ gives a graphic description of the place, and will be read with interest :

(No gilt paper at Easton Mandit.)

VICARAGE, EASTON MAUDIT, June 23, 1782.

For the first time in my life, I sit down in a parlour of my own ; to whom then can I address myself so properly as to the one who is to share my rights in it ? and it is with no small satisfaction that I inform you that the parlour aforesaid is by no means a small one, nor indeed very large, but a comfortable pleasant size, and neatly wainscotted. There is another parlour not quite so large, but a very good one also, which has but one window, while this has two, and sashes all through the house. The building itself is a very neat cottage of stone, and thatched, commands no prospect, but is perfectly snug and pastoral. A good piece of garden, consisting chiefly of grass plots and shrubs, with a kitchen garden quite sufficient for the house, and planted off, so as to be out of sight. We have a brewhouse, and all other things convenient, and within doors several very good bed-chambers, two really capital, a good kitchen, cellar, and so forth.

The church, which is a very pretty one, both without and within, stands very close, but not too much so, and Lord Sussex's gardens join immediately to it. The country about is very pretty, only too rich if anything, for the soil is so deep that the roads are apt to be bad. Within a mile and a half is a fine house² and good park, belonging to the Earl of Northampton, very pleasantly situated, the

¹ *Robert Nares*, educated at Westminster and Christ Church, a Student of the House, was born in 1753, and graduated M.A. in 1778. In 1798 appointed a Canon of Lichfield Cathedral, and in 1800 Archdeacon of Stafford. Died in 1829. A very voluminous writer, but perhaps best known by his "Glossary

or Collection of Words, Phrases, Names and allusions to Customs and Proverbs." See "*Alumni Westmonasterienses*" for a full account of his preferments and writings.—J. P.

² This fine house is Castle Ashby, one of the stately homes of England.—J. P.

country round abounding with villages, and several gentlemen's seats and the like within moderate distances. We are very near a good turnpike road, and have regular communication with London three times a week; or even every day by sending as far as Newport Pagnell, which is but eleven miles.

I think I never saw a more compact little retirement, as much out of the world as if it were three hundred miles from London, and yet sufficiently near to it to get there with ease at any time in one day; it is but sixty miles. I can imagine us here in the most comfortable style imaginable, and if you are at all of Mrs. Percy's mind, you will be much pleased with it, for it was a great favourite of hers to the very last, and she quitted it with great reluctance. If any one tells you that Northamptonshire is a dreary county, with stone walls for hedges, and so forth, tell them that it is no such thing in the neighbourhood of our parsonage, but a fine rich country, full of all the good things that such a soil affords.

I would give no small sum to have you here to talk over plans and schemes, and look about us;—take notice that there is glebe land enough immediately adjacent to feed all our cattle, viz., between eleven and twelve acres. It is mighty clever (*sic*), but do not raise your ideas of it too high, for no place will bear that. It is a snug cottage retirement, but nothing great. . . .

(*Cætera desunt.*)

Percy had not long been located in his new abode at Dromore, when the severest domestic calamity of all happened—the loss of his only and much-loved son Henry, who died in April, 1783, at the early age of twenty, at Marseilles, after wintering at Madeira. The father speaks of him a few years before (1778, see p. xxxiii. below) with pride in a letter to a friend, as “a tall youth of fifteen, at present a King's Scholar¹ at Westminster,” and was at that time, no doubt, looking forward to his election as a Student of Christ Church at Oxford; but “l'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose.”²

¹ Henry Percy was admitted into college at Westminster, at the Election in 1777, at the age of 14. See “*Alumni Westmonasteriensis*,” p. 407, where “*abit*” is added to his name.—J. P.

² “Thus with the manly glow of honest pride,

O'er his dead son the gallant *Ormond* sighed.

Thus through the gloom of *Shenstone's* fairy grove,

Maria's urn still breathes the voice of love.”

Pleasures of Memory.—J. P.

And now appears on the stage a great opponent of the Bishop, one Joseph Ritson, who, born at Stockton-upon-Tees, had been articled to a solicitor in that town, and who subsequently settled in London. A man undoubtedly of considerable ability, but most conspicuous for abusive powers and waspish temper. Though admitting that the *Reliques* were "beautiful, elegant, and ingenious," he boldly denied the very existence of the Folio MS., asserting that all had been ingeniously fabricated, and worst of all, by one of Percy's profession, and in his position. It is said that in order to refute this charge, the fine portrait of Percy, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, had, in compliance with his own request, the disputed MS. Folio placed in his hand, in order to show that it had an actual existence.¹ The charge of forgery was indignantly repelled, but the admission made "*ipsissimis verbis*" that his "emendations of old and mutilated ballads were open and avowed." And now it can easily be seen by a comparison of the present volumes with any copy of the *Reliques* to what an extent in the Ballads printed in them from the Folio MS. this so-called emendation or restoration was carried; or, to use the language of the Prospectus, p. 1, "how much or how little of the different poems was really ancient, how much was sham antique of Percy's own." The wish expressed by Sir Walter Scott many years ago, in the Preface to his *Minstrelsy of the Border*, can now be gratified—"it would be desirable to know exactly to what extent Dr. Percy has used the licence of an editor,² and certainly at this period would be only a degree of justice due to his memory."

Scott pays a tribute to the wonderful stores of antiquarian knowledge and varied information possessed by Ritson, and, to use his own language, says of Ritson, "that he brought forward such a work on national antiquities as in other countries has

¹ Percy exhibited the MS. in Pall Mall.—W. Chappell. *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, far more than Percy.—W. C.

² Scott used this licence in his *Min-*

been thought worthy of universities and the countenance of princes."

At Dromore, where Percy now constantly resided, he still continued to devote as much time as could be spared from the graver duties of his profession to the cultivation of literature,¹ though from all accounts it was a place not very favourable for such studies—and must have been to a great extent an expatriation. Letters to him frequently never reached their destination, and he was months in arrear with the last magazine; still under these difficulties the old love of learning continued.

In 1793 he published "An Essay on the Origin of the English Stage, particularly on the Historical Plays of Shakspeare," and the accompanying letter from Edmond Malone to him, hitherto unpublished, will interest Shakspearian readers; it is selected from the correspondence from Malone to Percy in the Bodleian stores.

LONDON, Sept. 21, 1793.

My dear Lord,—

Having been a great wanderer of late, I did not receive your Lordship's obliging favour till my arrival in London, not long since, my servants not knowing where to forward it to me. One line of your little ballad is, I think, somewhere in Shakspeare: "my lady is unkynde perde," but I do not remember where²; perhaps in Hamlet. To the remainder of it I do not recollect any allusion.

¹ *Thomas Campbell to Bp. Percy.*

June 30, 1790.

Your anecdotes will embellish my pages highly, and your picture of Green Arbour-court shall be closely copied; as to the rest, my account of your visit to him there was almost verbatim, from my recollection of your words, what you have set down in your last. But could there be any harm in letting the world know who the visitant was? without the circumstance of the dignity of the guest, the contrast will be in a great measure lost, and the matter will lose its grand authority as to the fact. But in this, as everything else, your wish shall be a command. The anecdote of Johnson I

had recollected, but had forgot that it was at Goldsmith's you were to sup. The story of the *valet de chambre* will, as Lord Bristol says, pin the basket of his absurdities; and really we may have a hamper full of them.

P.S. Your sketch of Sir Richard Perrot will come in as an episode towards the conclusion, with good effect; but there, neither that nor anything that can sully shall appear as coming from you. Having Parnell's "Life," I shall return yours safe, and shall be obliged by the dramatic pieces you purpose sending by my brother. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit.* vii. pp. 780-781.—F.

² *Twelfth Night*, Act iv., Sc. vi.—J. P.

I have been most agreeably (sic) though laboriously employed at Worcester and Stratford-upon-Avon. At Worcester, I found some wills relative to Shakspearians there that I much wanted; and at Stratford I spent two days by permission of the Corporation in rummaging all their stores. I am confident I unfolded and slightly examined not less than three thousand papers and parchments, several of which were as old as the time of Henry the Fourth, and probably had not been opened for two centuries. From the whole mass, I selected whatever I thought likely to throw any light upon the life of Shakspeare, on which I am now employed, and these the Mayor very obligingly permitted me to pack up in a box, and bring with me to London, that I might peruse them at my leisure. They afford several curious matters that concern the state of the town, and its manners in Shakspeare's time, his property, the prices of the various articles of life, &c. I was not fortunate enough to meet with a single scrap of his handwriting, though I have got signatures of almost all his family and friends; but I have found a letter to him when in London, a very pretty little relick (sic) about *three inches long by two broad*. His answer to this letter, the object of which was to borrow some money from him, would have been a great curiosity, and what is provoking is, it ought to have been in the bundle where this was found (a parcel of letters to and from Mr. Quiney, whose son afterwards married the poet's daughter), and this should have been among the papers of Shakspeare's granddaughter, wherever they are. However, "*est aliquid prodire tenus.*"

No confirmation is yet arrived of the good news of the Duke of York's being victorious at Minan, and having killed 4,000 of the enemy and taken 80 cannon; but it is believed.

I beg you will present my best compliments to Mrs. Percy and your young ladies, and believe me, my dear Lord, with the utmost sincerity,

Your most faithful and most obedient servant,

EDMOND MALONE.

The Percy Correspondence, published by John Bowyer Nichols, is not only interesting, but shows that as age increased so did the Bishop's literary tastes.¹ And not only are his pub-

¹ Take as a specimen of the variety of subjects that interested him, bits of three or four letters, the first to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, March 15, 1797,

p. 320, vol. viii.

"Mr. Urban,

As in the course of the next month the return of many of our migratory

lished letters numerous, but the quantity of unpublished correspondence in the possession of his descendants is large,¹ and all of it is written in a singularly clear and neat hand, marking the character of the man. His episcopal functions were most faithfully and efficiently discharged, securing him (as we are told) the respect and love of all denominations; but this is no more than might have been expected from a man of his integrity of character and genuine religious feelings—one who was, in a word, actuated by a high sense of duty.

In 1798 the Irish Rebellion broke out, and during it Percy is recorded to have transmitted to his daughter, Mrs. Isted, a quantity of correspondence and valuable books for safe preservation, and they are said to be still kept amongst the archives of Ecton House, near Northampton.² In 1806, Percy's wife, the

birds may be expected, allow me to recall the attention of your readers to this interesting subject, desiring they will carefully observe whether any swallows appear without the long feathers which form their forked tails; for, as it has been ascertained that the last broods, at least, in every summer leave us before they have attained this distinction, if any appear in spring without them, such may be supposed to have passed the winter in a torpid state.

"Let me now communicate a very extraordinary phenomenon concerning another race of birds of passage, the cuckoos, which occurred last summer in the north of Ireland. . . .

"Let me now offer a solution of the difficulty respecting the *fall of stones from the clouds*, which I have heard suggested by a naturalist of great eminence in this country [that lightning, in its ascent from the earth to the clouds, bursts through a rock, &c., and scatters the fragments]."

On Aug. 6, 1799, Percy has been "ascertaining and placing beyond doubt the reality of Round Towers being originally Belfries." *Nichols*, vii. 818.

On April 21, 1801 (*Nichols*, viii. p. 359), Mr. Irwin tells Percy that "the opera (*The Bedouins*, a comic opera,

London, 1802) is announced for representation on the 29th inst. The interest you have taken in its success makes me regret your Lordship's absence on this occasion, though I believe it to be patronised by the lovers of poetry and music, who have any knowledge of the piece. It might, however, prove of considerable service could your Lordship find time to communicate your opinion of the work to any person in Dublin, whose zeal and influence were likely to promote its success. This would be taking an unpardonable liberty with your Lordship, did I not already lie under more material obligations by the touches the piece has received from your pen."

On Oct. 19, 1808, Percy is writing against the bold and unqualified manner in which Dr. Scully has asserted the universal success of vaccination, whereas it had failed in several instances near him. (*Nichols*, vol. vi.)—F.

¹ I doubt this. The family's letters are mostly to Percy, not from him.—F.

² For the edition of Goldsmith's *Miscellaneous Works* in 1801, Percy contributed materials, and he directed the compilation of the account of the poet's life and writings. This was for the benefit of Goldsmith's niece and poor

companion of his joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, passed away from this earth,¹ after a union with him for the long period of forty-seven years, and one, it may be added, of the happiest nature. Her remains were laid in Dromore Cathedral. About this time, an affliction fell upon the Bishop which no skill might alleviate or remove—a penalty incidental to many scholars, in his case brought on by poring over old MSS. and unremitting study—total blindness.² This he is said to have borne with

relations, and his letters show that he took a good deal of trouble to help them, though the publishers treated him badly, he said.

“But the proprietors would have done well to have consulted me in the selection and arrangement, for they have omitted one of the very best productions of Goldsmith, although it had been particularly pointed out in the account of his life—his *Introduction to Brooke's Natural History*—and have only given his ‘Preface’ to that work, far inferior to the former. This is what they got by quarrelling with me for only supplicating a little assistance in advance to Goldsmith's poor niece, who was starving, for I would have given them every advice and direction gratis; but they carried their ill-humour so far as to refuse to let me see and make some corrections in the MS. Life of Goldsmith, which had been compiled under my direction. They have also omitted noticing that the Epilogue, now first printed in vol. ii. p. 82, is given from a MS. in Dr. Goldsmith's own handwriting, which he had given to me as well as the other, which they have noticed in the note p. 88. I have only just looked into vols. ii. and iv. and immediately stumbled upon these defects; I fear I shall find others.

“I gave them the foregoing original unedited poems of Goldsmith in consideration of their delivering 250 copies for me to dispose of for the benefit of Goldsmith's poor relations, of which 125 might be sold in England, the remainder in Ireland.”—Letter to Mr. Nichols, May 19, 1802. Nichols, *Illustr. of Lit.* vi. p. 583.

Bp. Percy to W. H. Browne.

Nov. 2, 1802.

“When I was last in England I applied to you in behalf of a poor niece of our excellent poet Dr. Goldsmith, the daughter of his brother, to whom he addressed his fine poem, ‘The Traveller,’ thinking she was a proper object of some charity at your disposal.

“You then rectified my mistake in that particular, but most kindly offered to promote the sale of an edition of her uncle's works, which I was then promoting for her benefit. This was published in 4 vols. 8vo., to which I contributed materials for an improved account of the author's life, and the publishers gave me 200 copies to be disposed of for the benefit of his poor relations.”—P. 370.—F.

¹ On Mrs. Percy's death, see *Gent.'s Mag.*, Jan. 1807. She died at Dromore House, Dec. 30, 1806, aged 74.—F.

² Jan. 11, 1805.—My eyes are declining so fast that, although I sketched out part of the notes, which I could scarce read when I had written them, yet the rest being committed to a secretary, I must recommend them, as well as what I had written myself, to a careful examination. Nichols, vi. 585.

Dec. 11, 1805.—The failure of my sight, which is nearly approaching to total blindness, and it is with difficulty I transcribe my name, will prevent me from attending Parliament in person. Nichols, vi. 586.

Percy to Dr. G. Somers Clarke.

Feb. 26, 1807.

The Bishop of Dromore was duly favoured with Dr. Clarke's obliging

perfect equanimity; and one of his relatives who, as a boy, could just recollect him, informed the writer of this sketch that it was quite a pleasure to see even then his gentleness, amiability, and fondness for children. Every day used to witness his strolling down to a pond in the palace garden in order to feed his swans, who were accustomed to come at the well-known sound of the old man's voice.

And now the time began to approach when Percy's career on earth was to close, and the new life begin. Most of his old contemporaries and friends had passed away, Johnson and Garrick among the number; tutor and pupil, as was meet, finding graves side by side in Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. Sir Joshua Reynolds had been laid in the crypt of St. Paul's, a sepulchre appropriated to painters; and Gray and Burke had found quiet resting-places, the former in the pretty churchyard of Stoke Pogis, near the distant spires and antique towers of his beloved Eton; the latter in the old church at Beaconsfield, in Buckinghamshire. Percy lingered on until 1811, and on the 30th of September in that year departed in Christian hope. His remains were deposited with those of Mrs. Percy in the transept which he had added to Dromore Cathedral, amidst the regrets of all classes of society. The following epitaph is inscribed on a mural tablet near the grave:

Near¹ this place are interred the remains of the Right Rev.

letter, but with deep regret he is obliged to inform him that he is prevented from entering into a proper investigation of the important subject of it by a failure of sight, which has long been coming on, and is nearly arrived at total blindness. *Nichols*, viii. 385.

Nov. 3, 1807.—The Bishop of Dromore is in excellent health, but his sight has long since totally failed him. H. E. Boyd. *Nichols*, vi. 387.

The complaint seems to have begun in 1803.

April 28, 1803.—Mr. E. Ledwich says, "I was much concerned to hear from Sir Richard Musgrave that your Lord-

ship was affected with the prevalent epidemic. As he informs me it has created a complaint in your eyes, the disorder is more manageable, and I hope will be of short continuance. People . . . laugh at us who think it possesses some quality of the plague; and yet from its universality there are grounds to believe so . . . I know of no one in a most numerous acquaintance who has escaped." *Nichols*.—F.

¹ The above epitaph is inscribed on a tablet of white marble, on a larger one of grey, and above is a Mitre, surmounting a Bible, and a pastoral staff upon a cushion. Beneath are the arms

Thomas Percy, D.D., Lord Bishop of Dromore, to which see he was promoted in May, MDCCCLXXXII., from the Deanery of Carlisle in England. This elevated station he filled nearly thirty years, residing constantly in his Diocese, and discharging the duties of his sacred office with vigilance and zeal, instructing the ignorant, relieving the necessitous, and comforting the distressed with pastoral affection. Revered for his piety and learning, and beloved for his universal benevolence by all ranks and religious denominations, he departed this life on the 30th day of September, in the year of our Lord MDCCCXI. in the eighty-third year of his age.

In the same grave are deposited the remains of Anne his wife, daughter of Barton Goodriche¹, Esq., of Desborough, Northamptonshire, whose estimable conduct through life rendered her the worthy partner of such a husband. She died on the 30th of December, MDCCCVI. aged LXXIV. years.

This memorial of dutiful affection is inscribed by their surviving daughters, Barbara Isted and Elizabeth Meade.

Two daughters survived Percy—the one, wife of Archdeacon the Honourable Pierce Meade; and the other, who had married Ambrose Isted, Esq., of Ecton House, in the county of Northampton, not far from the old parsonage at Easton Maudit; and a son of each is still alive (1867).

It may be worth while to mention that three portraits of Percy are supposed to be still in existence; the location of the first, a fine one, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is unknown.² It was painted in May, 1773, and represents him habited in a black gown and bands, with a loose black cap on his head, resembling a turban, and in his hand the MS. folio the very existence of

of the see of Dromore, and also a lion rampant for Percy. The cathedral itself is an unpretending structure, consisting of nave without choir, only a northern transept; and at the western end of the building is a large square tower.—J. P.

¹ Aristocratic for *Gutteridge*, as before noticed, p. xxxii.—F.

² From the circumstance of no portrait of Percy hanging in Christ Church Hall, *à priori*, it may be concluded that he was not a Student of the House, otherwise one of so distinguished a

man would most likely have had an honoured niche. With the exception of the very old ones, the portrait of no one is permitted there except he has been a Student; could an exception have been made, it would have been to admit that of the late Sir Robert Peel, so distinguished an ornament of Christ Church. It may well excite astonishment to see the number of eminent men who have been on the foundation of that college.—J. P.

which was denied by Ritson. Engravings of this are frequently to be met with. Another, painted by Abbot in 1797, hangs at Ecton House, where is also the portrait of Mrs. Percy, with a scroll in her left hand, on which the ballad "O Nanny" is inscribed. In this he is depicted in the episcopal dress of rochet and chimere, wearing the usual wig; and an engraving of this is prefixed to the Percy Correspondence in Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*. The artist and location of a third in water colours are not known: it represents the Bishop in his garden at Dromore, when totally blind, feeding his swans. An excellent copy of this is in the possession of his grandson, Edward Meade, Esq.; and a very good engraving of it is to be found in vol. iii. of the *Decameron* of the learned Dr. Dibdin.¹

The writer of this sketch cannot conclude without thanking his friends, the Rev. Henry Smith, M.A., sometime Student of Christ Church, and now Vicar of Easton Maudit, and also the Rev. William Dunn Macray, M.A., Chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford, for much valuable information imparted, and great kindness shown, in facilitating his researches.²

APPENDIX.

I. The following list of the Literary Club, founded by Dr. Johnson and his friend Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1764, and of which Percy was, in 1810, the only survivor of the original members, is extracted from the end of one of Malone's letters to him in the Bodleian Library, and bears the date of April 30, 1810. So exclusive was the Club, that at the time of its formation even David Garrick sought admission into its ranks in vain,

¹ An ignorant pretender, without the learning of a school-boy, who published a quantity of books swarming with errors of every description.—A. Dyce.

The epithet *learned* given to my old friend Dr. D. is not very applicable, although he published much on learned

subjects. It ought to be noticed that in his *Decameron* he gives rather a minute account of the Percy MS.—D. Laing.

² To Dr. Rimbault, Mr. Chappell, the Rev. A. Dyce, Mr. David Laing, and Mr. Furnivall my thanks are also due.—J. P.

though ultimately admitted. The English Roscius is reported to have said to Sir Joshua Reynolds, "I like it much, *I think* I shall be of you." "He'll be of us!" exclaimed Johnson when he heard of it, in great wrath; "how does he know we will *permit* him? The first duke in England has no right to hold *such* language!"

1. THE BISHOP OF DROMORE	1764	19. DR. VINCENT, DEAN OF	
2. SIR CHARLES BUNBURY	1774	WESTMINSTER	1800
3. MR. SHERIDAN	1777	20. WILLIAM LOCK	1800
4. THE EARL OF OSSORY	1777	21. GEORGE ELLIS	1801
5. SIR JOSEPH BANKS	1778	22. LORD MINTO	1802
6. RIGHT HON. WM. WINDHAM	1778	23. SIR WM. GRANT, MASTER	
7. RIGHT HON. SIR WM. SCOTT	1778	OF THE ROLLS	1803
8. THE EARL SPENCER	1778	24. SIR GEORGE STAUNTON	1803
9. EDMOND MALONE	1782	25. CHARLES WILKINS	1806
10. DR. BURNET	1784	26. RIGHT HON. WM. DRUMMOND	1806
11. JOHN COURTENAY	1788	27. SIR HENRY HALFORD	1806
12. SIR CHARLES BLAGDEN	1794	28. SIR HENRY ENGLEFIELD	1808
13. JAMES KENNELL	1795	29. LORD HOLLAND	1808
14. HON. FREDERICK NORTH	1797	30. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN	1808
15. GEORGE CANNING	1799	31. CHARLES	1808
16. WILLIAM MARSDEN	1799	32. CHARLES VAUGHAN	1809
17. RIGHT HON. JOHN H. FERRIS	1800	33. HUMPHREY DAVY	1809
18. RIGHT HON. THOMAS GREEN-		34. REV. DR. BONNEY	1809
VILLE	1800	35. VACANT	

II. The following lines, written by Bishop Percy, have never before been published. They show that the attachment to Mrs. Percy, the "Nanny of his Muse," was of a most permanent kind:

"On leaving ———, on a tempestuous night, March 22, 1788, by Dr. Percy."

Deep howls the storm with chilling blast,
Fast falls the snow and rain,
Down rush the floods with headlong haste,
And deluge all the plain.

Yet all in vain the tempest roars,
And whirls the drifted snow;
In vain the torrents scorn the shore,
To *Delia* I must go.

In vain the shades of evening fall,
And horrid dangers threat,
What can the lover's heart appal,
Or check his eager feet?

The darksome vale the fearless tries,
 And winds its trackless wood ;
 High o'er the cliff's dread summit flies,
 And rushes through the flood.

Love bids atchieve the hardy task,
 And act the wondrous part,
 He wings the feet with eagle's speed,
 And lends the lion-heart.

Then led by thee, all-powerful boy,
 I'll dare the hideous night,
 Thy *dart* shall guard me from annoy,
 Thy *torch* my footsteps light.

The cheerful blaze—the social hour,
 The friend—all plead in vain,
 Love calls—I brave each adverse power
 Of peril and of pain.

III. *Letters of Percy as to the Continuation of the "Reliques."*

Alnwick Castle, Aug. 22, 1774.

As in three or four years I intend to publish a volume or two more of old English and Scottish poems, in the manner of my *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, I shall then insert some of these fragments [from a MS. collection of songs Mr. Paton had sent], if the editor will give me leave to transcribe and fillup the deficiencies of some of them in the manner I attempted before.—*Letters to Paton*, p. 48.

Percy to Pinkerton.

(*Nichols*, viii. p. 94.)

July 20, 1778.

And now let me again and again thank you for your most obliging present, which was extremely acceptable, both for the ancient poems and the learned and ingenious illustrations which accompanied them. I shall not fail to avail myself of both, as well as of the curious remarks in your letters, whenever I give the additional volumes to the world. The contents of these have long since been collected and arranged, and I flatter myself, in point of merit, are no whit inferior to what the public accepted with so much indulgence in the three former volumes. But the truth is, I

have not so much leisure, and perhaps not quite so keen an appetite, for amusements of this kind as when I was younger. It is near twenty years since I first began to form the preceding collection. I only considered these things as pardonable, at best, among the levities (I had almost said follies) of my youth. However, as I must confess that I have always had a relish for the poetic effusions (even the most sportive and unelaborate) of our ancestors, I have commonly taken up these trifles, as other grave men have done cards, to unbend and amuse the mind when fatigued with graver studies, till they have insensibly grown into a regular series, ready for the press; and now I keep them by me, in order to make a present of them to my son, a tall youth of fifteen, who is at present a King's Scholar at Westminster. And, as he has a strong relish and considerable taste for these compositions, I think to give him the merit of being editor of them as soon as he removes to the University, by way of introducing him into the literary world, and of filling up the vacuities of his academical studies. In the mean time I neglect no opportunity of amending and enlarging the series, and shall certainly much improve them for him by this delay.

And now, Sir, that I have imparted to you what is almost a secret to all my most intimate friends, I must entreat the favour of you that it may continue so, except to Dr. Beattie (or one or two like him), for whom I have ever had the greatest respect.

Carlisle (the Deanry), Nov. 27, 1778.

With regard to the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, I have a large fund of materials, which, when my son has completed his studies at the University, he may, if he likes it, distribute into one or more additional volumes; but I myself shall hardly find a vacancy now from more serious pursuits to carry them forward myself. I find not quite the same relish for these little amusing literary sallies as I did fifteen or sixteen years ago, when the former volumes were digested. (*Letters from Thos. Percy, D.D. &c., to George Paton, Edinb. 1830, p. 76-7.*)

Bishop Percy to Mr. Robert Jamieson.

(*Nichols, viii. p. 341.*)

Dromore, Ireland, April 4, 1801.

Sir—Till my nephew has completed his collections for the intended fourth volume, it cannot be decided whether he may not

wish to insert himself the fragments you desire ; but I have copied for you here that one which you particularly pointed out, as I was unwilling to disappoint your wishes and expectations altogether. By it you will see the defective and incorrect state of the old text in the ancient folio MS., and the irresistible demand on the editor of the *Reliques* to attempt some of those conjectural emendations which have been blamed by one or two rigid critics, but without which the collection would not have deserved a moment's attention. When your book is published, I shall be one of the first purchasers, but till then I must beg to postpone the subject ; and remain, with best wishes for your success, Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

THO. DROMORE.

IV. *Note on the Builder of the House in which Percy was born : p. xxviii. n.*

This old mansion was built by Richard Forester,¹ and was called "Foresters Folly." Richard Forester built it in 1580, that being the year of its completion. Part of an ancient oak partition or screen taken from the house now remains, with the date 1581 and the letters R F carved upon it. Anne, the daughter of this Richard Forester, was married in 1575 at Sutton Maddock to Richard Baxter, ancestor of William Baxter the antiquary mentioned by Mr. Bellett at page 183 of the *Antiquities of Bridgnorth*. A narrow passage from the Cartway to the River Severn, near the old house, is still called "Fosters Load." The name of this family seems to have been occasionally spelt and pronounced Forester, Forster, and Foster. Anthony Forster, mentioned in *Kenilworth* by Sir Walter Scott, who there spells the name *Foster*, was descended from the Forster who owned Evelith Manor, near Shiffnal, in the county of Salop ; and as he also owned lands in the parish of Sutton Maddock, in the same county, and bore the same arms as the Foresters, there is little doubt that they belong to the same family.

Dec. 1867.

HUBERT SMITH.

The house now belongs to one of our subscribers, Mr. Austin of Birmingham.—F.

¹ The "For*" on the house shows that the builder spelt his name *Forster*.—F.

V. *The Proof that Bishop Percy's Father was a Grocer.*

Since referring to the "Freeman's roll of the Borough of Bridgnorth," which only shows the occupation of Arthur Piercy, the grandfather of Bishop Percy, I have found an entry in the minutes of a "common hall" held on August 12, 1755, which refers to the occupation of Mr. Arthur Low Piercy. These minutes state that it is ordered and agreed that Arthur Piercy of Birmingham, the son of *Arthur Low Piercy of Bridgnorth, Grocer*, shall be admitted a burgess. The Arthur Piercy so admitted a burgess was the brother of Bishop Percy. At a subsequent "common hall" held on September 21, 1768, the Rev. Thomas Piercy (the Bishop) was also admitted a burgess of Bridgnorth as the son of "Arthur." In this minute no mention is made of the occupation of Bishop Percy's father, who is only entered in the name of "Arthur," and not "Arthur Low;" but in some instances the second christian name of the father had been before omitted. The family surname, like other family names, has also been from time to time variously spelt. This branch of the Percy family seem to have sought wealth in Bridgnorth, and to have thriven; and from the position they held in the administration of the public affairs of the town, they were evidently much respected. Such facts leave no possibility of doubt as to the occupation of the grandfather and father of Bishop Percy. Nor is it surprising that two of his ancestors were engaged in trade, when such opportunities of gaining wealth have been the means of resuscitating many a noble family,¹ and of placing others in the highest positions in the state; nor will the Bishop's fame shine with less lustre from such circumstance, nor his works be less appreciated; nor will the inhabitants of the town of his birth be less proud of the honour he reflects on Bridgnorth. The great attainments and private worth of Bishop Percy, which called forth a meed of praise from Dr. Johnson, when he mentions him as "a man out of whose company he never went without learning something," must ever receive public recognition.

Jan. 6, 1868.

HUBERT SMITH.

¹ The nobility of Percy's family would require very strong proof to any one knowing his inventive talents, and capability of adapting. He drew out his own pedigree from one of our kings; and if it were true, a note in *Nichols* (see next page) says that he was Earl of Northumberland. Was Percy the man not to have claimed his dignity

had he believed in its being his? Let those who like, believe it. I expect that he treated his pedigree as he did his ballads; filled up the gaps, and made it go smoothly. Had it been necessary to carry it back to Adam, it would have gone there without a check, under the Bishop's hands, we may be sure.—F.

VI. *Percy's Pedigree.*

Note † in Nichols's *Illustrations*, vi. 552. Dr. Percy took great pains in the investigation of his descent, a pedigree of which he communicated to Dr. Nash (see the *History of Worcestershire*, vol. ii. p. 318). It will there be perceived that it was his aim to identify his family with that of the descendants of Ralph, younger brother to the third Earl of Northumberland; and about 1795 he printed on a broadside a pedigree of the Earls of Northumberland, in which he introduced "the Worcester branch," as his own family is styled, *taking for granted the connection presumed in the History of Worcestershire*. Supposing the descent capable of proof, the Bishop was decidedly Earl of Northumberland; but he left no relation to inherit his claims.

In 1765 Percy contemplated writing *The History of the House of Percy* for his patrons, but Grainger dissuaded him from doing so. Nichols, *Illust.*, vii. 288.

VII. *Percy's Pieces of Runic Poetry.*

In his *Select Icelandic Poetry*, the Hon. W. Herbert says (notes on *The Death of Hacon*) "An English prose translation from the Latin version of Peringskiöld has been published by Percy in his *Runic Poetry*, which is not quite so inaccurate as the rest of that book; his translation of Regner Lodbroc's *Ode* teems with errors, and, indeed, scarce a line of it is properly interpreted." Nichols, vii. 128. Percy defends himself slightly at p. 130, and says that his translation was compared with the original by Lye, the author of the *Anglo-Saxon Lexicon*, &c.

NOTES.

(Professor Child's notes are signed —Ch., and Mr. Dyce's —D.)

- p. 1, on Robin Hood, see Mr. Joseph Hunter's pamphlet, 1850.—H. (= W. C. Hazlitt.)
- p. 2, *the Robin Hood ballads, &c.* The *Lytel Geste* is merely a few of the then most popular incidents in Robin Hood's life, woven into a consecutive narrative.—H.
- p. 4, l. 18. '1678.' The *Noble Birth* appeared in prose in 1662. Mr. Thoms reprinted the 1678 edition.—H.
- p. 16, l. 30, *shada*. "It has been suggested that this ought to be *brake*, and not *shada*."—Jamieson, ii. 51.
- p. 18, l. 64, for *me* read *the*.—Ch.
- p. 20, l. 14, *spray*, not *scray*: Sax. *sprec* = spray, sprig.—Ch. *Scray* is, I think, right. It has some relation to *scrob* or *scrog*, a north-country word for a bush or a piece of land covered with bushes. There was until a few years ago a place near Gainsbro', Lincolnshire, called Corringham Scroggs. It is shown on the Ordnance map. In the court roll of the manor of Kirton in Lindsey, Nov. 8, 6 Hen. VIII., this place is called "Coryngham Scrobbsae." The late Mr. Beriah Botfield has the following passage in an article in the *Collec. Archaeolog.*, vol. i. p. 10:
- "It is probable that Pengwern, or the hill of alders, was first covered with the rude dwellings of the Britons. . . . If they found it a hill of alders, they left it nearly in the same condition, as the Saxons termed it *Scrobdes-byrig*, meaning thereby a bury or general eminence overgrown with scrubs or shrubs."
- John Leyden in his ballad of Lord Soulis says:
- Now shall thine ain hand wale the tree
For all thy mirth and meikle pride;
And May shall choose, if my love she refuse,
A *scrog* bush thee beside.
- Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. 1861, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 253.
- Land covered with bushes is still called *scroggy* land in this county (Lincolnshire).—E. Peacock.
- p. 21, l. 48, read *itt time* for *time itt*.—Ch.
- p. 23, l. 59, *garded*, used like Old French *garder* = regard.—Ch.
- p. 23, l. 77, read *whigh[t]est*.—Ch.
- p. 27. Artillery used to mean bows and arrows. See authorised version of Bible: "Jonathan gave his *artillery* to the lad." 1 Sam. xx. 40.—E. Peacock.
- p. 29, l. 47, read [a] whole *convent*.—Ch. and D. A soldier would have said "regiment": a friar says "convent."—H. H. Gibbs.
- note 1, l. 4, read Lilly.—Ch.

- p. 30, l. 52, read *fute* for *fate*.—Ch.
 l. 64, read *over gods forbott*.—Ch.
- p. 32, *Robin Hood & the Pindar of Wakefield*. See Halliwell's *Descriptive Notices*, 1848, p. 8-9, No. 7, "The History of George a Green, Pindar of the Town of Wakefield, &c." "Had you heard of Bevis of Southampton, the Counter-scuffle, Sir Eglamore, John Dory, the Pindar of Wakefield, Robin Hood, or Clem of the Cluff; these no doubt had been recommended to the Vatican without any *Index Expurgatorius* or censure at all." Gayton's *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 21, *ib.*—F.
 "the two old plays of the 'Downfall and Death of Robert Earle of Huntington,' 1601." *The Downfall* was written by Anthony Munday; *The Death* by Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle.—D. (= A. Dyce.)
- p. 33, "George a Green" and "The Pinner of Wakefield." These are undoubtedly one and the same play: it may be found, with a tolerably amended text, in both my editions of the *Works of Robert Greene*.—D.
- l. 4. Mr. Hazlitt believes that an earlier copy of the prose history of *George a Green* was printed before the play acted on Dec. 28, 1593, because "dramatists, being usually necessitous persons on the look out for saleable themes, availed themselves of subjects which had already taken possession of the public. The one exception is the novel on the history of Pericles, by George Wilkins the younger, 1608, 4to, a prose narrative formed out of a drama, not as it was printed, but as it was performed." But why could not the ballad have been the original of the play?—F.
- p. 34. Making a path over corn was considered a very grave crime, much greater than the mere destruction would account for. Our Lincolnshire people still think a man very much more wicked who walks or drives cattle over corn than if he did a piece of waste to a similar amount in another manner. See *Mirk*, p. 46, l. 1503. E. E. Text Soc. 1868.
 "Art þou I-wont ouer corn to ryde,
 When þou mygtest haue go by syde."—E. Peacock.
- p. 36, *benbous*, note, should be *bend-bow*, not *bent-bow*. He'd be a bad bowman who bore a *bent* bow, except when shooting. A *bend-bow* would mean a bow which one bends.—H. H. Gibbs. I am pretty sure it is a crossbow, and that I've seen it in inventories.—E. Peacock.
- p. 37, *Robin Hood & Quene Katherine*. In some of the modern collections this is called "Robin Hood and the Golden Arrow."—H.
- p. 38, for V. 56 read V. 65.—D.
- p. 39, l. 14, *Westchester*. Camden gives the Roman, British, and Saxon names of the town, and adds "Nos contractius *West Chester*, ab occidentali situ." *Britannia*, edit. 1607, p. 458. So called in contradistinction to Chester-le-street, Chester Magna, Chester Parva, Chesterfield, Chesterton, and a hundred other Chesters throughout England. *Notes & Queries*, June 7, 1851, vol. iii. p. 459-60. "1566-7. Rd. of Thomas purfoote, for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett intituled *Weste chester* aboundeth w^t. humble benedictions, iijj⁴." *Collier's Extracts*, from Registers of Stationers' Comp. i. 155.—F.
- p. 45, l. 117. It is a law of the Catholic church that mass should not be said after twelve at noon. The point here is that the bishop has been made to do a thing contrary to ecclesiastical law.—E. Peacock.
- p. 48, l. 31, fare—"go on."—Ch.
- p. 53, "Le Morte de Robin Hode" is not in Hone's *Every-Day Book*, but in his *Year-Book*, July 6, p. 403, Tegg's reprint. The old collection of songs from which it is printed, is *not* stated to be in the possession of the editor (Hone), but of his correspondent, J. F. R. I don't believe, however, a

word about such a collection. It is clearly a modern forgery written since Percy's time. The article before it, a poem, is called "An Adventure in Sherwood Forest," and is signed by the same or another J. F. R., who dates from *Walsworth*. There can be no doubt they are both by the same hand.—E. Peacock.

p. 54, l. 18, read *nor* [*no*] *man*.—Ch.

l. 25, note to *shots* certainly wrong: cf. "Robin Hood & Monk," l. 89-90.—Ch.

p. 55, note 2, say rather *blissan* (i.e. *be-lissan*) without the proposition *be*.—Ch.

p. 57, *shop* window is surely *shot* window, a little window to shoot out of, or a little window with a sliding door. In my book on *Church Furniture*, you will find, p. 208, in the inventory of the goods of St. Mary's Gild, Boston, "a stonyng awmery with dyvers boxes to *shots* in & owte with evidences." This, I take it, was a Flemish cabinet full of small drawers.—E. Peacock. Fr. *volet*: m. . . a shut, or wooden window to shut over a glasse one (as *Contre-fenestre*), t.i. A wooden window (on the outside of a glasse one), Cotgrave.—F.

l. 73, *shot* windowe, certainly, as in *Adam Bel*.—Ch.

l. 75, *grounden*.—Ch.

l. 85, 86, is it possible that mood should be [the] *reed*? I hardly think it.—Ch.

note 2, why *spear-head*?—Ch.

p. 60, l. 7, read *doigt* for *doight*.—Ch.

l. 13 from bottom, end of paragraph, read thus:

Cumment . . . *Jerkusalems* et per . . . *Constantinoble* per vere . . .

Sagas of *Karla Magnus* og *Koppum* hans.

(It has been printed *Hoppum* repeatedly, which has no meaning. *Koppum* (i.e. *Kappum* from *Kappi*) = *haroibus*). The title was originally given by Hickee, *Thesaurus*, iii. 314).—Ch. *Hoppum* *Hans* = *His Hops* or *Jumps*! The right title is: *Karlagnus-Saga* ok *Kappa* *Hans* (= *Saga* of *Charlemagne* and his *Champions*) of *C. R. Unger* (= edited by *C. R. Unger*—a most excellent editor, by the way), *Christiania*, 1860.—Anon.

last line but five, *elevatio* (not *Elevatio*).—Ch.

p. 62, l. 22, read *rield*, a Chaucerian word.—Ch.

p. 64, l. 72, is gone.—Ch.

p. 66, l. 122, *goome* beyond question, I should say.—Ch.

p. 68, n. 1, l. 6, read *solidité*.—Ch.

p. 69, l. 125, read *he* *had*, for *had* *he*.—Ch.

p. 75, l. 12, a *graine*. Percy is, I think, clearly wrong here: the lady was sitting in the *grain* of a tree, that is in the fork of the branches. It is, I presume, the same word as *grois* (see Richardson, *sub voc.*), the part that divides or separates. It is a word of constant use in Lincolnshire; my work-people use it to me almost every time I talk of trees—e.g., the gardener said, "You must tell Miss Florence, sir, that the miseltee-thrush has begun to build in the *grain* of the Heals pear tree." The word frequently becomes (by corruption, I think) *graining*—e.g., "If you eat the cherry-tree top off above the *graining* it will be sure to grow; if you go below them, it will be sure to die."—E. Peacock.

p. 76, l. 25, read *misses* for *mists*.—Ch. and D.

l. 25, De la Pryme, who wrote a *Hist. of Winterton*, co. Line. in 1703, printed by me in the *Archæologia*, vol. xl. p. 230, says: "Now William ye Conqueror haveing ye whole nation at command, began to *undethink* himself how he might gratify his favourites."—E. Peacock.

- p. 76, l. 40, read *meo doe*.—Ch.
 p. 79, *Captaine Carre*. See Shenstone's letter (24 Sept. 1761) in Nichols's *Illustr.* vii. 220-2; "His [Percy's MS.] will, however, tend to enrich *Edmond of Gordon* with two of the prettiest stanzas I ever saw, beside many other improvements."—F.
 p. 81, l. 30, read *lands*?—Ch.
 p. 83, l. 76, *Bufs* is certainly a blunder for *Busks*.—D. and Ch.
 p. 92, l. 35, read *you tow*?—Ch.
 1. 56, *hawtinge* = *hawtane* (*hawtane* in *hy*, exceedingly haughty, Golog. & Gaw. 954).—Ch.
 p. 93, l. 81, read *pall*.—Ch.
 p. 94, l. 89, *I maruell hane*, ? *I maruell sair* (sore)?—D.
 1. 93 (and l. 224), why not read *may*?—Ch.
 p. 95, l. 126, 133, *yare* = *ere*, of course.—Ch.
 p. 96, l. 155, read *gods*.—Ch.
 1. 165, "to my pay," i.e. "to my satisfaction."—D.
 1. 172, read *thee fall*: cf. p. 107, l. 29.—Ch.
 p. 97, l. 192, *bray* = Sax. *bregtan*, jactare.—Ch.
 1. 196, read *mo*: l. 181, comma after *good*: 182, : after *play*.—Ch.
 p. 98, l. 199, *chymney*, see Way's note on Fomerel, *Promptorium*, p. 169. He says that the Fomerel was a kind of lantern, or turret open at the sides, which rose out of the roof of the hall, and permitted the escape of the smoke: the "lovir or fomerill, where the smoake passeth out," *Withal's Dict.* The term chimney seems not to have been originally synonymous with fomerel, but to have signified an open fire-place or chafer, such as the "chymneye with charecole," in the pavilion, in the *Auntys of Arthure*. Cecilia de Homildon in 1407 bequeaths "unum magnum caminum de ferro, Abbathie de Durham."

Damesele, loke thar be
 A fyure in the chymenē,
 flagattus of fyre tre
 That fetchyd was jare.

Sir Isumbras, l. 1378, p. 234, *Thornton Rom.*—F.

There is an ancient "lovir or fomerill" of this kind yet remaining *in situ* on the roof of the hall of Lincoln College, Oxford.

The following note from a scarce and very learned book is perhaps worth reprinting:

"The fire was at this period [1362], and for three centuries afterwards, generally made upon the hearth-stone, upon a level with the floor; and that it was a fire indeed, is abundantly proved from the wide chimney-ranges which may still be seen in our ancient houses. Occasionally, however, an iron grate was used by the higher classes: this, which they call their iron chimney, was not a fixture attached to the wall like our modern fire-grates, but loose and moveable from room to room. The iron chimney was so important an article of furniture, that it is frequently entailed by will upon son after son in succession, along with the Flanders chest and over-sea coverlid." Rev. James Raine, D.C.L., *Hist. of North Durham*, p. 101.

The same book informs us that in 1616 Margaret Crane had a suit against Jane Gates, in the Tweedmouth Manor Court, for wrongfully detaining her chimney. *Ibid.*, 243.

Chimney-backs were frequently ornamented with the legends of holy scripture or the heathen mythology. Sometimes they had coats of arms in them. I possess the back of one which was removed many years ago from

the Old Hall at Gainsbro'; it is dated 1658, and charged with the arms of Hickman, *Party per pale indented impaling a saltire coupé*. The tinctures are of course not shown. The second coat is meant for Nevill, but has been blundered either by the person who drew the design or the man who executed it.—E. Peacock.

p. 98, l. 220, *bowles* = *bailes*, handles.—Ch.

p. 98, l. 232, read [is] *invisible* g[r]ay.—Ch.

l. 232, *Steddies* must be certainly *stithy* (or *stiddie*) a very common northern word for *Smithy*.—H. H. Gibbs.

note 4, for *walling* read *welling*.—D.

p. 101, l. 284, *mayd* should be *may*.—D.

l. 301, threat, apparently without words. Icelandic *þræta* = *verbis contendere*, &c.—Ch.

p. 104, l. 18, read *dish-water*.—Ch.

p. 106, "Sir Steven, mentioned in v. 115," read "in v. 116."—D.

p. 106, l. 5, read, "And there he hath with [him] Queene Genever." See the preceding line but one.—D. and Ch.

p. 116, l. 168, that's *but skill*? but reason.—Ch.

p. 119, "And in the *Varietie*, 1649." The reader ought to have been told that this is a comedy by William Duke of Newcastle.—D.

p. 121, l. 18, read '*Musgreue*.'—Ch.

l. 27. Mold. ? Wold.—H.

p. 122, l. 42, *heathen* can't be right. The reference is to an unborn child, as is obvious from "God be with them all *three*."—Ch. *Heathen* means 'unbaptised.'—Karl Blind.

p. 123. I haue bin at *Musselborow*,
At the Scottish feild. . .

1679, *The Marriage of Wit & Wisdom*, p. 41, l. 5, ed. 1846.

See Cotton MS. Cleopatra, A. xi.: "Recit de l'Expedition en Ecosse l'an 1547, et de la bataille de Musselberg; par le sieur Berteville: dedié au roy Edward VI."—F. Musleboorowe Feild is referred to in Tottel's Miscellany 1557. The Protector Somerset was accompanied to this battle (September 10, 1547) by William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh; this was Cecil's first piece of known service.—Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, ed. 1779, i. 6.—Haslitt.

p. 124, last line, is *conat* right?—Ch.

p. 121, l. 21, read *plague*.—Ch.

l. 25, rhyme requires *newer had*.—Ch.

l. 29, rhyme requires *children & race*.—Ch.

l. 30, rhyme requires *an end I make*.—Ch. and D.

p. 122, l. 7, read *Hildebrand*: l. 9, *Gamle*.—Ch.

p. 123, l. 6, *mésalliance*.—Ch.

p. 124, l. 20, read *on one*.—Ch.

p. 127, l. 20, dele *by*: cf. l. 24.—Ch.

p. 122. *Sir Lambewell*. For notices of three other MS. copies of Sir Launfal (besides that here printed) see Halliwell's "Mythology of A Midsummer Night's Dream," 1845. The fabliau or romance of *Launfal* is printed in Le Grand's *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1829; and an English paraphrase of it appeared in "Tales of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," translated from the French of Le Grand (? by George Ellis) 1796.—H. See Appendix.

- p. 144, l. 6, Percy's note ought to be corrected.—Ch. *Wide where* is common in the sense *far and wide*.—Skcat.
- p. 147, l. 75, read *basin*.—Ch.
l. 95, read *is* much fairer.—Ch.
l. 96, the rhyme requires *star*, which is sense.—Ch.
l. 97, ? "as far a *deale*."—D.
- p. 148, l. 121, *Ermine*?—Ch.
l. 131, belongs with 132 rather than with 130.—Ch. ? read *her hair* for *for it*.—F.
- p. 149, l. 152, *your* should be *you* (cf. 92, v. 35): is it not meant for *you* in MS.?—Ch.
- p. 151, l. 204, *gy. of we meete*?—Ch.
l. 206-8 should be pointed:
"And thus he ryds thorrowout the citty,
While (*until*) he came there (*where*) he should have beene:
A merryer man they neere had seene."—Brockie.
l. 215, 216, *wotts, gotts*, are impossible, and clearly slips of the pen.—Ch.
- p. 152, note 1, no doubt about *large* meaning liberal: common in French, and in this poem.—Ch.
l. 263, why not spell *Madam* right?—Ch.
- p. 153, l. 281. Mr. Halliwell's fragment has "And without ye Juge ryght."—F.
l. 282, *yenders night*=*ender night*. *Ender-day* is common enough, in the sense of past, or passing, day.—Ch.
- p. 154, note 2, *clepas* is not common: *cleopian, dipian*, is the ordinary form.—Ch.
- p. 155, l. 352. The Douce fragment reads:
"The day was set her in to bryng."—F.
- p. 157, l. 414, *evermoes*, as in l. 392 also.—Ch.
- p. 159, l. 462, *of soe rich a wise*.—Ch.
l. 475, *at Lamwell* by. l. 477, *no tarrying* (*t* caught from *tarry*).—Ch.
- p. 161, l. 541, *Knight* should be *King*.—Ch.
- p. 165, l. 13, read *Gamle Folkeviser*.—Ch. *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser* (*Denmark's Old Popular Songs*) is a well known book by S. Grundtvig—published not many years ago.—Anon.
- p. 166, l. 2, read *Gunder*.—Ch.
- p. 167, l. 13, *the lazar*. In his edition of *The Romance of the Emperor Octavian*, Percy Soc. 1844, Mr. Halliwell compares with the lazar put by Aldingar in the Queen's bed, the cook's knave sent by the Emperor's mother to the Empress's bed, in order to persuade the Emperor that his wife's twins are not his too.—F.
- p. 168, l. 47, more probably *lodly love*, as Percy has it: cf. l. 59.—Ch.
- p. 171, l. 126, *his nest*.—Ch.
- p. 172, l. 160, *seemest* as bigge.—Ch. *Fooder* means a "wine-tun" (German *Fuder*), and is applied to Aldingar for his obesity. The hope that "God will send to us auger" carries out the idea of an auger being used to tap a cask, and implies that the "little one" hopes to let out Aldingar's life-blood.—W. L. Blackley.
- p. 173, l. 202. *Castile wall*, read *wold* or *mold*.—H.
- p. 177, l. 49, read *landes feer* for *Land selfeer*.—Ch.
- p. 178, l. 79, read *Scales*.—Ch.
- p. 182, for *Green Slaves*, read *Green Sleeves*, a famous tune, mentioned by Shakspeare and many others.—D.

- p. 122, l. 2. Guilpin's book appeared in 1598.—H.
 p. 125, l. 87, read *ever alaake*, (see p. 169, l. 65, 67).—Ch.
 l. 100, I think Percy right in *twine*.—Ch.
 p. 127, l. 143, read *fals steward* (*st* taken from *steward*).—Ch.
 p. 122, l. 272, *knee* ought to be *eye*, see l. 262.—Ch.
 p. 127, l. 416, *I wis*—certainly; no question about it. Where is there a case of *I wis*—I know?—Ch. In "*as I wis*," *John de Beane*, l. 627, p. 563, vol. ii.—F.
 p. 202, Dr. Wm. Knight's account of Flodden is in Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd series, vol. i. p. 163.—Ch.

Lesley's account of Flodden is as follows: "In this meane tyme the Erle of Surry come fra the New castell with ane army of xl thousand men, and marcheit our the watter of Till touart Flowdown hillis, quhair the King lay; quhair thair wes herrald send one every syd, and the day of the battell appointit, to meit on the watter of Till the ix day of September; quhair the King tuik his campt and prepsirit him self redie for the battell, placeand his ordinanceis and artillarie for the same, and send his querull in writt to the said Erle with llay the herrald, on the nyecht preceeding the battell, beiring thair wordis:

"Quhair it is alleged that we are cum in Ingland aganis oure band and promeis, thairto we ansuer; Our brodir wes bound als far to us as we wer to him; and quhen we suare last befor his ambassade in presens of oure counsall, we expressit speciallie in oure aithe, that we wald keip to our brodir gif oure broder kepit to us, and nocht ellis. We sueir oure brodir brak first to us, and sen his brek we haif required diuerse tymes him to amend, and lailtie we warnit oure broder, as he did nocht us or he brak. And this we tak for oure quarell, and with Godis grace sall defend the same at your defixit tyme, quhilk we sail abyd."

"And quhen the day of the feild wes cumin, and the King marchand forwart toward the place quhair his enemye did campt the nycht preceeding, quhair he had the advantage of the grund, he wes schortlie advertised of the craft of the Inglis men, quha had that mornng raiset thair campt, and marcheand about diuerse hills and straittis, passit betwix the King and Scotland, thinckand to haif inuaidit thame on thair backis, bot maid continewance to pas in Scotland, and burnit the Merse; sua the King wes maid to beleif be ane Englishman callit Giles Mouegraef, quhilk wes his famelier and espy, that the same wes done for ane pollicie, to caus the King and his army to leif the strenthe and com down fra the hill callit Flowdoun; and in his dounes cumin the Inglis ordinance schot fast and did greit akaie the, and slew his principall gunnaris; bot the Kingis artillarie did small skaith; be ressoun of the hiecht quhair thay stude, they shot over the Inglis army. Thay marchand forward; the Erle of Huntly haveand the vandgard, the Lord Hume and his frindes beand with him. The Erles of Crawford and Montrois had the reirgard, and the King him self wes in the gret battell, and with him the Erles of Argile, Lennox and dyvers utheris. One the Inglis syd, the Erle of Surryes eldest sone had the vandgard, and Sir Edward Stanly, knyght, had the reirgard, and the Erle of Surry had the greit battell."

"The Scottis vantgard feiralie sett on with speris and lang weaponis, and certane horseman, and threw the maist part of the said vandgard of Ingland to the erd, slew mony of their folkis, and the uthers fled; yit thay quha did eschape joynt thame selfs to thair greit battell; quhilk the King persevand, beleiving all to be his awin, and that the ennemies had givin bakkis, avanceit forduart the battell, nocht abyding the reirgard, him self being on fute with thame, set encourageouslie on the Erle of Surris battell, quhair, eftir mony arrowis schott on everie syde, and greit skaith done

thairwith, the said Sir Edward Stanley with his reirgaird come fireselie doun of the hill of Brankistoun upoun the back of the Kingis army, quhairin thay faucht cruellye one baith syds lang space; at last the victory inclinit to the Inglis men, and mony of the Scottis men slane or takin prisoneris; yit nochtttheas thair wes in that battell ane griter nombre of the Inglis men slane nor of the Scottis men. In this feld wes slane the King, the bischop of St. Androis his bastard sonne, the Erles of Crawford, Montrois, Erroll, Athole, with dyverse utheris, lordis and baronis.

On the morin the Inglis men caused seik the of Kinge James, body quihilk thay allegit thay gat, and carriit to Berwyk and fra that to Richemond. Bot it is haldin for truth that the same wes the body of ane vther Scottis man callit the laird of Bonehard, quha wes slane in the saide feild. And it wes affirmit be sindre that the Kinge wes sene that same nycht levand at Kelso, and wes commonlie haldin that he wes yit levand, and past in uther cuntries, speciallie to Jerusalem and the hally graif, to dryfe furth the rest of his dayis in pennance for his bygane and former offenceis. Bot howevir the matter come, he appeirit nochit in Scotland eftir as King, no more than Charles Duik of Burgonye did appeir in his cuntreis eftir the battell of Nantsi; quhowbeit his pepill hald that vane opinione that he escapit fra that disconfiture alyve, and wald returne againe.

This battell done, the Inglis men being sa soir handilit thairat, and as mony of thair folkis slane, thay wor glaid to returne within thair cuntrey without farder invasion of Scotland, and sua the bourdouris wes at greit quietnes all the nixt yeir thaireftir.

This battell wes callit the feild of Flowdoun be the Scottis men, and Brankistoun be the Inglis men, becaus it wes striken one the hillis of Flowdoun besyd ane townn callit Brankistoun, and wes strikin the ix day of September 1513, at fore aftire none. The King deit thane in the xxv yeir of his regne, and xxxix yeir of his aige.—*Lesley's Historie of Scotland*, p. 94-96.

- p. 211. The epitaph in Flamborough Church was printed by me in the *Gent's Mag.* 1864, vol. i. p. 93. It had several times appeared in type before, but never accurately. I have not Weber's book to consult, but your quotation is not quite accurate. You may trust my imprint, for I copied it myself from the tomb. I send you a correction of the misprints, that if you should ever reprint it, you may make it *quite* right:

l. 8, for first *This* read *That*.

l. 11, small *x* for northe folke.

l. 21, strickith not stricketh.

l. 25, *yow* for *you*.—E. Peacock.

- l. 3. See Greene's James IV., 1598; La Rotta d' Soccesi; Ritson's Ancient [Ballads, &c., 1829, ii. 70-1. The piece in Harl. MS. 3526 is a superior copy of what was printed in 1664 and in 1674.—H.

- p. 212. In the 1829 edition of Ritson's *Anc. Songs* it is said that, though in the Catalogues, the MS. appears to have been lost or mislaid.—H.

l. 15, . after *Captaine*.—Ch.

- p. 213, l. 16-19, punctuation wrong: (needs correction in other parts of this poem.)—Ch.

p. 216, l. 86, read *lords*, *I you hete*.—Ch.

p. 217, note 5, read *glōa*.—Ch.

- p. 218, l. 111, read (probably) *called a carle*, but not necessarily: for *wold* is *was* in 111, 114.—Ch.

l. 112, read *doughtye* was, cf. l. 27.—Ch.

p. 219, l. 125, note, Percy's absurd derivation of *Kethericke* from the Saxon should be noticed.—Ch.

note 8, I wanted to express the fact that *light* is from Saxon *lēotan*, to cast lots: the phrase "light att a lott"—sortiti sunt sorte.—Ch.

p. 220, l. 155, why not read, *with those?*—Ch.

l. 166, read *be they mached* (*m* was caught from mached).—Ch.

p. 221, l. 170, *scacleck* is an unlikely form: better *skatell* (=injurious) as in *Lyme MS.* l. 243.—Ch.

p. 222, l. 200, *sett* again (l. 86) for *hete*.—Ch.

p. 223, l. 223, Percy's explanation is ridiculous.—Ch.

p. 225, l. 254, 257, read *fetteled*, *fetile*, for *setteled*, *settle*.—Ch.

p. 226, l. 269, *lanke* is *their losse*=meagre is their fame, would be good sense, but in l. 336 we have *lost is* (not in) their *loffe*, which, as a Saxon word, is more likely to be used than a French one. This makes me incline to "*lanke* is their *loffe*" in 269.—Ch.

l. 280, *wold with* (not *witt*)=*wold* [go] with: p. 392, l. 1204.

p. 227, l. 296, read *ferefly* for *freahly*.—Ch.

p. 228, l. 315, *saugh*, not *faugh*.—Ch.

p. 229, l. 330, *Cheshire* for *the shire*.—Ch.

l. 335, common meaning of *forward* is good enough.—Ch.

l. 336, *lost is*: note, Sax. is *laf*, not *lofe*.—Ch.

p. 223, note 4, why l. 161?—Ch.

p. 227, l. 39, 43, *bookes* should be *cookes*, see l. 55.—Ch.

l. 52, let me never *thee*.—Ch.

p. 242, l. 4, "where cappe and candle yooda." That the true reading is—"where *cuppe* and *candle stooode*," is *certo certius*. The quotation in the note about *cup* and *can* is a very unhappy one.—D.

Dyce would read with Percy, *caudle*, and says (*Skelton's Works*, ii. 267), "after the manner of great persons:" he is commenting on—

Where you were wonte to haue

caudels for your hede,

Nowe must you mouche

mammookes and lumps of bred.

Magnifycence, l. 2034; *Skelton's Works*, i. 291.

Cp. the ironical "Madame, I bileue now that your straunge knight shall haue yet, or it be nighte, grete nede of some softe bedde to lye in your chambre, by that tyme my brother hath brewed a *caudel* for his heed." Lord Berners's (translation of) *Arthur of Lytle Brytayne*, ed. 1814, p. 94.—F.

p. 252, "The pamphlet was dramatised by Robert Greene." See his "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" in my two editions of his *Works*.—D.

p. 256, l. 15, "shall gaine me favor from." An accidental transposition. Read, "shall gaine *favor from me*," or rather "shall *favor gaine from me*."—D.

p. 253, *Earles off Chester*. In the Harleian MS. 2149, fol. 198 back (or 179 b. in the Catalogue), is "A note of the dowings of Randle blundeveile, E. of Chester, partly out of a manuscript in the haendes of m^r bostock of Tathall, but put in verse by him, 1628." It is our *Earles off Chester*, less the first 250 lines, and with a few additions of lines here, omissions there, and differences of wording. Its first two lines are

Randle surnamed Blundeveile
the paragon of all the Ile.

Between lines 272 and 273, p. 282, it introduces

in leicestershire he had much land,
as well as men at his Comand.

and for lines 349 and 350, p. 285, it has :

but at the last the king returned
to-ward his land with fame full great.
By fraud of the Archduke he was
tooke prisoner, who for him layd wayd.

On the other hand, it omits lines 341-2, 353-4, 356. To our l. 291, p. 283, it has a side-note, "Acon is Ptolomias." Line 264, it reads as Cole's MS. does :

of Earldomes made a mighty mass.

And it has a few variations in the wording of some lines, as

<i>Folio</i> , p. 283, l. 316,	all the holds they had gott before
<i>Bostock</i> ,	the houlds which they had won before
<i>Folio</i> , p. 285, l. 348,	thé prisoners changed, & couenants kept
<i>Bostock</i> ,	thé prisoners changed, & sheur wach kept
<i>Folio</i> , p. 286, l. 398,	as scandall was to the estate
<i>Bostock</i> ,	& scandalize vnto the state
<i>Folio</i> , p. 287, l. 409-10,	about Douer : but with inward greife
	or surfett, John departs this life
<i>Bostock</i> ,	about this tyme by poyson rife
	king John departed from this life.—F.

p. 272, l. 17, read *Poes[ies]*.—Ch.

p. 280, l. 219, insert . after *worth*, and connect the next verse with the following stanza.—Ch.

p. 282, l. 257, read [*was*] *this younge Erle*.—Ch.

l. 264, read *a mass* for *in a see* (as in Cole's MS.).—Ch.

p. 291, l. 539, read *prince there hath*.—Ch.

p. 292, *Earls of Westmorlande*. See the Surtees Society's volume, No. 21, "Depositions respecting the Rebellion of 1569," &c., ed. by Dr. Raine.—H.

p. 294, *Earl of Westmoreland in Scotland*. See in notes to v. ii. the note on *John a Side*, ii. p. 203, last line but four, from *Maidment's Scottish Ballads*, i. 182-3.—F.

p. 296, l. 18, *a writer*. Lord Burleigh.—H.

p. 300, l. 6, *England free?*—Ch.

l. 8, *me flye*.—Ch.

p. 303, l. 79, read *middest of itt* : note 5 is wrong ; *fitt* is a song, and in no other sense a "*part*" of a poem.—Ch.

p. 304, l. 83, *Civill Land*, should be explained *Seville*.—Ch.

p. 311, l. 293, read *markt*.—Ch.

p. 313, *Flodden Field*. The short ballad printed in *Ritson's Ancient Songs*, 1790, p. 117, and *Weber's Flodden Field*, 1808, has been reprinted by Mr. Maidment in his *Scottish Ballads*, 1868, p. 108.—F.

p. 335, l. 391, *maurydden* should be *marvaden* (or *marvatten*, as in B), *Sax.* = vassalage, homage.—Ch. A.-S. *marvaden*, state of a vassal, homage. Bosworth.—F.

p. 338, the note in column second should be marked "5."—D.

p. 343, l. 6, the *tayl* of the *yong tamle*, and of the *bald braband*, the *ryng* of the *roy Robert*, *syr egeir* and *syr grymo*—*Complaynt of Scotland*, p. 99.—F.

p. 344, last line but three, called "*romantic*," read call "*romantic*."—D.

note 1, "*Taylor's Works*, 1634, folio, sign. Bb. 2," ought to be "*Taylor's Works*, 1630, folio, sign. Bb. 3."—D.

p. 354, l. 7, "*a daughter younge*." Here, no doubt, the author wrote "*a daughter*

- grings.*" The same misspelling (*younge*) occurs afterwards, p. 427, l. 137, p. 429, lines 223, 230, and elsewhere.—D.
- p. 354, l. 28, *backlow*, read *bachelours* (which we find in the next page, l. 42).—D.
- p. 355, last line but one of marginal synopsis, read *and despoiled*.—Ch.
- p. 357, l. 112, "was a steere," i.e. "was *a-steere*, on-steere, a-stir." In p. 363, l. 298, and in p. 374, l. 680, is *on steere*. And see Jamieson's *Dict.* in "*Asteer*."—D.
- p. 360, l. 179, *sore foughten*, read *forfoughten*, i.e. "exhausted with fighting." See Jamieson's *Dict.* in "*Forfought*." I have often heard the common people in Aberdeenshire use the word *forfoughten* in the sense of "over-wearied, quite knocked up."—D.
- p. 361, l. 222, *meettier* = need, Old French *meettier* : see l. 230.—Ch.
- p. 362, l. 246, *neare-hand*, Sax. *neah-hand*, almost.—Ch.
- p. 375, l. 672, *lowte*. Note, "perhaps *flowte*." No : *lowte* is quite right : see my *Glossary to Shakspeare*.—D.
- p. 385, l. 1001, *possibly* (out of stray) *stray* is from F. *estrier*, and the meaning is the same as in the next line.—Ch.
- p. 391, l. 1182, *more* = bigger, here.—Ch.
- p. 392, l. 1197, for *see see rounde*, read *see astounde*.—Ch.
- p. 396, l. 1310, *steeven* = appointment (as in Chaucer).—Ch.
- p. 398, l. 1400, *ferre* does not mean company, at any rate : probably ought to be *fare*, and the meaning is 'expedition' = escort.—Ch.
- p. 399, l. 1454, for 10 *children*, read 15 *children*.—D.
l. 1455, 10 should of course be 5 (or 10 in l. 1454 15, less likely).—Ch.
- p. 412, l. 3. This Arthur ballad, like all the other Arthurian pieces in the *Barzaz Breiz*, is M. de Villemarqué's own invention, says M. le Men, in his preface to Lagadenc's *Catholicism*, ed. 1867. Let no one trust M. Villemarqué an inch except when he is confirmed by other scholars.—F.
- p. 431, l. 284, *Vortiger* should be *Anguish*.—Ch.
l. 285, *he [in] peace* : *must* = might, as often elsewhere.—Ch.
- p. 433, l. 341, *sooth* should be *same* or *self* ; no doubt caught from *southe* in the line before : never saw a case of *sooth* = very ; it would be an odd coincidence.—Ch.
note 6 is superfluous.—Ch.
- p. 434, l. 373, read *blive* for *blithe*.—Ch.
- p. 435, l. 401, read *either* that all was ?—Ch.
- p. 443, l. 669, [of] or [with] some, etc ?—Ch.
l. 671, ever *mo* (again).—Ch.
- p. 444, l. 693, *deane* = Sax. *dyne*, noise, as at p. 366, l. 371.—Ch.
- p. 450, l. 804, *against the law* should be *against the lay*.—D.
- p. 454, l. 1024, *weene* = hope ; a good Saxon word.—Ch.
- p. 456, l. 1086, *sends* (should be *send*) is the participle *sent* : note seems to have no meaning.—Ch.
- p. 467, note 5, *ream*, *rém*, is Saxon for cream.—Ch.
- p. 468, l. 1501, *unryde* is very like Sax. *unrôt*, tristis, etc.—Ch.
- p. 470, l. 1535, *verome* = great way round about, Old French *viron* (in *environ*).—Ch.
l. 1555, *skye* = demon ; Gothic *skohol*, Sax. *scucca*, Ger. *gesehwache*.—Ch.
- p. 471, l. 1582, *mynne* = *minni*, Icel. compar. of *litill*.—Ch.
- p. 472, l. 1604, cf. l. 1024, above ; without hope (beyond peradventure).—Ch.

- . 473, no occasion for Percy's note (2); we have *younge* and *found* in 1640-1.—Ch.
- p. 475, 476, l. 1709, l. 1757, ought not *he* to be *the*? *he*=Sax. *hi* does not occur elsewhere in the book.—Ch.
- p. 494, l. 2315, read [*by*] *Pendragon*.—Ch.
- p. 506, l. 227, "And then Kings sword then threw hee," read "And *the* Kings sword then threw hee."—D.
- p. 513, l. 132, dele *but*.—Ch.
- p. 516, l. 1, "Percy says that it is evident that Mary Ambree is the virago designated by Butler under the title of 'English Moll;' but this is a mistake. The 'English Moll' of Butler was the notorious Mary Carlton, sometimes called English Moll, or Kentish Moll, and commonly known as the German Princess. See Butler's *Poems*, Annotated Ed., i. 96." Bell's *Early Ballads*, 1856, p. 158.
- p. 517, l. 34, *Ancyents*, i.e. *standards*. The explanation in the note is quite from the purpose.—D.

CORRIGENDA.

- p. 33, l. 7 from foot, *for late read lute.*
 p. 33, l. 4 from foot, *for Bexby read Burby.*
 p. 60, l. 9-10 from foot: *for Sagum of Karlamagnum og Hoppum Hans read "Karlamagnus-Saga ok Kappa Hans" (af C. R. Unger), the Saga of Charlemagne and his Knights, (edited by C. R. Unger).*
 p. 133, l. 10, *for Samle read Gamle (old).*
 p. 142, l. 5-6, the print, with the exception of one single page . . . has perished. *This is wrong. See the Appendix to vol. i. p. 520.*
 p. 158, l. 444, *for att, the Halliwell Fragment has answered. After att, insert doubt or strife.*
 p. 165, l. 15, *for Samle Folkeviser read Gamle Folkeviser (old popular songs).*
 p. 172, l. 160, *foder is Germ. fuder, a wine-tun. See notes.*
 p. 182, l. 6, *for Slaves read Sleeves.*
 p. 229, l. 342, *for will, read will^m.*
 p. 238, note ¹, col. 2, *for ¹ read ².*
 p. 259, l. 174, *for than read then.*
 p. 300, l. 176, *for and read &.*
 p. 384, l. 302, *for be read bee.*
 l. 304, *for would read wold.*
 p. 414, l. 8 from foot, *for 1857 read 1847.*
 p. 416, l. 11 from foot, *for Fables read Falles.*
 p. 469, l. 1533, *for as read was.*
 p. 516, l. 1. *for cold daunte read cold [not] daunte.*

NOTES INSIDE THE COVER OF THE MS. BY PERCY.

Curious Old Ballads which occasionally I have met with.

Johny Faa, the Gypsie Laddie,
"The Gipsies came to our good Lord's gate.

Tea-Table Miscellany: 1753, p. 427.¹

N.B. This Vol. contains near 40,000 verses.

Reckoning 520 Pages, about 75 Lines to a Page, 39,000.

N.B. When I first got possession of this MS. I was very young, and being in no Degree an Antiquary, I had not then learnt to reverence it; which must be my excuse for the scribble which I then spread over some parts of its Margin. and in one or two instances for even taking out the Leaves to save the trouble of transcribing. I have since been more careful.

T. P.

NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE
Nov: 7th, 1769.

Mem.^{4^{um}}

This very curious Old Manuscript in its present mutilated state, but unbound and sadly torn &c., I rescued from destruction, and begged at the hands of my worthy friend Humphrey Pitt Esq., then living at Shiffnal in Shropshire, afterwards of Priorslee, near that town; who died very lately at Bath (viz. in Summer 1769). I saw it lying dirty on the floor under a Bureau in y^e Parlour: being used by the Maids to light the fire. It was afterwards sent, most unfortunately, to an ignorant Bookbinder, who pared the margin, when I put it

into Boards in order to lend it to Dr. Johnson.

Mr. Pitt has since told me, that he believes the Transcripts into this Volume, &c. were made by that *Blount* who was Author of *Jocular Tenures*, &c. who, he thought, was of Lancashire or Cheshire, and had a remarkable Fondness for these old things. He believed him to be the same Person with that Mr. Thomas Blount who published the curious account of King Charles the 2^d's escape, intitled *Boiscobel*, &c. Lond. 1660, 12^{mo} which has been so often reprinted. As also The Law Dictionary, 1671, folio. & many other Books, which may be seen in Wood's *Athenæ*, II. 73, &c.

A Descendant or Relation of that Mr. Blount, was an Apothecary at Shiffnal, whom I remember myself (named also Blount). He (if I mistake not) sold the Library of his said predecessor Tho^s. Blount, to the abovementioned Mr. Humph^y Pitt: who bought it for the use of his Nephew, my ever-valued friend the Rev^d Rob^t. Binnel. Mr. Binnel accordingly had all the printed Books; but this MS., which was among them, was neglected and left behind at Mr. Pitt's House, where it lay for many years.

T. Percy.

N.B. Upon looking into Wood's *Athenæ*, I find that Tho^s. Blount, the Author of y^e *Joc. Tenures*, was a Herefordshire Man; He may however have spent much of his time in Cheshire or Lancashire: or after all this Collection may have been made by a relation of his of the same Name.

¹ Also in Chambers's *Scottish Ballads*, 1829, p. 148; and another version in Sheldon's *Min-*

strelay of the English Border, p. 329; Child's *Engl. and Scot. Bal.*, IV. 383.—F.

Bishop Percy's Folio MS.

Ballads and Romances.

Vol. I.

Bishop Percy's Folio MS.

Ballads and Romances.



INTRODUCTION TO THE ROBIN HOOD BALLADS.

THERE are already in print ballads dealing with the several subjects of the following Robin Hood ballad fragments. But they all differ, in a greater or less degree, from these. On the death of Robin Hood the piece here printed is certainly the most interesting known. Percy well calls it "a curious old song."

A few words may be said on the general question of the outlaw's personality. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.* There are who represent him to have been simply a famous robber chief-tain, a great prince of outlaws—"latronum omnium humanissimus et princeps," to quote Mair's words—"prædonum mitissimus" in Camden's version of these words. Others insist that he was a great political leader, carrying on a perpetual guerilla warfare against his enemies, and finding refuge on occasion in the tangled labyrinths of the forests. A third theory denies him existence. According to it he is a mere creation of the Teutonic mind—a flesh-and-blood-less fancy. These are the three leading views entertained about him. The facts of the matter are, that he is first mentioned in literature in the "Vision of William concerning Piers the Ploughman," written probably

about 1362, and is there mentioned as the well-known hero of well-known popular songs. Says Sloth :

“I kan noght parfitly my pater-noster
As the priest it syngeth,
But I kan rymes of *Robyn Hood*
And Randolph Erl of Chestre.”

(Wright's P. P. 3275-8.)

His next mention is in Wyntoun's "Scottish Chronicle," written about the year 1420. Wyntoun, writing of the year 1284, says :

Lytil John & *Robyn Hude*
Waithmen ware commendyd gude ;
In Yngilwode & Barnysdale
Thai oysyd all this time thare trawale.

Some thirty years afterwards one of the additions to Fordun's "Scotichronicon" (such, and not of the original work, Mr. Wright has shown the passage to be), speaking of the De Montfort period, informs us: "Hoc in tempore de exheredatis et bannitis surrexit et caput erexit ille famosissimus sicarius *Robertus Hode* et Littill Johanne cum eorum complicibus, de quibus stolidum vulgus hianter in comœdiis et tragœdiis prurienter festum faciunt et super ceteras romancias mimos et bardanos cantitare delectantur." (Goodall's "Forduni Scotichronicon, &c." Edinb. 1769. ii. 104.) Sir John Paston, in Edward IV.'s time, lets us know that games in honour of Robin Hood were then zealously celebrated. "I have kepyd hym," he writes of one of his servants, "thys iii yer to pleye Seynt Jorge, and *Robyn Hood* and the Shryf of Notyngham ; and now," he adds complainingly, "when I wolde have good horse, he is goon into Bernysdale, and I without a keeper." Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Robin Hood ballads were collected and woven together into one long poem known as the "Lytel Geste," printed by Wynken de Worde somewhere about 1490, reprinted in Scotland in 1508. At least two ballads relating directly to Robin Hood—to say

nothing of several that allude to him—are found in MSS. of a certainly not later date than the oldest edition of the “*Lytel Geste*,” viz.: “*Robyn Hode and the Potter*,” first printed by Ritson from a MS. among Bishop More’s collections in the Cambridge University Library, and “*Robin Hood and the Monk*,” first printed in Jamieson’s “*Popular Ballads*” from a MS. in the same library, and, according to Mr. Wright, possibly as old as Edward II.’s time, but certainly not so old as the ballad which is, or is the basis of, the Fourth Fit of the “*Lytel Geste*,” as the spoiling of the monk there narrated is referred to in it. (See v. 93.)

In 1521 appeared Mair’s “*Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ*,” which may be said to contain the *locus classicus* on Robin Hood, inasmuch as the passage in it concerning him—whatever its sources—furnishes the earliest full description of him, and is adopted with scarcely any variation by Grafton and Stow and Camden, and along with the “*Lytel Geste*” forms the basis of that life in the Sloane MSS. No. 715 of which Ritson made so much use. Mair’s therefore memorable words are: “*Circa hæc tempora [Ricardi Primi], ut auguror, Robertus Hudus Anglus, et Parvus Joannes latrones famatissimi [not famosissimi, as sometimes quoted] in nemoribus latuerunt, solum opulentorum virorum bona deripientes. Nullum nisi eos invadentem vel resistantem pro suarum rerum tuitione occiderunt. Centum sagittarios ad pugnam aptissimos Robertus latrociniis aluit, quos 400 viri fortissimi invadere non audebant. Rebus hujus Roberti gestis tota Britannia in cantibus utitur. Fœminam nullam opprimi permisit nec pauperum bona surripuit, verum eos ex abbatum bonis sublatiis opissare pavit. Viri rapinam improbo, sed latronum omnium humanissimus et princeps erat.*” About the middle and through the latter part of the sixteenth century and thenceforward allusions to Robin Hood abound.

Especially worthy of note are Latimer's complaint, in his sixth sermon before Edward VI., how, when he proposed preaching in some country church, "one of the parish comes to me, and says 'Sir, this is a busy day with us. We cannot hear you. It is *Robin Hood's* day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for *Robin Hood*. I pray you let them not,'" and the full description of the merry outlaws in Drayton's "Polyolbion," Song 26, and the notice given of Robin by Fuller in his "Worthies" in connection with Nottinghamshire. His story, we may add, was revised, and augmented again and again. The yeoman of the older ballads is transformed into an earl in the newer ones. A sentimental colour is given him. Maid Marian appears, and becomes a leading, absorbing part of the company. The fresh breezes of the greenwood are tainted with artificial odours. By Charles I.'s time the ballad-writers have all, like sheep, gone astray. They have improved away the genuine old picture. In 1670 was published the first known edition of the "Garland." In 1678 appeared a prose version of it, with the title "The Noble Birth and gallant atchievements of that remarkable outlaw Robin Hood, together with a true account of the many merry and extravagant exploits he play'd, in twelve severall stories . . . Newly collected into one volume by an Ingenious Antiquary." (Reprinted in Mr. Thoms' "Early English Prose Romances.") Poor Robin's character sank sadly in the following century. He fell amongst mere thieves. About the middle of it came out "The lives and heroick atchievements of the renowned Robin Hood and James Hind, two noted robbers and highwaymen." Nor did he recover his proper status till the year 1795, when Ritson put forth his hand and lifted him out of the mire. Ritson's "Robin Hood" is still the great treasure-house on the subject of the great outlaw. Not much of importance has been added to what his vigorous researches compiled some seventy years ago.

We know, then, nothing whatever of Robin Hood before he is the well-established favourite of the people. He is already a full-grown, most popular "fabula" when the first mention of him occurs. The first details about him are given some 150 years after the time at which they represent him to have lived. We cannot therefore attempt to make out from general literary or other sources the biography of Robin Hood. Some writers have essayed to eke it out with the assistance of the "Lytel Geste." They have taken the last "Fytte" of that string of ballads to be a more or less sober historical narrative. We cannot praise them. Such treatment of the old ballads seems quite unjustifiable. But if it were not so, there is nothing whatever in any one of the ballads to countenance the theories that Robin Hood was the last of the Anglo-Saxons, or one of the Dispossessed (*exheredati*) of the battle of Evesham days, or one of the Contrariantes (the Lancastrians) of Edward II.'s time. There is no touch of political faction or national antagonism in any one of them. Robin's controversy is with the rich as rich, not as Normans. On the other hand, we are not inclined to deny the existence of Robin Hood. There is a certain local precision and constancy in the ballads. We can well believe that Hood existed as actually as the Earl of Chester, with whom he is coupled in the "Piers Ploughman"—that some outlaw of the name did make himself famous in the North Country, *i.e.* the country to the north of the Trent, and especially about Barnesdale, in or just before the thirteenth century—that his fame spread, and grew, and was fed from a thousand sources utterly disconnected with its origin, till his name became a household word, and himself the universal darling of the common people. Of a circumscribed renown to begin with, he was presently sung of throughout the length and breadth of the land. He was adopted as the hero of the people, and they delighted to honour

him. In the darling of their fancy they soon forgot the original forester of the West Riding. He was made what they would have him be—a man after their own hearts. He was set up as their idol, and costumed and tricked out, no doubt, with ornaments and robes torn from the shoulders of less fortunate demigods. He absorbed the fames of his rivals. According to the poet,

. Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula.

But death sometimes makes the opposite confession. In Robin Hood's case his insignificance ended with his life. When that his body did contain a spirit, a single district was room enough, but afterwards a kingdom for it was too small a bound. Thus the outlaw of Barnesdale grew to be the acclaimed hero of the English commons.

He became the hero of the commons as King Arthur of the higher classes. As the aristocratic period passed away, and the third estate advanced in power and importance, the great yeoman rivalled the great knight. Robin Hood with his merry men of the greenwood, Little John and Scarlet and Much, displaced King Arthur with his Knights of the Round Table, Lancelot and Gawain and Tristram. The archery meeting presently superseded the joust as the national pastime. The lance is shivered, so to speak; the longbow wins the day. This great transition is taking place rapidly in Chaucer's time. He gives a full picture, not only of the knight but of the yeoman,—of the typical heroes of both times, the old and the new,—of the nobles' darling and of the people's. The older ballads speak of Robin Hood especially as the yeoman, and connect him with the yeomanry, as in "Robin Hood and the Potter :"

Herken, god yemen,
Comley, corteysse, and god,
On of the best that yever bar bon,
Hes name was Roben Hode.

Roben Hode was the yemans name,
That was boyt corteys and fre.

and again :

God haffe mersey on Robyn Hodys solle,
And saffe all god yemanrey.

and in the " Lytel Geste : "

Lithe and lysten, gentylmen,
That be of frebore blode;
I shall tell you of a good yeman,
His name was Robyn Hode.

Robin, then, is the people's hero. He is the ideal champion of their cause—the helper of their extreme necessities—their great knight-errant and avenger—the representative freeman who spurns at the harshness of the laws, especially the Forest laws, and stoutly upholds his independence—the more equal distributor of riches, transferring from the opulent to the indigent.

The widow in distress he graciously relieved,
And remedied the wrongs of many a virgin grieved.

Observe the instructions he gives his men in the " Lytel Geste : "

" Mayster," than said Lytell Johan,
" And we our borde shall sprede,
Tell us whether we shall gone,
And what lyfe we shall lede ;

Where we shall take, where we shall leve,
Where we shall abide behynde,
Where we shall robbe, where we shall greve,
Where we shall bete and bynde."

" Thereof no fors," said Robyn,
" We shall do well ynough ;
But loke ye do no housband harme,
That tylleth with his plough ;

No more ye shall no good yeman,
That walketh by grene wode shawe,
Ne no knyght ne no squyer,
That wolde be a good felowe.

These byshoppes and these archebyshoppes
 Ye shall them bete and bynde;
 The hye sheryfe of Notynghame,
 Hym holde in your minde."

"This word shall be holde," sayd Lytyll Johan,
 And this lesson shall we lern."

We cannot wonder at the fond pious wish of the last stanza of the poem :

Cryst have mercy on his soule,
 That dyed on the rode!
 For he was a good outlawe,
 And dyde pore men moch god.

Not insignificant is the connection of him in one ballad with Jack Cade's daughter. The people, groaning and travailling, rejoiced to picture in him their great friend and succourer.

This hero of the people is, as we have said, a man after the people's own heart. He reflects the popular character, and is in this way most interesting and important. He is open-handed, brave, merciful, given to archery and venery, good-humoured, jocular, loyal, woman-protecting, priestcraft-hating, Mary-loving, God-fearing, somewhat rough withal, caring little for the refinements of life, and fond of a fight above all things. Such are the lineaments of the portrait handed down to us.

Besides the one of which we have spoken, there were two other respects in which Robin Hood was dear to the English people—viz. as the great archer, and as the great forester.

To archery the people were passionately attached. The longbow was the special weapon of the people. To it the most brilliant victories achieved in the French campaigns of the fourteenth century were due; and the faithful arm in battle was also the great domestic delight. Peace had its victories no less renowned than war. The butts were the constant resort in every town. Bowyers, and fletchers, and stringers, and arrow-head makers abounded. We were a great nation of archers.

Horace's Geloni did not deserve better to be styled quiver-bearing. Chaucer tells us of the yeoman :

A shef of pockock arwes bright and kene
 Under his belte he bar full thriftily.
 Wel cowde he dresse his takel yomanly ;
 His arwes drowpad nought with fetheres lowe.
 And in his hond he bar a mighty bowe.
 Of woode-craft cowde he wel al the usage
 Upon his arm he bar a gay bracer.
 An horn he bar, the bawdrik was of grene ;
 A forster was he sothely, as I gesse.

"In my time," says Latimer, in a well-known passage, "my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot as to learn me any other thing; and so I think other men did their children: he taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to drawe with strength of arms, as divers other nations do, but with strength of the body: I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger, for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it; it is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise, much commended in physick." As the practice fell into desuetude, strenuous efforts were made to revive it. The old artillery gave way to the new very slowly. It died hard, so to say. As late as in Charles II.'s time we find the fraternity of bowmen flourishing and rejoicing in the patronage of a queen. Robin Hood was the ideal archer. He is as constant to his archer's implements as Apollo :

Nunquam humeris positurus arcum.

He is as regularly represented as a shooter as St. Sebastian in the old pictures is as a shootee. He is the great "patron of archery"—a very quivered saint. His ballads never tire of describing his skill. In the shooting at Nottingham in the "Lytel Geste," set forth with much *gusto*,

Thryes Robyn shot about,
 And always he slist the wand,
 And so dyde good Gylberte,
 With the whyte hande.

Lytell Johan & good Scatheloke
 Were archers good & fre ;
 Lytell Much & good Reynolde,
 The worste wolde they not be.

When they had shot aboute,
 These archours fayre & good,
 Evermore was the best
 Forsoth, Robyn Hode.

Hym delyvered the goode aròw,
 For best worthy was he.

In "Robin Hood's Progress to Nottingham,"

"I'le hold you twenty marks, said bold Robin Hood,
 By the leave of our lady,
 That I'le hit a mark a hundred rod
 And I'le cause a hart to dye."

Robin Hood he bent up a noble bow,
 And a broad arrow he let flye,
 He hit the mark a hundred rod,
 And he caused a hart to dye.

Some say hee brake ribs one or two,
 And some say he brake three ;
 The arrow within the hart would not abide,
 But it glanced in two or three.

The hart did skip, & the heart did leap,
 And the hart lay on the ground.

Shortly afterwards, with the same fatal weapon, he brings
 down fifteen foresters who treated him badly ; and when

The people that lived in fair Nottingham
 Came running out amain,
 Supposing to have taken bold Robin Hood
 With the foresters that were slain,

Some lost legs, & some lost arms,
 And some did lose their blood ;
 But Robin hee took up his noble bow,
 And is gone to the merry green wood.

In his extreme hour, according to the "Garland,"

"Give me," says Robin, "my bent bow in my hand,
And a broad arrow I'll let flee;
And where this arrow is taken up
There shall my grave digg'd be.

Lay me a green sod under my head,
And another at my feet;
And lay my bent bow by my side,
Which was my music sweet."

Lastly, Robin Hood was dear to the English imagination as the representative of the forest life—as the joyous tenant of the greenwood—the spirit not to be cribbed and cabined in towns and cities, but rejoicing in entire unrestraint and the wildest freedom. For him too, in his rough way—

*ἀδύ τι τὸ ψυθόρισμα καὶ ἡ πίτυς, αἰπὸς, τήν
ἂ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσσεται.*

The greenwood is the home of his heart. The ballads that celebrate him are redolent of it. They are inspired by the breath of its breezes. They re-echo with the songs of its birds. They rejoice with a great joy in its abundant beauty. There is nowhere in our literature a heartier delight in the woodland than in these ballads. Take the opening lines of "Robin Hood and the Monk:"

In somer when the shawes be sheyne,
And leves be large & longe,
His is full merry in feyre foreste
To here the foulys song,

To se the dere draw to the dale,
And leve the hilles hee,
And shadow him in the leves grene,
Under the grene-wode tree.

Hit befell on Whitsontide
Early in a May mornynge,
The son up faire can shyne,
And the briddis mery can syng.

*"This is a mery mornynge," said Litulle Johne,
"Be hym that dyed on tre ;
A more mery man than I am one
Lyves not in Christiandé.*

*Pluk up thi hert, my dere mayster,
Litulle Johne can sey,
And thynk hit is a fulle fayre tyme,
In a mornynge of May."*

What bright, healthful happiness in a May morning ! "Oh evil day, if I were sullen !" says with all his heart this outlaw of the fourteenth century. No wonder if Robin Hood came to be the type of such happiness ; and that Shakespeare, when portraying it with an exquisite grace and sympathy in the sweetest of all pastoral poems, recalls him to mind, and makes Charles the Wrestler answer in this wise Oliver's question, "Where will the old duke live ?" "*They say he is already in the forest of Arden, and a many merry men with him ; and there they live like the old Robin Hood of England : they say many young gentlemen flock to him every day, and fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world.*"

Robin Hood, A Beggar, & the Three Squires.¹

[Printed from this MS. in Jamieson's "Popular Ballads," ii. 49.]

No other copy exactly like this is known. There are, besides it, two other ballads known as "Robin Hood and the Beggar." One of them tells how Robin Hood was severely beaten and left for dead by a beggar, and how his followers, who pursued the maltreater of their master to punish him, were ludicrously foiled. It has nothing to do with the present ballad. The second Part of the other of them, and that of the present ballad, are substantially the same; and with these second Parts may be compared "Robin Hood rescuing the Widow's Three Sons," and "Robin Hood rescuing the Three Squires." The first Parts differ in that here the beggar is an old man, whereas in the other ballad the beggar is "brave and stout," as jolly a beggar as Robin Hood ever beheld with his eye, whose "mickle long staffe" proves more than a match for the great outlaw's "nut-brown sword;" and the exchange of clothes is made only after some hard and sore fighting.

Extracts from the black-letter copy of "Robin Hood and the Beggar" in Anthony à Wood's collection are printed below. The tune assigned by Dr. Rimbault (Musical Illustrations of Robin Hood, in Gutch's Ballads) to "Robin Hood rescuing the Widow's Son" is another version of "Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor" (see Mr. Chappell's "Popular Music," v. 2, p. 390).

¹ Our title. Percy's is, "Fragm^t of y^e Ballad of Robin Hood & the Old Man, or rather the Beggar." He adds, "But see Ritson's 2nd vol. No. xxiii. p. 161."—F.

[one line perished]

Robin Hood
proposes to
change
clothes with
an old
beggar.

¹ in faith thou shal[t²] haue mine,
& 20! in thy pursse
to spend att ale and wine."

[page 5 of MS.*]

¹ The corresponding ballad to this, (though differing from it as above said) in Ant. & Wood's collection 401, fol. 23 b, and *Robin Hood's Garland*, London 1670, sign. C. 2, may supply the introductory verses. It begins thus—

ROBIN HOOD AND THE BEGGAR:

Shewing how *Robin Hood* and the Beggar fought: and how he changed Clothes with the Beggar, and how he went a begging to *Nottingham*: and how he saved three Brethren from being hang'd for stealing of *Deer*.

To the tune of, *Robin Hood and the Stranger*.

Come light & listen you Gentlemen all,
**hey down, down, an a down,*
That mirth do love for to hear,
and a story true, Ile tell unto you,
If that you will but draw near.

In elder times when merriment was,
hey down, &c.†
And Archery was holden good,
there was an Out-law, as many did
know
Which Men called *Robin Hood*.

Vpon a time it chanced so,
hey down, &c.
Bold *Robin* was merry disposed:
his time to spend, he did intend
Either with Friend or Foe.‡

Then he got vp on a gallant brave Stéed,
hey down, &c.
The which was worth angell§ ten,
with a Mantle of green, most brave to
be seen,
He left all his merry-men.

And riding towards fair *Nottingham*,
hey down, &c.||

Some pastime for to spy,

There was he aware of a jolly Beggar
As ere he beheld with his eye.

An old patcht coat the Beggar had one,
hey down, &c.

Which he daily did vse for to wear,
and many a bag about him did wag,
Which made *Robin Hood* to him repair.

God-spéed, God-spéed, said *Robin Hood*,¶
hey down, &c.

What Country-man, tell to** me,

I am *Yorkshire* sir, but ere you go far
Some Charity give vnto me.

Why what wouldst thou have, said *Robin Hood*,
hey down, &c.

I pray thee tell vnto me,
no Lands nor Livings,†† the Beggar
he said,
But a penny for charitie.

I have no money, said *Robin Hood* then,
hey down, &c.
But a Ranger within the Wood,
I am an Out-law as many do know,
My name it is *Robin Hood*.

[The fight follows. After it, the ballad continues]

Now, a change, a change, cri'd *Robin Hood*,
hey down, &c.

Thy Bags and Coat give me,
and this Mantle of mine, ile to thee
resign,
My Horse and my braverie.

[For the perished line above, we may read]
[Though thy clothes are ragged and torn,]

* a piece torn out of the MS.—F.

§ The pages are called folios. The

* The later Pepys copy of the *Garland* (in vol. III. of *Penny Merriments*) prefixes *With a*.

† *With a hey, &c.*—*Garl.* 1670, and throughout the same, except in verse five, see note § below.

‡ *Foes.*—*Garl.*

§ *Angels.*—*Garl.*

¶ *With a hey, &c.*—Pepys. *derry derry down.*—*Garl.*

¶ said *Robin Hood* then.—*Garl.*

** *unto.*—*Garl.*

†† *living.*—*Garl.*

"Though your¹ clothes are of light lincolne
green,

The old man
thinks he is
mocking
him;

& mine gray russett and torne,
yet it doth not you beseeame

8 to doe an old man scorne."

"I scorne thee not, old man," says Robin,

Robin says
no.

"by the faith of my body :

doe of thy clothes, thou shalt haue mine

12 for it may noe³ better bee."

But Robin did on this old mans hose,

thé³ were torne in the wrist⁴;

They change
clothes ; and
Robin,

"when I looke on my leggs," said Robin,

16 "then for to laugh I list."

But Robin did on the old mans shooes,

& thé were cliitt⁵ full cleane :

Little John,
and Scarlett
joke over
Robin's new
costume.

"now, by my faith," sayes Little Iohn,

20 "these are good for thornes keene."

But Robin did on the old mans cloake,

& it was torne in the necke :

"now, by my faith," said w^m Scarlett,

24 "heere shold be set a specke."⁶

first was numbered 7, and then turned into 6. The following pages to p. 14 have been also similarly treated; there the alteration stops, and so p. 15 follows p. 12. The word *folio* in MS. numbering has undergone an unhappy change. The scribes of the grand Vernon MS. and its incomplete duplicate in the British Museum, rightly called the two leaves of their MSS. opened before them a *folio*, just as a modern bookkeeper does the left- and right-hand pages of his open ledger. Afterwards the meaning of the term *folio* was altered to the leaf in our modern sense, the front and back sides or pages of the same piece of paper,

and then *recto*, and *verso* or *back*, had to be added to it.—F.

¹ The expansions or extensions of the contractions in the MS. are printed in italics.—F.

² now, q.—Percy.

³ *They* is often written *the* in the MS. To prevent a check in reading, such *the*'s are printed "thé"; but there is never any accent in the MS.—F.

⁴ twist, q.—P.

⁵ One of the *s*'s only is dotted in the MS. The word doubtless means *clouted*, as in "Little John, the Beggar, and the three Palmers," l. 12, p. 48 below.—F. slitt, q.—P. ⁶ speck, patch.—F.

But Robin did on this old mans hood,
itt gogled¹ on his crowne :

"when I come into Nottingham," said Robin,

28 "my hood it will Lightly downe.

Robin gives
his men their
instructions.

"But yonder is an outwood," said Robin,

"an outwood all, and a shade,

& thither I reede you, my merrymen all,

32 the ready way to take,

And when you heare my litle horne blow,

34 come raking all on a rowte"²

[half the leaf gone, as all the half-leaves up
to page 58 inclusive are gone.]

¹ To goggle is thus like coggle or joggle,
to be unsteady, to roll to and fro.
"Then passed they forth gogling with
their hedis." Chaucer, Prol. March-
aundes 2nd Tale. Wedgwood.—F.

² To fill up the gap in the story,
take this from Wood's Ballad 401, and
the Garland of 1670 :

When Robin had got the Beggars cloaths
with a hey, &c.

He looked round about,
methinks, said he, I séem to be
A Begger brave and stout.

For now I have a bag for my Bread,
with a hey, &c.

So have I another for Corn,
I have one for Salt, and another for
Malt,
And one, for my little Horn.

And now I will a begging go,
with a hey, &c.

Some charity for to find,
And if any more of Robin you'l know,
In this second part it's behind.*

[Part II.]

Now Robin he is to Nottingham bound,
hey down, &c.

With his bags hanging down to his knée,
his staff & his coat, scarce worth a
groat,
Yet merrilie passed he.

As Robin he passed the Stréets along,
hey down, &c.

He heard a pittifull cry,
thré Brethren† déer, as he did hear,
Condemned were to‡ dye.

Then Robin§ he highed to the Sheriffs,||
hey down, &c.

Some Reliefe for to séek,
he skipt and leapt, and capored full
high,
As he went along the stréet.

But when to the Sheriffs doore he came,¶
hey down, &c.

There a Gentleman fine and brave,
thou Beggar, said he, come tell vnto me,
What is it that thou wouldest have?

* its known.—Garl. 1670. behind.—Pepys'
copy.

† printed Brethren.

‡ for to.—Garl.

§ printed Robin.—Garl.

|| hied to the Sheriffs house.—Garl.

¶ When to the Sheriffs house he came.—
Pepys.

[then Robin set his] horne to his mowth,

a loud blast cold h[e] blow,

ffull 300^d bold yeomen

38 came rakinge all on a row.

[page 6.] His men
appear at his
summons.

But Robin cast downe his baggs of bread,

soe did he his staffe with a face,

& in a doublet of Red veluett

Robin throws
off his
disguise

42 this yeoman stood in his place.

But Robin he lope, & Robin he threw,

he lope over stocke and stone;

but those that saw Robin Hood run,

46 said he was a liuer¹ old man,

“But bend your bowes & stroke your strings,

set the gallow tree aboute,

& christs curse on his heart,” said Robin,

50 “that spares the Sheriffe & the sergiant ²!”

and bids his
men not
spare the
Sheriff and
the Sergeant.

When the sheriffe see gentle Robin wold shoote,

he held vp both his hands,

sayes, “aske, good Robin, & thou shalt haue,

54 whether it be house or land.”

The Sheriff
gives way.

No meat nor drink, said Robin Hood then,
key down, &c.*

That I come here to crave,

but to beg the lives of Yeomen thrée,
And that I fain would have.

That cannot be thou bold Beggar,
key down, &c.

Their† Fact it is so clée,

I tell to thée, hang’d they must be,‡
For stealing of our Kings Déer.

But when to the Gallows they did come,
key down, &c.

There was many a wéeeping eye,

O hold your peace, said Robin§ then,
For certainly they shall not dye.

¹ Fr. *délivre de sa personne*: com.
An active nimble wight, whose ioints are
not tyed with points; one that can wield
his limmes at pleasure.—Cotgrave, A. D.
1611. I waxe nymble or, *delyver* of my
ioyntes. *Je me assouplis*.—Palsgrave,
A. D. 1530.—F.

² For *sergiant* Jamieson would read
his route.—F.

* printed poem.
† That.—Pepys.

‡ they hanged must be.—Garl.
§ Robin Hood.—Pepys.

Robin insists
on the
release of the
three squires.

"I will Neither haue house nor land," said Robin,
"nor gold, nor none of thy fee,
but I will haue those 3 squires
58 to the greene fforest with me."

They are the
King's
felons, says
the Sherif.

"Now Marry, gods¹ forbott,²" said the Sheriffe,
that euer *that* shold bee;
for why, they be the kings ffelons,
62 they are all condemned to dye."

Release them
or be hanged
yourself,
says Robin.

"But grant me my askinge," said Robin,
"or be me faith of my body
thou shalt be the first Man
66 shall flower this gallow tree."

"But I wi[ll haue t]hose 3 squires³
[half a page gone.]

¹ This may be "god." To many of the final *d*'s is a tag, which often means nothing, and often means *s*. Here it is longer than usual, as also in "Eger and Grins," l. 230. *Forbott* I take to be a noun, the "Godys *forbode*! quoth his felowe" of Piers Plowman's Creed, l. 825; and so the phrase is like the old "Gods Mercie."—F.

² Forebedynge (or *forbode*, or forefendynge). *Prohibicio, inhibicio*. Promptorium, ab. A.D. 1440.—F.

³ The common Aldermay-churchyard version in Ritson, ii. 216, ends with—

"O take them, O take them," says great master sheriff,
"O take them along with thee;
For there's never a man in fair Nottingham
Can do the like of thee."

The ballad from Wood's collection 401 and *Robin Hood's Garland*. 1670, quoted above, ends thus—

shoot East, shoot West, said Robin then,
And look that you spare no man.

Then they shot East, and they shot West,
hey down, &c.

Their arrows were so keen,
the Sheriffe he, and his companie,
No longer must * be seen.

Then he stept to these Brethren thre,
hey down, &c.
And away he had them tane,†
but‡ the Sheriff was crost & many a
man lost,
That dead lay on the Plain.

& away they went into the merry green-
wood,
hey down, &c.
And sung with a merry glée,
and Robin§ took these Brethren good,
To be of his Yomandriée. T. R.

London, Printed for Francis Grove, on
Snow-hill. Entered according [to] Order.

The later York *Robin Hood's Garland*
version of the Rescue of the Widow's
Three Sons, as given by Child, has—

They took the gallows from the slack,
They set it in the glen,
They hang'd the proud sheriff on that,
Releas'd their own three men.

* could.—Pepys.

† he them had tane.—Garl

‡ no but in Pepys copy.

§ *Robin Hood*.—Pepys.

Robin Hood and the Butcher.¹

[Another version in Ritson's "Robin Hood," ii. 27. Child, v. 33.]

THE present copy is like no other in diction, though in substance it is a compound of "Robin Hood & the Potter," and "Robin Hood & the Butcher." In the First Part Robin Hood meets with his match in a Butcher, as elsewhere in a Beggar, in a Tinker, in a Tanner, in a Pinder, in a Potter. This incident does not appear in the common version of "Robin Hood and the Butcher." Nor in it is the Sheriff's wife mentioned except in the line,

"O have me commended to your wife at home."

But Robin he walkes in the g[reene] fforrest [page 7.]

as merry as bird on bughe,

but he that feitches good Robins head,²

4 heele find him game enoughe.

Robin's head
will be some
trouble to
get.

But Robine he walkes in the greene fforrest

vnder his trusty tree,

sayes "hearken, hearken, my merry men all,

8 what tydings is come to me :

The Sheriffe he hath Made a cry,

heelle have my head I-wis,³

but ere a tweluemonth come to an end

12 I may chance to light on his."

The Sheriff
says he'll
have it ;

Robin thinks
not.

¹ Title from Percy, who prefixes
"Fragm^t of."—F.

² The *d* has a tag to it.—F.

³ A.-S. *gewis*, certainly.—F.

He spies a
butcher

Robin he marcht in the greene forrest,
vnder the greenwood scray,¹
and there he was ware of a proud bucher
came drining flesh by the way.

16

with a dog,
which flies
at Robin's
face, and is
slain by him.

the Bucher he had a cut tailed dogg,²
& at Robins face he flew;
but Robin, he was³ a good sword,
the buchers dogg he slew.

20

The butcher
waxes wroth

"Why slayes thou my dogg?" sayes the bucher,
"for he did none ill to thee;
by all the *saints* that are in heaven
thou shalt haue buffetts 3."

24

and grasps
his staff.

He tooke his staffe then in his hand
& he turnd him round about,
"thou hast a litle wild blood in thy head,
good fellow, thoust⁴ haue it letten out."

28

¹ spray?—P. ? roof, from Scotch *scraps*, "thin turfs, pared with slaughter-spades, to cover houses." *Gall. Encycl.* in Jamieson.—F.

² "Curtail-Dog. Originally the dog of an unqualified person, which, by the forest laws, must have its tail cut short, partly as a mark, and partly from a notion that the tail of a dog is necessary to him in running. In later usage, *curtail-dog* means either a common dog, not meant for sport, or a dog that missed his game."—Nares. Fr. Bertauder. To *curtail* a horse: to cut off his eares and taile; also, to notch, or cut the haire vneuenly. Cot.—F.

³ ware?—P.

⁴ A Nottingham friend near Southwell told me that this form in *st* had died out of his part of the county, and suggested inquiry in "Robin Hood's haunts, which were principally on the Yorkshire side." The Rev. J. C. Atkinson, of Danby, Yarm, North Riding, writes: "*thoo's for thou shalt*, and *he's for he shall*, is usual enough here. And we have a common idiom for the expression

of necessity laid upon one, which often takes as much a future as an obligatory sense. Thus when a farmer is paying wages, a man leaving him, and told to send another in, will say to his fellow-workman, 'Jossy, thou's t' gan in te t'Maaster.' This may be your *thoust*. It is simply an abbreviation of *thou is to*." *Is* in the early Northern dialect was an indeclinable present, as is well known; but for the common use of the '*st*' for '*ll*' we must look to Lancashire. See in Waugh's *Sketches of Lancashire Life*, 1867, "*Thea'st* have a quart o' th' best ale i' this hole i' tho lives till tho comes deawn again," p. 27; "*Thea'st* have a quart ov ale," p. 28; "*Theawst* have a saup oth' best brawn ale as ever lips did seawk" [from Samuel Bamford], p. 49; and for *I shall*, at p. 205, "But then *aw'st* come to 't [old age and giving up work] in a bit, yo know'n—*aw'st* come to 't in a bit." The *Tyneside Songster* has, "I 'se tip you a sang," p. 76; "*aw'll* knock oot y'ur e'e; if *aw* don't *aw'll* be kist," p. 46. The Rev. Mr. Hunt, rector of Sutton, near Retford, Notts, says he

"He that does that deed," sayes Robin,
 "He count him for a man,
 but that while will I draw my sword,
 32 and fend it¹ if I can."

But Robin he stroke att the bloody Bucher
 in place were he did stand,
 [*half a page gone.*²]

Robin de-
fends him-
self.

"I [am] a³ younge bucher," sayes Robin,
 "you fine dames am I come amonge;
 but euer I beseech you, good M^r Sheriffe,
 38 you must see me take noe wronge."

[page 8.] Robin, dis-
guised as a
butcher,
calls at the
Sheriff's
house.

"Thou art verrey welcome," said Master Sherriffs
 wiffe;
 "thy inne heere up⁴ take:
 if any good ffellow come in thy companie,
 42 heest be welcome for thy sake."

The Sheriff's
wife wel-
comes him.

Robin called ffor ale, soe did he for wine,
 and for it he did pay:
 "I must to my markett goe," says Robin,
 46 "for I hold time itt of the day."

After drink-
ing ale and
wine, and
paying
therefor,

But Robin is to the markett gone
 Soe quickly & beline,⁵

Robin goes
to market,

"cannot call to mind ever having heard the 'st for 'U used, either where he now lives or in another part of Notts, quite in Sherwood Forest, where he used to reside."—F.

¹ fend it (defend his head).—P. "To fend a stroke, to ward off a blow." Jamieson.—F.

² Wood's ballad No. 401, folio 19 b, yields nothing to fill up the gap, but—

Now Robin he is to Nottingham gone,
with hvy, &c.

his Butchers trade for to begin,
With good intent to the Sheriff he went,
and there he took up his Inn.

In "Robin Hood & the Potter" (Child, v. 20-2) Robin is beaten by him, rescued by Little John and his fellows, changes clothes with the Potter, and goes into Nottingham to sell his pots. He doesn't lodge at the Sheriff's, but is asked to dinner by that functionary's wife.—F.

³ I am a.—P.

⁴ to?—P.

⁵ belive, suddenly.—F.

undersells
the other
butchers, 50

he sold more flesh for one peny
then othe[r] butchers did for .5.

and is
crowded
with cus-
tomers till
all his stock
is sold. 54

Thé drew about the younge bucher
like sheepe into a fold,
yea neuer a bucher had sold a bitt
till Robin he had all sold.

But his re-
ceipts are
small. 58

When Robin Hood had his markett made,
his flesh was sold and gone,
yea he had receined but a litle Mony,
but 80⁷ pence and one.

The other
butchers
propose to
drink with
him. 62

Seaven buchers, thé garded Robin Hood
ffull many time & oft,
sayes "we must drinke with you, brother bucher,
its custome of our crafte."

He appoints
the Sheriffs
hall for that
purpose. 66

"If that be the custome of your crafte,
as heere you tell to me,
att 4 of the clocke in the afternoone
at the sheriffs hall I wilbe.¹"

[half a page gone.]

¹ From Wood's ballad No. 401, fol. 20,
we can supply here:—

But when to the Sheriffs house they
came,
with hey down, down, an a down
to dinner they hied apace,
And Robin he, the man must be,
before them all to say Grace.

Pray God bless us all, said jolly Robin,
with hey, &c.
and our meat within this place,
A Cup of Sack so good, will nourish our
blood,
and so I do end my Grace.

Come fill us more wine, said jolly Robin,
with hey, &c.

let us merry be while we do stay,
For wine and good chéer, be it never so
dear,
I vow I the reckning will pay.

Come brother be merry, said jolly Robin,
with hey, &c.
let us drink and never give ore,
For the shot I will pay, ere I go my way,
if it cost me five pounds and more.

This is a mad blade, the Butchers then
said,
with hey, &c.
saies the Sheriff he is some Pro-
digaal,
That some Land has sold for silver and
gold,
and now he doth mean to spend all.

- "if thou doe like it well,
 yea heere is more by 300^d
 70 then thou hast beasts to sell."
- Robin sayd naught, the more he thought,
 "Mony neere comes out of time;
 if once I cacth thee in the ¹ greene fforest,
 74 *that* mony it shall be mine."
- But on the next day 7 butchers
 came to guard the sheriffe that day,
 but Robin he was the whighest ² man,
 78 he Led them all the way.
- He led them into the greene fforest,
 vnder the trusty tree;
 yea, there were harts, & ther were hynds,
 82 & staggs with heads full high.
- Yea, there were harts and there were hynds,
 & many a goodly flawne:
 "Now praised be god," says bold Robin,
 86 "all these they be my owne.
- "These are my horned beasts," says Robin,
 "Master sherriffe, which must make the stake."
 "but euer alacke, now," said the sheriffe,
 90 "*that* tydings comes to late!"
- Hast thou any horn beasts, the Sheriff
 repli'd,
 with *hey, &c.*
 good fellow to sell unto me?
 Yes that I have good Master Sheriff,
 I have hundreds two or thre.
 And a hundred aker of good frée Land,
 with *hey, &c.*
 if you please it to see,
- And Ile make you as good assurance
 of it,
 as ever my Father made me.
- ¹ MS. "cacth in thy." The spelling *cacth* is retained, because it occurs again in "The Fryar and Boy," line 244 (Loose Songs), and in *macch* for *match*, "Scottish Fielde," l. 316. It may be a provincial peculiarity.—F. thee in the.—P.
² nimblest, Sw. *vig.*

[page 9.] The Sheriff makes an injudicious display of his wealth.

Robin says nothing, but thinks the more.

Next day the Sheriff, with a guard of seven butchers, guided by Robin,

visits the forest.

Robin shows him his cattle.

The Sheriff is troubled.

At Robin's
signal his
men appear

Robin sett a shrill horne to his mouth,
& a loud blast he did blow,
& then halfe a 100⁴ bold archers
94 came rakeing on a row.

and welcome
him back.

But when thé came befor bold Robin,
even there thé stood all bare,
"you are welcome, *Master*, from Nottingham!
98 how haue you sold your ware?"¹

[*half a page gone.*]

100 it proues bold Robin Hood.

[page 10.]

The Sheriff
groans over
his losses.

"Yea, he hath robbed me of all my gold
& siluer *that* euer I had:

They would
have inclu-
ded his head, 104

but that I had a verrey good wife at home,
I shold haue lost my head.

¹ "Robin Hood and the Potter"
(Child, v. 30) from MS. More, Ec. 4,
35 in the Cambr. Univ. Libr. has for
l. 97-8 of our Percy MS. text—

"Master, how haffe you far yn Not-
ynggam?

How haffe yow solde yowr war?"

then makes Robin rob the sheriff of his
horse and all his other gear, "hother
ger," and send him back on foot, with a
present of an ambling horse to his wife
from Robin. He tells his wife how he
has been served; she laughs at him,
and says—

"Now haffe yow payed for all the pottys
That Roben gaffe to me."

Wood's ballad of "Robin Hood and
the Butcher" ends thus:—

What is your will, then* said little *John*,
with hey, &c.

good Master† come tell it to me,
I have brought hither the Sheriff of *Not-
ingham*
this day to dine with thée.

He is welcome to me, then said little
John,
with hey, &c.

I hope he will honestly pay,
I know he has gold, if it be† but well
told,
will serve us to drink a whole day.

Then *Robin* took his mantle from his
back,
with hey, &c.
and laid it upon the ground,
And out of the Sheriffs Portmantle
he told thrée hundred pound.

Then *Robin* he§ brought him thorow the
wood,
with hey, &c.
and set him on his dapple gray,
O have me commended to your wife at
home,
so *Robin* went laughing away.

*London, Printed for F. Grove on Snow
Hill. Entered according to Order. Finis.
T. R.*

* Master.—Pepys.

† I pray you.—Pepys.

‡ were.—Pepys.

§ no *he* in Pepys.

But I had a verrey good wife at home
 which made him gentle cheere,
 & therfor *pro* my wifes sake
 108 I shold haue better favor heere.

but for
 his wife's
 hospitable
 treatment of
 Robin.

"But such favor as he shewed me
 I might haue of the devills dam,
 that will rob a man of all he hath,
 112 & send him naked home."

"That is very well done," then says his wiffe,
 "itt is well done, I say,
 you might haue tarryed att Nottingham
 116 soe fayre as I did you pray."

His wife
 says, "Did'nt
 I tell you
 so?"

"I haue learned wisdom," sayes the sherriffe,
 "& wife, I haue learned of thee,
 but if Robin walke east, or he walke west,
 120 he shall neuer be sought for me."

The Sheriff
 acknow-
 ledges his
 wife's
 superior
 wisdom.

ffins.

Robine Hood & fryer Turke.

[A different version in Ritson's "Robin Hood," ii. 61.]

THE story is much the same with that of "Robin Hood and the Curtall Friar" in Ritson; but the narration is quite different. Ritson prints his version "from an old black-letter copy in the collection of Anthony à Wood, corrected by a much earlier one in the Pepysian Library (Vol. 1, No. 37), printed by H. Gosson about the year 1610, compared with a later one in the same collection." The full title is "The famous Battell betweene Robin Hood and the Curtall Fryer. To a new Northern tune." (Imprint: "Printed at London for H. Gosson:" no date.) The tune is printed in Chappell's "Popular Music," v. 1, p. 393, and he says, "This chant was found by Dr. Rimbault, written in a contemporary hand, on the fly-leaf of a copy of 'Parthenia,' which was printed in 1611."

BUT how many merry monthes be in the yeere,
 there are 13 in May,
 the Midsummer Moone is the Merrycst of all
 4 next to the merry month of May.

In May when mayds beene fast weepand,
 6 young men their hands done wringe¹

[*half a page gone.*]

¹ To supply the part lost, take the following from Gosson's ballad above mentioned, collated with one in Wood's collection, 401, fol. 16, b.:-

"He . . . pe
 over may noe man for villanie;
 He never eate nor drinke" Robin Hood sa[id]
 10 "till I that cutted¹ friar see."

[page 11.] Robin vows
 he will see
 the Friar.

He builded² his men in a brake of fearne
 a litle from that Nunery,
 sayes, "if you heare my litle horne blow,
 14 then looke you come to me."

He posts his
 men in
 ambush, and
 bids them
 await his
 signal.

When Robin came to fontaines abey
 wheras that fryer lay,
 he was ware of the fryer where he stood,
 18 and to him thus can he say:—

He finds the
 Friar at
 Fountains
 Abbey.

The famous Battle between Robin
 Hood and the Curtall Fryer. To a new
 Northern tune.

[Picture]

In summer time when leaves grow
 greene,
 and flowers are fresh and gay,
Robin Hood and his merry men
 were disposed to play.

Then some would leape and some would
 runne,
 and some would use artillery.*
 Which of you can a good bow draw,
 a good archer for† to be?

Which of you can kill a Bucke,
 or who can kill a Doe,
 Or who can kill a Hart of *Greece*
 five hundred foot him fro?

Will Scadlock he kild a Bucke,
 and *Midge* he kild a Doe,
 And little *John* kild a Hart of *Greece*
 five hundred foot him fro.

Gods blessing on thy heart, said *Robin Hood*,
 that hath such a shot for me,
 I would ride my horse a hundreth‡ miles
 to find one could match thee.

That caus'd *Will Scadlock* to laugh,
 he laught full heartily,
 There lives a curtall fryer in Fountaines
 Abby
 will beate both him and thee.

That curtall Fryer in *Fountaines Abbey*
 well can a strong bow draw,
 He will beat you and all your§ Yeomen,
 set them all a on|| a row.

Robin Hood he tooke¶ a solemne oath,
 it was by *Mary* free,
 That he would neither eate nor drinke
 till the Fryer he did see.

¹ with smock cut short. Cf. Chaucer's
 "Upon that other syde to speke of the
 horrible disordinat scantnes of cloth-
 ing, as ben these *cuttid* slops or anslets,
 that thurgh her schortnes ne covereth
 not the schamful membre of man." *Per-
 sones Tale. De superbia*, p. 193, col. 2.
 ed. Wright. The Franciscan friars
 wore short habits conformably to the
 injunction of their founder (*Illustrations
 of Shakspeare*, i. 60, 8vo, 1807). Douce
 quotes Staveley's *Romish Horseleech*
 to prove that Franciscans were so called.
Chappell, v. 1, p. 393. See note to l. 44
 here.—F.

² for hilded, i.e. concealed.—Percy.

* Artillery in Wood.
 † No for in Wood.

‡ hundred.—Wood.
 § and your.—Wood.

|| all on.—Wood.
 ¶ Hood took.—Wood.

His dress. A payre of blacke breeches the yeoman had on,
his coppe¹ all shone of steele,
a fayre sword & a broad buckeler
22 beseemed him very weell:—

Robin asks
him to carry
him over the
water. “I am a wet weary man,” said Robin Hood,
“good fellow, as thou may see,
wilt beare [me] over this wild water
26 ffor sweete *Saint Charity*?”

He does so. The fryer bethought him of a good deed,
he had done none of long before,
he hent up Robin hood on his backe
30 and over he did him beare.²

He makes
Robin carry
him back. But when he came over *that* wild water,
a longe sword there he drew:
“beare me backe againe, bold outlawe,
34 or of this thou shalt have enoughe.”

Robin does
so, Then Robin Hood hent the fryar on his back,
and neither sayd good nor ill;
till he came ore that wild water,
38 they yeoman he walked still.

and bids the
Frier carry
him back
again. Then Robin Hood wett his fayre greene eze[n?]³
a span aboue his knee,
s[ay]s “beare me ore againe, thou cutted f[r]yer⁴”

[*half a page gone.*]

¹ *i.e.* head. See *Reliques*, ii. 5, ver. 38.—P.

² he him bore.—P.

³ hose: qu.—P.

⁴ Gosson's ballad has for l. 39 &c.

The Fryer tooke *Robin Hood* ons backe
again,
and stopt up to the knee,
Till he came at the middle streame,
neither good nor bad spake he.

Lightly leapt the Frier off *Robin Hoods*
backe,
Robin Hood said to him againe,
Carry me over this water, thou curtall
Fryer,
or it shall breede thy paine.

The second Part, to the same tune.

AND comming to the middle streame,
there he threw *Robin* in,
And chuse thee, chuse thee, fine fellow,
whether thou wilt sincke or swim.

43 good bowmen [page 12.]
[C]ame raking all on a rowe.

"I beshrew thy head," said the cutted¹ friar,
"thou thinkes I shall be shente;
I thought thou had but a man or 2,
47 & thou hast whole comment.²

The Friar
is surprised
at the
number of
Robin's
retinne.

"I lett thee haue a blast on thy horne,
now giue me leane to whistle another,
I cold not bidd thee noe better play
51 & thou wert my owne borne brother."

He asks
leave to
whistle.

Robin Hood swam to a bush of broome,
the Fryer to a wigger wand,
Bold *Robin Hood* is gone to shore,
and tooke his Bow in his hand.*

That will I doe, said the curtall Fryer,
of thy blasts I have no doubt,
I hope thoult blow so passing well,
till both ** thy eyes fall out.

One of his best arrowes under his belt
to the Fryer he let fly,
The curtall Fryer with his steale buckler,
he put that arrow by.

Robin Hood set his horne to his mouth,
he blew but blasts threee,
Halfe a hundreth†† Yeomen with bowes
bent,
came raking†† over the lée.

Shoot on, shoot on, thou fine fellow,
shoot on as thou hast begun,
If thou shoot here a Summers day,
thy marke I will not shun.

¹ Short-frocked. Compare

"O cutted hae they their green cloathing
A little abune their knee."

Robin Hood shot † passing well,
till his arrowes all were gane,
They tooke their swords and steale buck-
lers,
they fought with might and maine.

Rose the Red, and White Lilley; Child's
Ballads, v. 176. And

"tucked he was as is a frere aboute."

From ten of clock of † that day,
till four of th' afternoone,
Then *Robin Hood* came to his § knées,
of the ‖ Fryer to beg a boone.

Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, Prol. of the Reve.
And "Robin Hood's Death," l. 69 here.
Staveley, in *The Romish Horseleech*,
p. 214, speaking of the Franciscans, says,
"and experience shews that in some
Countrys, where Friars used to wear
short Habits, the Order was presently
contemned, and derided, and men call'd
them curtall'd Friars."

A boone, a boone, thou curtall Fryer,
I beg it on my knee,
Give me leave to set my horne to my
mouth,
but ¶ to blow blasts thrée.

Cp. Cotgrave's "*Moucher la queue d'un
cheval*, to curtall a horse."—F.

² ? MS. courent.—F.

* in hand.—Wood.
† shot so.—Wood.
‡ 1' th' Clock.—Wood.

§ no *his* in Wood.
‖ *the*.—Wood.
¶ and.—Wood.

** boh.—Wood.
†† hundred.—Wood.
‡‡ ranging.—Wood.

Robin bids
him whistle
away.

55

"Now fate on, fute on, thou cutted fryar,
I pray god thou neere be still;
it is not the futing in a fryers fist
that can doe me any ill."

The Friar
does so, and
100 bandogs
appear.

59

The fryar sett his neave ¹ to his mouth,
a loud blast he did blow,
then halfe a 100⁴ good bandoggs
came raking all on a rowe.

He sets dog
against man,
and himself
against
Robin.

63

bis { "Euery dogg to a man," said the cutted fryar,
"and I my selfe to Robin Hood."

Robin
objects.

67

"Ever gods ² forbott," said Robin Hood,
"*that* euer *that* soe shold bee;
I had rather be mached with 3 of the tikes ³
ere I wold be matched on thee.

He proposes
peace and
friendahip.

71

"But stay thy tikes, thou fryar," he said,
"and freindshipp Ile haue with thee;
but stay thy tikes thou fryar," he said,
"and saue good yeomanry."

The Friar
whistles
again, and
the dogs lie
down.

75

The fryar he sett his neave to his mouth,
a lowd blast he did blow,
they doggs thé coucht downe euery one,
they couched downe on a rowe.

The Friar
and Robin
negotiate.

"What is thy will, thou yeoman," he said,
"haue done & tell it me."

¹ i.e. fist.—P. Mezzil-face . . . seet
at t' black swarffy tyke [man] weh bwoth
neaves." Tim Bobbin, in Waugh's

"Lanc. Sketches," p. 118.—F.

² ? god, MS., see note ¹, p. 18.—F.

³ A Yorkshire word for Dogs.—P.

"if that thou will goe to Merry greenwood¹

79

[half a page lost.]

¹ Gosson's ballad makes Little John shoot so many of the dogs that the Friar asks him to hold his hand, and he will agree with his master. Robin Hood's offer is—

If thou wilt forsake faire * *Fountaines*
dale,
and *Fountaines* Abbey free,
Every Sunday thorowou the yeere
a Noble shall be thy fee.

And every holiday through† the yeere
changed shall thy garment be,

If thou wilt goe to fair *Nottingham*,
and there remaine with me.

This curtall Frier had kept *Fountaines*
dale
seven long yeeres and‡ more,
There was neither Knight, Lord, nor
Earle,
could make him yeeld before.

FINIS.

Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, W. Gilbertson.—F.

* no *faire* in Wood.

† throughout.—Wood.

‡ or.—Wood.

Robin Hood and the Pinder¹ of Wakefield: a Fragm^t. [Percy's title.]

HERE again the story, so far as it can be gathered from the surviving fragment, is much the same as that of the common versions, but the narration differs. It is a line of this ballad—or rather of the one like it quoted below—that Master Silence sings shortly before he is carried to bed, “And Robinhood, Scarlet, and John?” (2nd Part of “Henry IV.” act v. sc. iii.). Falstaff too may refer to it in his “What say you *Scarlet* and John?” in the “Merry Wives of Windsor,” act i. sc. i. “Several lines of it are quoted,” observes Ritson, “in the two old plays of the ‘Downfall and Death of Robert Earle of Huntington,’ 1601, 4to, black-letter, but acted many years before.” “It is sometimes quoted as ‘Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John;’ sometimes as ‘The Pinder of Wakefield’ (a pinder being the pen- or pound-keeper for impounding stray cattle), and the tune occasionally entitled *Wakefield on a green*, from the ditty. Two copies are to be found, under that name, among the late manuscripts (said to be Dowland’s) in the Public Library, Cambridge (D. d. ii. 11, and D. d. iii. 18); a third is contained in a manuscript volume of original music of the time of Queen Elizabeth, now in the possession of Dr. Rimbault.” (Chappell, “Popular Music,” pp. 393–4, where, at p. 394, the tune is printed.) At p. 390 Mr. Chappell says, “Dr. Rimbault, in his Musical Illus-

¹ “Pyndare of beestys (pynnar). *Inclusor*.” Promptorium. “*Inclusor*, a pynder.” Nominale MS., Halliwell.—F.

trations of Robin Hood, appended to Mr. Gutch's edition of the ballads, has printed the air of *The Bailiff's Daughter* (ante, p. 203) as one of the tunes to which 'Robin Hood and the Pinder of Wakefield' was sung."

"The Downfall" quotes:

"At Michaelmas cometh my covenant out,
My Master gives me my fee.
Then, Robin, I'll wear thy Kendall-green,
And wend to the greenwood with thee."

This ballad is referred to also in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Philaster," act v. sc. iv. The oldest mention of it is in the Registers of the Stationers' Company. "155 $\frac{1}{2}$, To Mr. John Wallye and Mrs. Toye these ballettes followynge, that is to say A ballett of Wakefield and a grene." (See Mr. Collier's extracts from the said Registers.) But the fame of the Pindar is not confined to this ballad and the allusions to it. He gave his name to and was the hero of a play. "A play," says Mr. Thoms in one of the Introductions in his "Early English Prose Romances," "entitled George A Green was played on the 28th of December 1593 by the Lord Strange's company, and The Pinner of Wakefield, which seems to be a different play, on the 8th of January 1593-4." The difference in the titles does not justify this conjecture that there were two plays in the Pindar's honour, as the following title shows: "A pleasant conceyted comedie of George A Greene the Pinner of Wakefield, as it was sundry times acted by the servants of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sussex. Imprinted at London by Simon Stafford for Cuthbert Bexby, & are to be sold at his shop neare the Royal Exchange, 1599, 4to." (Reprinted in Dodsley's "Old Plays," vol. vi.) Richard Braithwaite speaks of George as one of the lions of Wakefield. Ralpho tells Sir Hudibras,

when the worthy knight suggests that his man shall be beaten in his stead :

“ Were y’ as good as George A Green
I shall make bold to turn agen.”

In 1632 was published a prose history of this famous fellow. Mr. Thoms, who refers to that publication, reprints “ The history of George A Green, Pindar of the town of Wakefield, his birth, calling, valour, & reputation in the country, with divers pleasant as well as serious passages in the course of his life & fortune. London. Printed for Samuel Ballard at the Blue ball in Little Britain. 1706.”

[page 16.]

“¹but hold y . . hold y . . .” says Robin,
2 my merry men, I bid yee,

Robin is
charmed
with the
Pindar.
He asks him
for meat for
himself and
his men.

“ for this [is] one of the best pindars
that euer I saw with mine eye.
but hast thou any meat, thou lolly pindar,
6 for my merry men and me ? ”

¹ The part wanting may be supplied from the ballad in Wood’s collection, No. 401, fol. 61, b., which is as follows :—

THE JOLLY PINDER OF WAKE-
FIELD, WITH
ROBIN HOOD, SCARLET, AND JOHN.

In *Wakefield* their lives a jolly Pinder,
in *Wakefield* all on a green,
in *Wakefield* all on a green.

There is neither Knight, nor Squire,
said the Pinder,
nor Baron that is so bold,
nor Baron that is so bold,

Dare make a trespass to the town of
Wakefield,
but his Pledge goes to the Pinfold,* &c.

All this beheard three witty young men,
’twas *Robin Hood*, *Scarlet* and *John*, &c.

With that they espyed† the jolly Pinder,
as he sat under a thorn, &c.

Now turn again, turn again, said the
Pinder,
for a wrong way you have gone, &c.

For you have forsaken the Kings High-
way,
and made a path over the Corn, &c.

O that were great shame, said jolly *Robin*,
we being three, and thou but one, &c.

The Pinder leapt back then thirty good
foot,
’twas thirty good foot and one, &c.

* Pynfolde, *Inclusorium*. Prompt. *Pinfold*, a Place to pen up Cattel in.—*Phillips*.
† espyed.—*Pepys* (his copy of the *Garland*).

"but I haue bread & cheese," sayes the pindar,
 "and ale all on the best."

The Pindar
 offers bread
 and cheese,
 which is
 accepted.

"thats Cheere good enoughe," said Robin,

10 "for any such vnbidden guests.

"but wilt be my man?" said good Robin,

"& come & dwell with me?"

Robin offers
 him a place
 in his
 service.

and 2^d in a yeere thy clothing be changed

14 if my man thou wilt bee;

He leaped his back fast unto a thorn,
 and [*sic*] his foot against a stone, &c.

And there he fought a long summers day,
 *a summers day so long, &c.

Till that their swords on their broad
 bucklers
 were broke fast unto their hands, &c.

[*Here the Fragment in the Text begins.*]

Hold thy hand, hold thy hand, said Robin
Hood,
 and my merry men every one, &c.

For this is one of the best Pinders
 that euer† I try'd with Sword, &c.

And wilt thou forsake thy Pinders craft,
 and live in green wood with me, &c.

At *Michaelmas* next my Cov'nant comes
 out,
 when every man gathers his fee, &c.

I'll take my blew blade all in my hand,
 and plod to the green wood with
 thee, &c.

Hast thou‡ either Meat or Drink, said
Robin Hood,
 for my merry men and me, &c.

I have both Bread and Beef, said the
 Pinder,
 and good Ale of the best, &c.

And that is meat good enough, said
Robin Hood,
 for such unbidden Guest, &c.

O wilt thou forsake the Pinder his craft,
 and go to the Green-wood with me, &c.

Thou shalt have a livery twice in the
 year,
 the one green, the other brown, &c.

If *Michaelmas* day was¶ come and gone,
 and my Master had paid me my fee,
 and my Master had paid me my fee,

Then would I set as little by him,
 as my Master doth by me,
 as my Master doth by me.

The opposite leaf seems to have been
 printed with the above ballad; it begins

The Noble Acts Newly found,
 Of *Arthur* of the Table Round.

To the Tune of *Flying Fame*.

WHEN *Arthur* first in Court began,
 and was approved King.**
 &c.

* and a.—Pepys.

† Till their.—Pepys.

‡ every.—Pepys.

** There is another black-letter copy of this

§ no *thou* in Pepys.

¶ thy.—Pepys.

¶ were once.—Pepys.

ballad (Wood, 402, fol. 42), entitled "The Jolly
 Pinder of Wakefield;" it contains slight varia-
 tions, and is on a single leaf. It is printed for
 F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. G[il]lison.

“The tone shall be of light lincolne greene,
 the tother of Picklory ;
 att Michallmas comes a well good time,¹
 18 when men haue gotten in their ffee.”

The Pindar
 agrees.

“He sett as litle by my *Master*
 as he now setts by me ;
 He take my benbowe² in my hande,
 22 and come into the grenwoode to thee.”
 flirts.

¹ That the autumn in early England was “a good time” for yeoman, beggar, and labourer, as well as the landlord referred to here, see the striking picture in *Piers Ploughman*, when “newe corn

cam to chepyng” (ed. Wright, vol. i. p. 135-6), as contrasted with the pinching time before.—F.

² ? bent bow.—F.

Robín Hoode & Quene Kath[erine].

HERE for a third time is a different narration of the common story. Ritson prints his copy from an old black-letter copy in a private collection, compared with another in that of Anthony à Wood. The full title is given below. The tune assigned to this ballad by Dr. Rimbault is, says Mr. Chappell, the tune of "The Three Ravens," in "Popular Music," vol. i. p. 59.

It will be remembered that Henry V.'s consort was our first Queen Katherine. Three of Henry VIII.'s wives—and in his reign ballad poetry greatly flourished—were so called.

A later Catherine, Charles II.'s consort, was associated with archery. She "was probably much pleased," says Strutt in his "Sports and Pastimes," "with seeing the pastime of archery practised; for in compliment to her a badge of silver weighing 22 ounces was made for the marshal of the fraternity of bowmen, having upon it the representation of an archer with his bow drawn in the action of shooting, and inscribed with her name."

Great archery matches were common enough in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See, for instance, "A new Yorkshire song intituled Yorke Yorke for my money, 1584" (in Mr. Halliwell's "Yorkshire Anthology" and elsewhere). As to the scene of the match here, see "Stow's Survey" by Strype, ii. 237, or Ritson's note to his copy of this ballad.

V. 97. Ritson has faith that there was such a place as Loxley, though even his research can discover no signs of it. Mr. Spencer T. Hall, in his "Forester's Offering," 1841, discovers it in Yorkshire near Sheffield, "where the romantic river Loxley

descends from the hills to mingle its blue waters with the Rivilin and the Don." The Sloane MS. puts it "in Yorkshire or after others in Nottinghamshire." A very recent writer confers the honour on Warwickshire, and exults to find that Loxley in that country "was actually in the possession of a family named Fitz Odo or Fitzooth in the twelfth century." As some ingenious spirits have hinted at a connection between Robin Hood and Apollo, we wonder Locksley and Loxias have not been shown akin.

V. 56. "Lincoln Green:" see Ritson's note in his "Life of Robin Hood."

V. 85. See the ballad of "Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford." Herefordshire seems to have been particularly famous for its Morris dances, as is shown by the tract "Old Meg of Herefordshire for a Mayd Marian, & Hereford towne for a Morris Daunce, or 12 Morris Dauncers in Herefordshire of 12 hundred years old. 1609." Hence, perhaps, was suggested to some ballad-writer the idea of connecting Robin Hood and the Bishop of a city so remote from the outlaw's beat.

Now list you, lithe you, gentlemen,
 a while for a litle space
 and I shall tell you how queene Katterine
 4 gott Robin Hood his grace.

Gold taken from the kings harvengers¹
 6 seldome times hath beene seene²

[half a page gone.]

¹ the letter printed *v* in *harvengers* is more like *v* than the *ð* with a looped top.
 —F.

² Neither of the ballads in Wood's

collection enable this gap to be filled up satisfactorily. The first (401, fol. 31 b.) is—

"queene Katherine, I say to thee."

[page 16.] The King
and Queen
lay a wager.

"thats a princly wager," quoth queene Katherine,

9 "betweene your grace & me.

"Where must I haue mine archers?" says queene
Katherine,

The Queen is
to choose her
archers from
out all
England.

"you haue the flower of archery."

"Now take your choice, dame," he sayes,

13 "thorow out all England free :

"Yea from Northwales to westchester,
and also to cauntry ;

The King is
confident of
winning.

& when you haue chosen the best you can,

17 the wager must goe with mee."

"If that prooue," says queene Katherine,

"soone that wilbe tride & knowne ;

We shall see,
says the
Queen.

many a man counts of another mans purse,

21 & after looseth his owne."

The queene is to her palace gone,

to her page thus shee can say,

She calls her
page,

"come hither to me, dicke Patrinton,

25 trusty & trew this day ;

RENOWNED ROBIN HOOD: OR,

His famous Archery truely related, with
the worthy exploits he acted before
Queen Katherine, he being an Out-law-
man, and how she for the same obtained
of the King, his own, and his fellows
pardon. To a new Tune.*

[Picture]

[Picture]

GOLD tane from the Kings Harbengers,
down, a down, a down,

As seldome hath been seen,

down, a down, a down,

And carryed by bold *Robin Hood*,

for a Present to the Queen,

down, a down, a down.

If that I live a† year to an end,

thus gan Queen *Katherine* say:

Bold *Robin Hood*, I will be thy friend

and all thy Yeomen gay.

It then goes on with l. 22 above, al-
tered ; but we get the terms of the wager
stated below in note*.

* There is another black-letter copy of this
ballad (Wood, 402, fol. 10, b.), London, Printed
for F. Grove on Snow Hill, with slight varia-
tions. The second part begins with the verse—

What is the wager, said the Queen,
that must I now know here?
Three hundred tun of Renish Wine,
three hundred tun of Beer.

† one.—Pepys (in his copy of the *Garland*).

and instructs
him to find
her archers,

“Thou must bring me the names of my archers
all,
all strangers must they bee,
yea from north wales to west chester,
29 & alsoe to Couentrie.

to commend
her to Robin
Hood and
his fellows,

“Commend me to Robin Hood,” says queene
Katherine,
“and alsoe to litle John,
& specially to will¹ Scarlett,
33 ffryar tucke & maid Marryan :

to change
their names,

“Robin Hood we must call loxly,
& little John the Millers sonne ;
thus wee then must change their names,
37 they must be strangers euery one.

and to bid
them be
present in
London on
St. George's
day.

“Commend mee to Robin Hood,” sayes queene
Katherine,
“& marke, page, what I say,
In London they must be with me
41 [upon St. George's day]²

[*half a page missing.*]

¹ The line that runs through the *ll* in the MS. may be meant, as in early MSS., as a mark of contraction, so that “*william*” should be in the text.

² Copied in by Percy from the stanza following, l. 44. Wood's ballad 401 has :

And as thou goest to *Nottingham*,
search all those *English* Wood,
Enquire of one good Yeoman or another
that can tell thee of *Robin Hood*.

Sometimes he went, sometimes he ran
as fast as he could win,
And when he came to *Nottingham*
there he took up his *Inne*.

And when he came to *Nottingham*,
and had took up his *Inne*,
He call'd* for a Pottle of Rhenish
Wine,
and drank a health to his *Queen*.

There sate a Yeoman by his side,
tell me sweet Page, said he,
What is thy businesse or thy cause
so far in the North-Country.

This is my business, and the † cause,
sir, I'll tell it you for good ;
To inquire of one good Yeoman or an-
other
to tell me of *Robin Hood*.

* calls.—Pepys.

† my.—Pepys.

- " these words hath sent by me,
 att London you must be with her
 44 Vpon s^t Georgs day : ¹
- " Vpon s^t Georgs day att Noone
 att London needs must you bee ;
 Shee wold not misse your companie
 48 for all the gold in cristinty.
- " Shee hath tane a shooting for your sake,
 the greatest in Christentie,
 & her part you must needs take
 52 Against her prince Henery.
- " Shee sends you heere her gay gold ring
 a trew token for to bee ;
 &, as you are banisht man,
 56 shee trusts to sett you free."
- " And I loose that wager," says bold Robin hoode,
 " He bring mony to pay for me,
 & wether that I win or loose,
 60 on my queenes part I will be."

[page 17.]

He does her
bidding,and gives
her gay gold
ring as a
token.Robin
promises to
be with her.The 2^d part.²

- IN sommer time when leaues grow greene
 & flowers are fresh & gay,
 then Robin Hood he deckt his men
 64 eche one in braue array ;

Robin decks
himself and
his men
bravely,

I'll get my horse betimes in the morn,
 by it be break of day,
 And I will shew thee bold Robin Hood
 and all his Yeomen gay.

She bids you Post to fair London Court,
 not fearing any thing,
 For there shall be a little sport,
 and she hath sent you her Ring.

When that he came at Robin Hood's place
 he fell down on his knée :
 Quēen Katherine she doth grēt you well,
 she grēts you well by me.

¹ April 23 ; but this hardly suits the
 "sommer time" of l. 61.—F.

² in the left margin of the MS.—F.

He deckt his men in lincolne greene,
 himselfe¹ in scarlett red,
 fayre of theire brest then was it seene
 68 when his siluer armes were spread.

and makes
 for London.

with hattis white and fethers blacke,
 & bowes & arrowes keene,²
 & thus he ietted³ towards louly London
 72 to present⁴ queene Katherine.

He and they
 kneel before
 the Queen.

But when they cam to louly London
 they kneeled vpon their knee;
 sayes, "god you saue, queene Katherine,
 76 and all your dignitie!"

[half a page missing.⁵]

¹ for himself. One stroke of an *im*, *nn*, &c. is often missing in the MS. —F.

² Palsgrave has, "Heed your arowes with *Strande* heedes, for they be beest, *ferrez vos fleches de fers faitz a Strande*, car ilz sont les meilleurs, p. 582, col. 2. —F.

³ I iette with facyon and countenaunce to set forth the myselfe, *Je braggue*. I jette, I make a countenaunce with my legges, *Je me jamboye*. Palsgrave, 1530 (ed. 1852). —F.

⁴ for "present himself to." I present a person or a thyng unto ones presence. *Je presente*. Palsgrave. —F.

⁵ To supply it take the following from Wood's ballad—

And when he came at *London's* Court,
 he fell down on his knée,
 Thou art welcom *Locksley* said the Quéen
 and all thy Yeomen thrée.*

The King is † into *Finsbury*-field,
 down, a down, a down,
 marching in gallant ray, ‡
 down, a down, a down,
 And after follows bold *Robin Hood*,
 and all his Yeomen gay,
 down, a down, a down.

* Yeomandree.—Pepys.
 King's gone.—Pepys.

† battle array.—Pepys.
 § now.—Pepys.

¶ Rhenish of.—Pepys.
 ¶ said.—Pepys.

The Second Part to the same Tune.

Come hither *Tepus* (said the King)

down, a down, a down,

Bow-bearer after me:

down, a down, a down.

Come measure me out with this line,
 how long our mark shall be.

down, a down, a down.

What is the wager said the Quéen?

that must I néeds § know here,

Thrée hundred Tun of Rhenish|| Wine,
 thrée hundred Tun of Béer.

Thrée hundred of the fattest Harts

that runs on *Dallom-Lee*:

That's a Princely wager said the King,
 that néeds must I tell thée.

With that bespake one *Clifton* then,

full quickly and full soon,

Measure no mark for us most Sovereign
 Liege,

wée'l shoot at Sun and Moon.

Full fifteen score your mark shall be,

full fifteen score shall stand,

I'll lay my Bow quoth ¶ *Clifton* then,
 I'll cleave the willow-wand.

. of my guard,"

[page 18.]

thus can king henry say,

"& those that wilbe of queene Katerines side,

80 they are welcome to me this day.

"Then come hither to me, Sir Richard Lee,¹

thou art a knight full good,

well it is knowen ffrom thy pedygree,

84 thou came from Gawiins² blood."

The Queen
calls on Sir
Richard Lee
to take her
side,

"Come hither, bishopp of hereford," quoth queene
Katherine,—

and on the
Bishop of
Hereford;

a good preacher I watt was hee,—

"& stand thou heere vpon a odd side,

88 on my side for to bee."

"I like not that," sayes the bishopp then,

"by faikine³ of my body,

for If I might haue my owne will,

92 on the kings I wold bee."

but the
Bishop
prefers the
King's,

"What will thou be against vs," says Loxly then,

& stake it on the ground?"

"that will I doe, fine fellow," he says,

96 & it drawes to 500⁴ pound."

and at
Loxly's
challenge
stakes 500l.
on the King's
side.

"There is a bett," says Loxly then;

"weele stake it merrily;"

but Loxly knew full well in his mind

100 & whose that gold shold bee.

With that the Kings Archers led about,
while it was three and none:

With that the Ladies began to shout,
Madam your game is gone.

A boon, a boon, Quēen *Katherine* cries,
I crave on my bare knée,

Is there any^{*} Knight of your privy
counsel

of Quēen *Katherines* part will be.

¹ See "Lytel Geste," the Syxte Fytte, st. 15, "that gentyll knyght, Syr Rychard at the Lee;" also st. 7 and 57 of the Seventh Fytte.—H.

² Gower's. Wood's ballad 401.—F.

³ Quasi I'feekin.—P. Scotch *Gude faikins*; *My faiks*, by my faith. Jamieson.—F.

The
shooting.

Then the queenes archers they shot about
till it was 3 and 3.

Then the ladys gaue a merry shout,

104 sayes " woodcocke,¹ beware thine eye."

A tie.

" Well, gam & gam," then quoth our king,
the third 3 payes for all ; "

then Robine rounded² with our queene,

108 says, " the kings part shall be small."

³ Loxly puld forth a broad arrowe,

110 he shott it vnder hand,

. s vnto . . .

[half a page missing.]

[page 19.]

.
" for once he vndidd mee ;

if I had thought it had beene bold Robin Hoode

113 I wold not haue betted one peny.

¹ I take this to refer not to a bird shot at (see willow-wand in the note above), but to the King and his party : " Among us in England, this bird is infamous for its simplicity or folly, so that a *woodcock* is proverbially used for a simple, foolish person." Willoughby, *Ornithol.* III. i. § 1., in Nares. Fr. *Beccassé*, Gulled, abused, woodcockised, made a woodcocke. Cot.—F.

² whisper'd.—P. A.-S. *runian*, to whisper.—F.

³ Wood's ballad 401 goes on—

Robin Hood he led about,
he shot it under-hand,
And *Clifton* with a bearing Arrow,
he claued the Willow-wand.

And little *Midge* the Millors Son.
he shot not much the worse,
He shot within a finger of the prick ;
now Bishop beware thy purse.

A boon, a boon, Queen *Katherine* crys,
I craue on my bare knée ;

That you will angry be with none,
that is of my party.

They shall have forty days to come,
and forty days to go,
And thrée times forty to sport and play,
then welcome friend or foe.*

Then thou art welcome *Robin Hood* said
the Queen,
and so is little *John*,
So is *Midge* the Millors Son,
thrice welcome every one.

Is this *Robin Hood*, the King now said ?
for it was told to me,
That he was slain in † *Pallace-Gate*,
so far in the *North-Country*.

Is this *Robin Hood*, said ‡ the Bishop
then ?
as I see § well to be,
Had I thought it || had been that bold
Out-law,
I would not bet one penny.

* every one.—Pepys.

† in the.—Pepys.

‡ quoth.—Pepys.

§ as it seems.—Pepys.

|| I known he.—Pepys.

"Is this *Robin Hood*," says the bishopp againe,
 "once I knew him to soone,
 he made me say a masse against my will
 117 att 2 a clocke in the afternoone;

The Bishop
 recalls a
 previous
 interview
 with Robin.

"He bound me fast vnto a tree,
 Soe did he my merry men,
 he borrowed 10^{li} against my will,
 121 but he neuer paid me againe."

"What & if I did?" says bold *Robin Hood*,
 of that Masse I was full faine;
 in recompence, befor King & queene
 125 take halfe of thy gold againe."

Robin offers
 semi-
 restitution.

"I thanke thee for nothing," says the bishopp,
 "thy large gift to well is knowne,
 that will borrow a mans mony against his will,
 129 & pay him againe with his owne."

The Bishop
 thanks him
 for nothing.

"What if he did soe," says King Henery,
 "for that I loue him neuer the worsse;
 take vp thy gold againe, bold *Robin Hood*,
 133 & put [it] in thy pursse:

The King
 defends
 Robin,

"If thou woldest leaue thy bold outlawes
 and come & dwell with me,
 then I wold say 'thou art welcome bold *Robin Hood*,
 137 the flower of archery.'"

and invites
 him to live
 at court.

"I will not leaue my bold outlawes
 for all the gold in Christentie;
 in merry Sherwood Ile take my end,
 141 vnder my trusty tree;

Robin will
 not leave his
 bold outlawes
 and merry
 Sherwood,

¹ Wood's ballad 401 ends here with
 the following stanza:—

Now nay, now nay, says little *John*,
 down, a down, a down.

Master, that may not be;
 down, a down, a down.
 We must give gifts to the Kings Officers
 that Gold will serve thee and me.
 down, a down, a down.

but he will
always hold
himself at
the Queen's
service.

“And gett your shooters,¹ my leeig, where you will,
for in faith you shall haue none of me,
& when queene Katherine puts up her f[inger]
145 att her graces commandement Ile bee.”

[*half a page missing.*]

¹ Fr. *tireur*, a shooter. Cotgrave.—F.

to change
clothes with
him

But he has gotten on this old mans gowne,
it reacht not to his crest :
" christs curse ons hart," said litle Iohn,
10 " that thinkes my gowne amisse."

But he has gotten on this old mans shoes
are clouted 9 fold about ;
" beshrew his hart," says Litle Iohn,
14 " that bryer or thorne does doubt.¹

and to give
him a lesson
in begging.

" Wilt teach me some phrase of thy begging?" says
Iohn,
" I pray thee, tell it mee,
how I may be as beggar-like
18 as any in my companie."

" Thou must goe 2 foote on a staffe,
the 3^d vpon a tree ;
full loud that thou must cry & fare,
22 when nothing ayleth thee."

John walks
towards
Nottingham

But Iohn he walket the hills soe high,
soe did [he] the hills soe browne ;
the ready way that he cold take
26 was towards Nottingham towne.

and meets
three
palmers.

But as he was on the hills soe high,
he mett with palmers 3,
sayes, " god you saue, my brethren all,
30 now god you saue and see !

They villify
him.

" This 7 yeere I haue you sought ;
before I cold neuer you see !"
said they, " wee had neuer such a cankred carle
34 were neuer in our companie."

¹ fear. " I dowte, I feare, or drede a person. *Je craings.*" Palsgrave.—F.

But one of them tooke litle Iohn on his head,
 the blood ran over his eye ;
 37 little Iohn turnd him 2: about

One strikes
 him.

[half a page missing.¹]

"If I
 as I haue beene but one day,
 I shold haue purchased 3 of the best churches
 41 that stands by any highway."
 ffins.

[page 21.]

¹ Wood's ballad 401, fol. 34, goes on with—

Nay said little *John* Ile not yet be gone
 for a bout will I have with you round.

Now have at you all then said little *John*,
with a hey,
 If you be so full of your blows,
 Fight on all four and nere * give ore,
 whether you be friends or foes.

John nipped the dumb and made him to
 rore
with a hey:
 And the blind that could not see.
 And he that a Cripple had been seven
 years
 he made them run faster then he.

And flinging them all against the wall,
with a hey.
 With many a sturdie bang
 It made *John* sing to hear the gold ring
 † which again the walls cryed twang.

Then he got out of the beggers Cloak
with a hey.
 Three hundred pound in gold,
 Good Fortune had I then said little
John
 such a good sight to behold.

But what found he in a beggers bag
with a hey,
 But three hundred pound and three,
 If I drink water while this doth last
 then an ill death may I dye.

And my begging trade I now will give o're
with a hey, &c.

My fortune hath † bin so § good,
 Therefore Ile not stay but I will away
 to the Forrest of merry *Sherwood*.

But when to the Forrest of *Sherwood* he
 came,
with a hey,
 he quickly there did see
 His Master good bold *Robin Hood*
 and all his company.

What news, what news, then || said *Robin Hood*,
with a hey.

Come little *John* tell unto me,
 How hast thou sped with thy beggers
 trade,
 for that I fain would see.

No news but good, then || said little *John*,
with a hey,
 With begging ful wel I have sped,
 Six ¶ hundred and three I have here for
 thee
 in silver and gold so red.

Then *Robin Hood* took little *John* by **
 ye hand,
with a hey,
 And danced about the Oak tree,
 If we drink water while this doth last
 then an il death may we die.

So to conclude my merry new Song
with a hey,
 All you that delight it †† to sing,
 Tis of *Robin Hood* that Archer good,
 and how little *John* went a begging.

* never.—Pepys.

† against the walls cry.—Pepys.

‡ it hath.—Pepys.

§ Printed fo.

|| no then in Pepys.

¶ Three.—Pepys.

** tha.—Pepys.

†† no it in Pepys.

Robin Hood's death.

This is a curious old song, and not in print.—*Percy*.

THIS version of the last moments of the great outlaw's life differs in both incident and language from all the current ones. The novelty and the vigour of it make its fragmentary state especially deplorable. The opening scene, which gives an interesting picture of the affection and the independence of the merry men towards their master, is new. The black water, and the plank across it, and the old woman kneeling on the plank and cursing Robin Hood as he with Little John approaches, and the other dark presage that meets them, are all new. What passes at the Priory is here given more fully and with a more life-like presentment. The part which Red Roger took in the murder, just referred to and no more elsewhere, is here described fully, with the just vengeance that followed it. In a word, this version, tattered and torn as it is, must be counted a very valuable addition to the Robin Hood cycle of ballads.

The oldest, probably, of the current versions is that of the "Lytel Geste" (printed by Wynken de Worde, but probably composed a century before his time: see Introduction to Robin Hood Ballads):

Yet he was begyled, i-wys,
Through a wycked woman,
The prioresse of Kyrkesly,
That nye was of hys kynne;

For the love of a knyght,
Syr Roger of Donkestér,
That was her owne speciall,
Full evyll mote they fare.

They toke togyder theyr counsell
 Robyn Hode for to sle
 And how they myght best do that dede
 His banis for to be.

Then bespake good Robyn,
 In place where as he stode,
 "Tomorow I muste to Kyrkesley,
 Craftely to be leten blode."

Syr Roger of Donkestere
 By the pryoresse he lay,
 And there they betrayed good Robyn Hode,
 Through theyr false playe.

Cryst have mercy on his soule,
 That dyed on the rode!
 For he was a good outlaw.
 And dyde pore men moch god.

The "Lytel Geste," as has already been said, is made up of many old ballads about Robin Hood, strung together and assorted by some editor of Henry VII.'s time. Its account of his death (which reads very much like an epitome) is probably founded on some older ballad. That older ballad may have been the one now for the first time printed in our text.

The life in the well-known Sloane MS. is mainly based on the "Lytel Geste." Its story of the death is as follows: "Dystempered with could and age, he had great payne in his lymmes, his bloud being corrupted. Therfore to be eased of his payne by letting bloud he repayred to the priores of Kyrkesly, wh some say was his aunt, a woman very skylful in physique & surgery; who, perceyving him to be Robyn Hood & waying howe fel an enemy he was to religious persons, toke reveng of him for her owne howse & all others by letting him bleed to death. The buried him under a greate stone by the hywayes side. *It is also sayd that one Sir Roger of Dancastre, bearing grudge to Robyn for some iniury, incited the priores wth whome he was very familiar in such maner to dispatch him.*"

In "Robyn and Gandelyn" (Sloane MS. No. 2593) to Robyn
 "in grene wode bowndyn,"

There came a schrewde arwe out of the west,
 That felde Robert's pryde.

The fatal arrow is shot by one Wrennok of Doune, who, in return, has his heart cleft in twain by Gandelyn's shaft. But, as Ritson points out (see his "Ancient Songs and Ballads," i. 81), this Robyn is probably one Robyn Lyth, who gives his name to the cave at Flamborough Head. The ballad belongs to the Robin Hood cycle, as Mr. Wright remarks in his reprint of it (see "Songs and Carols," No. 10), but it does not relate to the central hero of it.

In Martin Parker's somewhat insipid "True Tale of Robin Hood," written in Charles I.'s reign, a revolt amongst his followers (the poetaster is thinking of things contemporary, no doubt) brings on a fever.

He hied him with all speed
 Unto a nunnery, with intent
 For his health's sake to bleed !

A faithless friar did pretend
 In love to let him blood ;
 But he by falsehood wrought the end
 Of famous Robin Hood.

The prioress is mentioned only as burying him.

Fuller, in his "Worthies," 1662, writing of Robin, wonders "how he escaped the hand of justice, dying in his bed, for ought is found to the contrary. But it was because," he says, "he was rather a merry than a mischievous thief, complementing passengers out of their purses, never murdering any but deer, and this popular Robber feasted the vicinage with venison."

In "Robin Hood's Garland" (of which the earliest known edition appeared in 1670, containing sixteen ballads) Robin goes alone to

Kirkley. When he finds himself bleeding to death in the solitary room in which his cousin has locked him, he summons Little John by three blasts of his horn, and then shoots the arrow whose fall is to mark his grave. Red Roger is not heard of.

In "Robin Hood and the Valiant Knight," Robin falls ill in the greenwood.

He sent for a monk to let him blood,
Who took his life away.

In "Le Morte de Robin Hode," a quite modern piece printed in Hone's "Every-day Book," from an odd collection of MS. songs in the editor's possession, the prioress is represented as the outlaw's sister, and as poisoning him.

This brief mention of these other accounts of Robin's end will serve to show the preciousness of the present version.

V. 3. Cf. Drayton's "Polyolbion," of the Calder.

It chanced she in her course on Kirkley cast her eye
Where merry Robin Hood, that honest thief, doth lie.

(He was buried near the scene of his death.) Dr. Stukeley, in the second vol. of his "Itinerarium Curiosum," gives an engraving of "The prospect of Kirkleys Abbey, where Robin Hood dyed," which Mr. Gutch reproduces in his "Lytel Geste of Robin Hood," (2 vols. London, 1847).

V. 21. Cf. "Robin Hood and the Monk," vv. 39-66, where Robin gives odds.

"I WILL neuer eate nor drinke," Robin hood said,
"nor meate will doo me noe good,¹
till I hane beene att Merry church Lees
4 my vaines for to let blood."

Robin must
needs go to
Kirklees to
be bled.

¹ Cp. "Mete ne drynk shall do me [no] good ar I se the dye." *Sir Degrevant*, l. 1739-40.—F.

Scarlet urges
him to go
escorted,

"That I reade not," said will scarlett,
"Master, by the assente of me,
without halfe 100^d of your best bowmen
8 you take to goe with yee;

for fear of
Red Roger.

"For there is a good yeoman doth abide,
will be sure to quarrell with thee,
and if thou haue need of vs, master,
12 in faith we will not flee."

Robin
refuses;

"And thou be feard, thou william Scarlett,
att home I read thee bee,—"
"and you be wrothe, my deare Master,
16 you shall Neuer heare more of mee:—"

will take no
one but
Little John.

"for there shall noe man with me goe,
nor man with mee ryde,
and litle Iohn shall be my man,
20 and beare my benbow by my side."

"Youst¹ beare your bowe, Master, your selfe,
nor shoote for a peny with mee."
"to that I doe assent," Robin Hood sayd,
24 "and soe, Iohn, lett it bee."

Robin and
John set off.
They come
to a black
water, with
a plank
across it,

They 2 bolde children shotten² together
all day theire selfe in ranke
vntill they came to blacke water,
28 & over it laid a planke.

¹ You must, you'll have to. Still used in Lancashire. The nearest use of '*st*, *is to*, *art to*, in Yorkshire (see p. 20, note ⁴) is, that if one labourer gave another his master's order, "thoo's t' gau t' Stowsley Sat'rda', fust train," and the other labourer objected, the speaker would tell him that he must go, that he'd

have to go, thus: "thoo's t' gan all t' same."—J. C. Atkinson.

² went quickly. "Old Norse *skjota*; Dutch, *schieten*; Germ. *schieszen*, to dart, shoot, move with impetuosity." Wedgwood. "Hys fote *schett* [slipt] and he felle downe." *Syr Tryamour*, ed. Halliwell, Percy Soc. 1846, p. 52, l. 1547.—F.

Vpon it there kneeled an old woman
was banning ¹ Robin Hoode;

31 "Why dost thou bann Robin Hoode?" said Robin,

[half a page missing.]

and on the
plank an old
woman on
her knees,
cursing
Robin.
He asks why.

"to giue to Robin Hoode
wee weepen for his deare body

34 that this day must be lett bloode."

[page 22.]

Robin is to
die.

"The dame prior is my aunts daughter,
and nie vnto my kinne,
I know shee wold me noe harme this day
38 for all the world to winne."

The Prioress
is his cousin,
he says, and
to be trusted.

Forth then shotten these children 2,
and they did neuer lin ²
vntill they came to merry churchlees,
42 to Merry churchlee with-in.

They
proceed to
Kirklees.

And when they came to Merry church lees
they knoced vpon a pin ³:
vpp then rose dame Prioressse,
46 and lett good Robin in.

They are
admitted by
the Prioress.

Then Robin gaue to dame prioressse
20^y pound in gold,
and bad her spend while that wold last,
50 and shee shold haue more when shee wold.

Robin gives
her 20l., and
promises
more.

¹ I warrye, I banne or curse. *Je mauldis*. This is a farre northren terme. Palgrave.—F.

² A.-S. *linnan*, to cease: the base of A.-S. *blinnan*, E.-Engl. *blin*, cease, without the intensive prepositional *b*. Milton

uses the word in his *Reason of Church Government*, "never *lin* pealing our ears." Works, ed. 1738, vol. i. p. 74.—F.

³ The metal peg under a knocker. See *this* *id* upon a pin, in "Glasgerion," below.—F.

She gets her
"blood
irons,"

And downe then came dame prioresse,
downe she came in that ilke,¹
with a pair off blood Irons ² in her hands
54 were wrapped all in silke.

bids him
bare his
arm,

"Sett a chaffing dish to the fyer," said dame
prioresse,
"and stripp thou vp thy sleeue."
I hold him but an vnwise man
58 that will noe warning leewe.³

and opens a
vein.

Shee Laid the blood Irons to Robin Hoods vaine,
alacke, the more pitye !
& pearct the vaine, & let out the bloode
62 that full red was to see.

It bleeds
and bleeds.

Robin
suspects
treason.

And first it bled, the thicke thicke bloode,
& afterwards the thinne,
& well then wist good Robin Hoode
66 treason there was within.

Little John
asks what
cheer, and is
told "but
little."
68

"What cheere my master ?" said litle Iohn,
"In faith, Iohn, litle goode."

[*half a page missing.*]

Robin
answers
Red Roger.

"I haue upon a gowne of greene⁴
is cut short by my knee,
& in my hand a bright browne brand
72 that will well bite of thee."

[page 23.]

¹ same (time).—F.

² Cf. "I launce a sore, as a cyrurgien
dothe, with a launsyng yron." *Jenecise*.
Palsgrave.—F.

³ i.e. believe.—P. Cp. "He that winna
be counsellid canna be helped."—*Scottish*

Proverbs, ed. Hislop, p. 351. "Ae word
is enough to the wise," p. 352; "he's
wise that's timely wary," p. 353.—F.

⁴ This line read and copied in by
Percy.—F.

But forth then of a shop¹ windowe
 good Robin Hood he could glide :
 Red Roger with a grounding glaue²

Red Roger
 stabs him.

76 thrust him through the milke white side.

But Robin was light & nimble of foote,
 & thought to abate his pride,
 ffor betwixt his Head & his shoulders
 80 he made a wound full wide.

Robin cuts
 him down.

Says "ly there, ly there, Red Roger,
 the doggs they must thee eate,
 for I may haue my houzle," he said,
 84 "for I may both goe & speake."

"Now giue me mood,³" Robin said to litle Iohn,
 "giue me mood with thy hand ;
 I trust to god in heauen soe hye
 88 my houzle will me bestand."

"Now giue me leaue, giue me leaue, Master," he
 said,
 "for christs loue giue leaue to me
 to set a fier within this hall
 92 & to burne vp all church lee !"

Little John
 wishes to
 burn down
 the hall and
 the church.

"That I reade not," said Robin Hoode then,
 "litle Iohn, for it may not be,
 if I shold doe any widow hurt, at my latter end,
 96 god," he said, "wold blame me ;

Robin
 forbids.

¹ ? shaped, cut out, carved.—F.

bat þe growndene gayfe graythes in
 sondyre.

² i.e. sword. "A ground or sharpened
 spear-head." Compare

Morte Arthure (ed. Perry, E. E. Text
 Soc.) p. 110, l. 3761-2.

He gyrdes hym in at þe gorge with his
 gryme launce,

³ help?; Du. *moedt*, courage (Hexham),
moed (Sewel).—F.

He asks
Little John
to bear him
into the
street, and
there bury
him,

“ But take me vpon thy backe, litle Iohn,
 & beare me to yonder streete,
 & there make me a full fayre graue
100 of grauell & of greete¹;

with his
sword at his
head and
his arrows at
his feet.

“ And sett my bright sword at my head,
 mine arrowes at my feete,
 & lay my vew-bow² by my side
104 my met-yard³ wi

[*half a page missing.*]

¹ greet, i. e. gritt, whence gritty.—P.

² ben-bow.—P. “bowe of vewe” in
“Floddon Field,” l. 319, ed. Weber.—F.

³ a measuring rod; generally a tailor’s.

Grumio, “take thou the bill, giue me thy
meat-yard, and spare not me.”—*The*
Taming of the Shrew, Actus Quartus,
p. 224, col. 2. Booth’s reprint.—F.

King Arthur and the King of Cornwall.¹

THIS piece has been already printed from the fol. MS. by Sir Frederick Madden, in his "Syr Gawayne."

The story, as that learned editor says, is "a close imitation of the famous *gabs* made by Charlemagne and his companions at the court of King Hugon, published by M. Michel from a MS. in the British Museum [King's Library MSS. 16 E. viii.], London, 1830, and transferred at a later period to the prose romance of Galien Rethoré, printed by Verard, fol. 1500, and often afterwards."

King Charles, in the romance edited by M. Michel, and assigned by him to the twelfth century, recrowned at St. Denis, and exulting, is rebuked by his queen for his pride, and assured that she has seen a far nobler prince than he. The king, irritated by this humiliating assertion, insists on knowing whom she means, and when he knows, determines on visiting him. With his twelve peers he makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return visits the court of the surpassing prince, who is Hugo, King of Constantinople. He is most hospitably received, and in due time conducted to a chamber considerably furnished with thirteen beds. When he and his twelve are comfortably distributed in these, he suggests that each one of them should make a *gab*—an extravagant boast, a fanfaronnade. Charles, commencing the sport,—we quote, for the sake of brevity, not from the original romance, but from M. Ménage's account of "Roman de Galien Restauré," to be found in Menagiana I. 110 *et seq.* of the third edition, Paris, 1715 (a good account of the tale published by

¹ Percy's title. No other copy known.

M. Michel may be seen in Mr. Wright's "Essays on the Literature of the Middle Ages")—"Se vanta que d'un revers de Joyeuse sa bonne épée il couperoit net par le milieu un homme couvert d'un harnois du plus fin acier; Roland, que du seul bruit de son cor il feroit tomber cinquante toises des murailles du Palais du Roy Hugon; Oger, qu'en tirant du bout du doight une corde qu'il auroit nouée au tour du gros pilier qui étoit au milieu de la sale, il le renverseroit et tout l'édifice en même tems." And so they brag on. But King Hugo, un-handsomely, had stationed a spy in their chamber—"un homme caché dans le creux du gros pilier." The spy, as soon as the worthy *gabeurs* are asleep, reports their conversation. King Hugo by no means enters into the humour of it, but next day gravely insists that each vaunt must be verily performed. Charlemagne, sorely perplexed, betakes himself to his prayers. They are answered. And so, with the assistance of Heaven and of King Hugo's daughter, to whom Oliver's *gab* related, the emperor and his paladins are extricated from the difficulties brought on them by their ill-timed rhodomontade. Such is the basis of the present fragment. The story, originally belonging to that cluster of romances which connect Charlemagne with the East, and entitled "Comment Charels de Fraunce voiet in Jherusalem e par parols sa feme à Constantinople par ver roy Hugon," seems to have been extensively popular. It was translated into Icelandic, and inserted in a saga—"Sagum of Karlamagnum og Hoppum Hans."

It is greatly altered in the present version. King Arthur's character is saved from any imputation of braggadocio. An Anglo-Saxon MS. (Calig. A. xv.) speaks of "Elevatio Francorum" and "ira Brittonum," which phrases may happily characterise the French and English versions of the story. Charlemagne's boasts spring from mere wantonness. The Arthurian vows are the result of the King of Cornwall's insolence. Here indeed the King of Cornwall plays the gascon, not the King of Little

Britain. The English adapter of the piece has transferred the vice to the foreign potentate. We may also note how the plain, unadorned spy of the French original is in the Northern version transformed into a hideous monster, with seven fire-breathing heads. Perhaps with the French warp have been interwoven threads of a quite distinct origin. The piece may be a fusion of several pieces.

The phrase in v. 198, being a very common one about the end of the sixteenth century, suggests to Sir Frederick Madden that the version may belong to that period.

There is known no other allusion to the intrigue with Queen Guinevere of which the King of Cornwall boasts. But Holinshed says of her too truly, "She was evil reported of, as noted of incontinence and breach of faith to her husband." See "Sir Lambwell."

Sir Marramiles is not heard of elsewhere. Sir Bredbeddle is the "Green Knight," the hero of the romance of the name.

"Little Britain" is of course Armorica.

For the steed and the trick of its management, compare the horse of brass in Chaucer's "Squyer's Tale."

[saies, "come here Cuzen gawaine so gay]"¹

[page 24.] King Arthur calls Gawain to look at his Round Table.

my sisters sonne be yee;

for you shall see one of the fairest round tables,

4 that euer you see with your eye."

then bespake Lady Queen Gueneuer,

& these were the words said shee:

"I know where a round table is, thou noble King,

8 is worth thy round table & other such 3.

Guenever says she knows where there is a much fairer one.

¹ "come here, Cuzen, Gawaine, so gay;" was the first line before the binder cut it.—P. The bottoms of the letters left suit better those in the text above.—F.

- “The trestle that stands vnder this round table,” she
said,
“lowe downe to the mould,
it is worth thy round table,¹ thou worthy King,
12 thy halls, and all thy gold ;
“the place where this round table stands in,
it is worth thy castle, thy gold, thy fee ;
and all good litle britaine.”
If Arthur would know
where it is,
let him seek
till he finds
it. 16 “where may that table be, Lady ?” quoth hee,
or where may all that goodly building be ?”
“you shall it seeke,” shee says, “till you it find,
for you shall neuer gett more of me.”
The King
vows to find
it, 20 then bespake him Noble King Arthur,
these were the words said hee ;
“He make mine avow to god,
& alsoe to the trinity,
and bids Sir
Marramiles,
Tristeram,
Gawain, and
Bredbeddle,
be his
fellows in
the search, 24 “He never sleepe one night, there as I doe another,
till *that* Round Table I see !
Sir Marramiles and Sir Tristeram,
fellowes *that* ye shall bee ;
he and they
disguised as
palmeres. 28 “weele be clad in palmeres weede,
5 palmeres we will bee ;
There is noe outlandish man will vs abide,
Nor will vs come nye.”
32 then they riued² east & the riued west,
in many a strange country ;
They face
eastward and
westward. then they tranckled³ a litle further,
they saw a battle new sett ;
“now, by my faith,” saies Noble King Arthur,
37 well [mett]
[*half a page is here torn away.*]

¹ the *d* of *round* and the *e* of *table*
have tags like *esses* to them.—F.

² riued, i. e. arrived.—F.

³ travelled, qu.—P. Dutch *trantelen*
or *tranten*, to goe lazely, softly, or a soft
pace (Hexham, 1660).—F.

But when he cam to this . . . C . . . ,¹ [page 25.] They come
 & to the palace gate, to the palace
 soe ready was ther a proud porter, gate,
 and meet a
 proud porter,

41 & met him soone therat.

shooes of gold the porter² had on,
 & all his other rayment was vnto the same;
 "now, by my faith," saies Noble King Arthur,
 45 "yonder is a minion³ swaine."

Then bespake Noble King Arthur,
 these were the words says hee:

to whom
 Arthur offers

"come hither, thou proud porter,
 49 I pray thee come hither to me.

"I haue 2 poore rings of my finger,
 they better of them Ile giue to thee;
 tell who may be Lord of this castle," he says,
 53 "or who is lord in this cuntry?"

a ring for
 information
 who is the
 lord of the
 castle and
 country.

"Cornewall King," the porter says,
 "there is none soe rich as hee;
 neither in christendome, nor yet in heathennest,
 57 none hath soe much gold as he."

The King of
 Cornwall,
 says the
 Porter.

& then bespake him Noble King Arthur,
 these were the words sayes hee:
 "I haue 2 poore rings of my finger,
 the better of them Ile giue thee
 if thou wilt greete him well, cornewall King,
 63 and greete him well from me,

Arthur
 repeats his
 offer of the
 ring, if the
 Porter will
 announce
 him

¹ Percy suggests "that castle to," but these words do not suit the parts of letters left.—F.

² There was a change in porters by 1611. "*Taquin*: m. A niggard, miser,

micher, penie-father, pinch-crust, hold-fast; also, a *Porter*, or any such base companion." Cotgrave.—F.

³ *mignon*: Minion, daintie, neat, spruce. Cotgrave.—F.

and pray his
master for
board and
lodging for
him.

"pray him for one nights lodging, & 2 meales meate,
for his love that dyed vpon a tree ;
A vne ¹ ghesting, & two meales meate,
67 for his loue that dyed vpon a tree,

The Porter
does so.

"A vne ¹ ghesting of 2 meales meate,
for his love that was of virgin boirne,
& in the morning *that* we may scape away,
71 either without scath or scorne."

then forth his gone this proud porter,
as fast as he cold hye ;
& when he came befor cornewall King,
75 he kneeled downe on his knee.

sayes, "I hane beene porter-man, at thy gate,
this 30 winter and three . . . [? MS.]

[*half a page is wanting.*]

78 our Lady was borne. [page 26.]
then thought cornewall King these palmers had
beene in Brittainne.

The King
asks his
guests if
they know
anything of
one, King
Arthur.

then bespake him Cornwall King,
these were the words he said there :
82 "did you euer know a comely King,
his name was King Arthur ?"

& then bespake him Noble King Arthur,
these were the words said hee :
"I doe not know that comly King,
but once my selfe I did him see."

88 then bespake cornwall King againe,
these were the words said he :

¹ one ; repeating l. 64. Fr. *hostelage*, a bed or night's lodging for a guest. Cot.—F.

- 90 sayes, "7 yeere I was clad & fed,
in Litle Brittain, in a bower ;
I had a daughter by *King* Arthurs wife,
that now is called my flower ;
- 94 for *King* Arthur, that kindly Cockward,¹
hath none such in his bower ;
- "for I durst sweare, & saue my othe,
that same lady soe bright,
- 98 that a man *that* were laid on his death bed
wold open his eyes on her to haue sight."
- "Now, by my faith," sayes noble *King* Arthur,
" & thats a full faire wight ! "
- 102 & then bespake cornewall againe,
& these were the words he said² :
- " Come hither, 5 or 3 of my knights,
& feitch me downe my steed ;
- 106 *King* Arthur, that foule Cocke-ward,
hath none such, if he had need.
- " for I can ryde him as far on a day,
as *King* Arthur can doe any of his on 3.
- 110 & is it not a pleasure for a *King*
when he shall ryde forth on his Iourney ?
- " for the eyes that beene in his head,
thé glisten as doth the gleed.³ "
- 114 " Now, by my faith," says Noble *King* Arthur,
that is a well faire steed.⁴ " [? MS.]
- [half a page is wanting.]

The King
boasts of a
daughter
born to him
by Arthur's
wife.

Arthur has
none such.

Then he
boasts of his
steed.

Arthur has
none such.

His eyes
glisten like
fire.

¹ cuckwold.—P. Cp. *The Horn of King Arthur*, l. 17–18, Child i. 18—

"He was *kokwold* sykerly ;
for sothe it is no lesyng."

There is a French phrase, *Voyager en Cornouaille*: To be a cuckold ; or to haue his head horne-graffed at home while his feet are plodding abroad. Cotgrave.—F.

² said he. MS. he hight.—Percy (who puts l. 99–102 as a four-line stanza.—F.).

³ In Shropshire Gleed or Gleds signifies embers, vide p. 80 [of MS.] N.B. *gled* A.-Sax. est *pruna*, a live coal.—P.

⁴ Percy reads "That is a noble steed, qu."

- 116 "nobody say
but one *thats* learned to speake."

[page 27.]

After hear-
ing all these
boastings,
Arthur
retires to
rest with his
fellows.

- Then King Arthur to his bed was brought,
a greeined man was hee ;
120 & soe were all his fellowes with him,
from him thé thought neuer to flee.

"A loathly
fend" is
posted by
their bedside
to eavesdrop.

- then take they did that lodly boome,¹
& under thrub chadler² closed was hee ;
124 & he was set by King Arthurs bed-side,
to heere theire talke & theire comunye ;

that he might come forth, and make proclamation,
long before it was day.

- 128 it was more for King cornwalls pleasure,
then it was for King Arthurs pay.³

Arthur vows
he will be the
bane of the
King.

- & when King Arthur in his bed was laid,
these were the words said hee :
132 "He make mine avow to god,
and alsoe to the trinity,⁴
that He be the bane of Cornwall Kinge,
litle brittaine or euer I see !"

Gawain
reproves
him.

- 136 "it is an vnaduised vow," saies Gawaine the gay,
"as ever King hard make I ;
but wee *that* beene 5 christian men,
of the christen faith are wee ;
140 & we shall fight against anyoynt King
& all his armorie."

¹ ? beam, log. Du. *boom*, a Tree, a Barre, or a turning Logg, to lock and open into the entrance of a Haven. Hexham.—F.

² Cp. the bunge of the *trubchandler*, l. 172. A kind of tub? Phillips gives

Trub or *Trubtail*, a little squat woman. *Trube*, a sort of herb.—F.

³ t. i. pleasure.—F.

⁴ This and the line above are written as one in the MS.—F.

& then bespake him Noble Arthur,

& these were the words said he :

- 144 "why, if thou be afraid, Sir Gawaine the gay,
goe home, and drinke wine in thine owne country."

"Go home if
you are
afraid,"
retorts
Arthur.

THE 3^d PART.¹

AND then bespake Sir Gawaine the gay,

and these were the words said hee :

- 148 "nay, seeing you have made such a hearty vow,
heere another vow make will I.

"Nay,"
answers
Gawain, "I
will vow
too.

"He make mine avow to god,

and alsoe to the trinity,

- 152 *that* I will haue yonder faire lady
to litle brittaine with mee.

I vow to
carry off the
fair lady we
have heard
of."

"Hee hose² her homly to my hurt,³

& with her He worke my will ;"

[*half a page is wanting.*]

[*top line pared away.*]

- 156 these were the words sayd hee :

[page 28.]

"befor I wold wrestle with yonder feend,
it is better be drowned in the sea."

and then bespake Sir Bredbeddle,

- 160 & these were the words said he :

"why, I will wrestle with yon lodly feend,
god ! my gouernor thou wilt bee."

Bredbeddle
offers to
encounter
the feend.

¹ in the left margin of the MS.
—F.

² cuddle. *Hose*, to embrace, from *haloe*.

See Kennett, in MS. Lansd. 1033. Halli-
wall.—F.

³ t.i. heart.—F.

Then bespake him Noble Arthur,
 164 & these were they words said he :
 " what weapons wilt thou haue, thou gentle knight ?
 I pray thee tell to me."

he sayes, " Collen brand¹ Ile haue in my hand,
 168 & a Millaine knife² fast by me knee ;
 & a Danish axe³ fast in my hands,
 that a sure weapon I thinke wilbe."

¹ Hall speaks of "long speres called Collegne clowystes." 5th year of Henry VIII. "Espée de Collogne.—L'Allemagne a, pendant longtems, joui d'une juste réputation pour la trempe et la solidité des armes blanches ; encore de nos jours on estime particulièrement les lames fabriquées à Klingenthal, bourg du Bas-Rhin:" in "Proverbes et Dictons populaires avec les dits du mercier et des marchands et les crieries de Paris aux xiii^e et xiv^e siècles, publiés d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, par J. A. Crapelet, Imprimeur." Paris, 1831.—H.

"Coleyne threde" only is mentioned in *The Libel of English Policy* (Pol. Songs, ed. Wright, v. 2, p. 171).—F.

² Cp. l. 169 of "Eger & Grine" below: "My Habergion that was of Millaine fine."

In "Sir Degrevant," *Florence* swords are noticed—

"Bot twey swardus thei bene
 off *Florence* ful kene." l. 1608.

"The dealers in miscellaneous articles were also called *milliners*, from their importing *Milan* goods for sale, such as brooches, aiglets, spurs, glasses, &c." Saunders's *Chaucer*, p. 241-2.—F.

³ "Haiche de Danemarche.

"Les haiches du Nord étoient fort estimées au moyen âge."—*Crapelet*.

"Hache noresche out mult bele."

Wace, v. 13,391.

"una Hachet Denesh," in Plac. Coronæ de An. 12 Edw. 1 Cornub. Blount 54.

"Les hasches estoient les armes particulieres des Danois. *Isaac. Pontanus lib. V. Rer. Danicar.* parlant de l'équipage des soldats Danois qui furent envoyez par Godwin au Roy Kanut. 'Pendebant de humeris sinistris *Danica securis* auro similiter argentoque redimitæ undique.' D'où vient que souuent dans les Autheurs les *hasches* sont nommées *Danoisses*. Guillaume le Briton, l. xi. Philipp.

Hastis contractis mucronibus atque
 cutellis
 Insistunt, *Dacisque securibus* excerebrant se.

Et plus bas au mesme liure :

Nil miseros longa arma inuant, nil
 Dacha bipennis.

Le Roman des Loherenes :

Et portent glaives et espiés Poiteuins
Haches Danoisses por lancier et ferir.

Il est encore parlé de ces *hasches* *Danoisses* dans l'Autheur de *La Vie de Guillaume I. Roy d'Angleterre*, p. 192 ; en la *Chron. de Flandres*, chap. ix., &c. ; *Orderic Vital.* l. xiii. a dit *Norica securis*. —Dufresne's *Geoff. de Ville-Hardouin. Observations*, p. 298, fol. 1667 (referred to by Sir F. Madden in his reprint of this ballad).—H.

In Denmarke were fulle noble conquerours

In tyme passed, fulle worthy werriours.

Libel, p. 177.—F.

Then with his Collen brand *that* he had in his hand,
 the bunge of the trubchandler he burst in 3 ;
 173 with that start out a lodly feend,
 with 7 heads, & one body.

With his
brand he
amaashes in
the bung of
the tub
wherein the
fiend lies
concealed.
Out starts
the fiend,
fire-
breathing.

the fyer towards the element flew
 out of his mouth, where was great plentie ;
 177 the knight stooode in the middle, & fought,
that it was great Ioy to see,

They fight.

till his collaine brand brake in his hand,
 & his millaine knife burst on his knee ;
 181 & then the danish axe burst in his hand first,
 that a sur¹ weapon he thought shold be.

All the
knight's
weapons fall
him.

but now is the knight left without any weapons,
 & alacke ! it was the more pittie ;
 185 but a surer weapon then had he one,
 had neuer Lord in Christentye :
 & all was but one litle booke,
 he found it by the side of the sea.

But he has a
surer one,
a litle book
which he
found by the
sea-side,

189 he found it at the sea-side,
 wrucked² up in a floode ;
 Our Lord had written it with his hands,
 & sealed it with his bloode.

written by
our Lord's
own hand
and sealed
with his
blood.

[*half a page is wanting.*]

193 "That thou doe not s
 but ly still in that wall of stone ;
 till I haue beene with Noble King Arthur,
 & told him what I haue done."

[page 29].

He orders
the beaten
fiend to lie
still, while
he reports to
Arthur his
success.

¹ sure.—P.

or ruck.—P. thrown up as *wrack*.

² rucked, i.e. crowded all of a heap

—F.

He goes to
Arthur's
chamber,

And when he came to the *Kings* chamber,
he cold of¹ his curtesie,
199 says, "sleepe you, wake you, noble *King* Arthur ?
& euer Iesus waken yee !"

"Nay, I am not sleeping, I am waking,"
these were the words said hee :
203 "for thee I haue card ; how hast thou fared ?
O gentle knight, let me see."

the knight wrought² the *King* his booke,
bad him behold, reede, and see ;
207 & euer he found it on the backside of the leafe,
as Noble Arthur wold wish it to be.

who wishes
to see the
fiend.

& then bespake him *King* Arthur,
"alas ! thow gentle knight, how may this be,
211 that I might see him in the same licknesse
that he stood vnto thee ?"

Bredbeddle
says he shall,
if he will be
firm.

and then bespake him the greene knight,³
these were the words said hee :
215 "if youle stand stifly in the battell stronge,
for I haue won all the victory."

then bespake him the *King* againe,
& these were the words said hee :
219 "if wee stand not stifly in this battell strong,
wee are worthy to be hanged all on a tree."

Bredbeddle
conjures the
foul fiend to
appear just
as it had
appeared
before.

then bespake him the greene Knight,
these were the words said he :
223 saies, "I doe coniure thee, thou fowle feend,
in the same licknesse thou stood vnto me."

¹ knew of, remembered.—F.

² rought, reached.—F.

³ See the Romance of the Green Knight, p. 203 [of MS.].—P.

with that start out a lodly feend,

It does so.

226 with 7 heads, & one body ;

the fier towards the element flaugh¹

out of his mouth, where was great plenty.

the knight stood in the Middle p

[*half a page is wanting.*]

230 . . . they stood the space of an houre,

[page 20.]

I know not what they did.

And then bespake him the greene knight,

& these were the words said he :

234 saith, "I coniure thee, thou fowle feend,

that thou feitch downe the steed that we see."

Bredbeddle
orders the
fiend to
fetch the
steed above
boasted of.

& then forth is gone BURLOW-BEANIE,

as fast as he cold hie ;

It fetches it.

238 & feitch he did *that* faire steed,

& came againe by & by.

Then bespake him *Sir* Marramiles,

& these were the words said hee :

242 "Riding of this steed, brother BREDBEDDLE,

the mastery belongs to me."

Sir Mar-
ramiles
proposes to
ride it,

Marramiles tooke the steed to his hand,

to ryd him he was full bold ;

but he
cannot make
it stir.

246 he cold noe more make him goe

then a child of 3 yeere old.

he laid vpon him with heele and hand,

with yard that was soe fell ;

250 "helpe ! brother Bredbeddle," says Marramile,

"for I thinke he be the devill of hell.

¹ flew.—P.

"helpe! brother Bredbeddle," says Marramile,

"helpe! for christis pittye;

254 for without thy help, brother Bredbeddle,
he will neuer be rydden *pro me*."

The fiend,
conjured by
Bredbeddle,
says that

Then bespake him *Sir Bredbeddle*,
these were the words said he :

258 "I coniure thee, thou BurLOW-beane,
thou tell me how this steed was riddin in his
country."

there is a
gold wand
in the King's
study
window,

he saith, "there is a gold wand
Stands in *King* Cornwall's study windowe ;

262 "let him take that wand in *that* window,
& strike 3 strokes on that steed ;

which will
make the
steed go.

& then he will spring forth of his hand
as sparke doth out of Gleede.¹"

266 & then bespake him the greene knight,

[*half a page is wanting.*]

A lowd blast he may blow then [? MS.]

[page 31.]

Bredbeddle
orders the
fiend to fetch
the powder
box.

& then bespake *Sir Bredebeddle*,
to the fiend these words said hee :

270 says, "I coniure thee, thou BurLOW-beanie,
the powder-box thou feitch me."

It fetches it.

Then forth is gone BurLOW-beanie
as fast as he cold hie ;

274 & feich he did the powder-box,
& came againe by & by.

¹ Vid. note p. 26 [of MS.].—P. A.-S. *glêd*, red-hot coal.—F.

Then Sir Tristeram tooke powder forth of *that* box,
 & blent it with warme sweet milke ;

Tristeram
rinses the
horn with
warm sweet
milk and
the powder ;

& there put it vnto that horne,
 278 & swilled¹ it about in that ilke.

then he tooke the horne in his hand,
 & a lowd blast he blew ;

then blows
a blast.
The horn is
rent in
twain.

he rent the horne vp to the midst,
 282 all his fellowes this thé knew.

Then bespake him the greene knight,
 these were the words said he :

Bredbeddle
orders the
sleut to fetch
the sword.

saies, "I coniure thee, thou Burlow-beanie,
 286 *that* thou feitch me the sword *that* I see."

Then forth is gone Burlow-beanie,
 as fast as he cold hie ;

He fetches
it.

& feitch he did that faire sword,
 290 & came againe by & by.

Then bespake him Sir BREDBEDDLE,
 to the King these words said he :

• Bredbeddle
bids King
Arthur go
and strike
off the King
of Corn-
wall's head.

"take this sword in thy hand, thou noble King arthur!
 294 for the vowes sake *that* thou made Ile giue it th[ee;]

and goe strike off King Cornewalls head,
 in bed were he doth lye."

He does so.

Then forth is gone Noble King Arthur,
 298 as fast as he cold hye ;
 & strucken he hath off King Cornwalls head,
 & came againe by and by.

he put the head vpon a swords point,

[half a page wanting.]

¹ i.e. rinsed it, washed it, *Verb. Salop.*—P.

Sir Lionell.

WE have not discovered any other copy of the ballad here presented in a sadly fragmentary state. Among King Arthur's knights there is a Sir Lionell, the son of King Beort and so a kinsman of Lancelot. But there is no ground for identifying him with the hero of this piece, who is called the son of Sir Egrabell. There is, however, a much more than accidental likeness between this ballad and "The Jovial Hunter of Bromsgrove, or the Old Man and his three Sons" in Mr. Bell's "Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England," printed for the first time (as Mr. Bell tells us) by Mr. Allies of Worcester, but of long previous popularity in Worcestershire and some of the adjoining counties. The hero is one Sir Ryalas, one of Old Sir Robert Bolton's three sons. On spying the lady in the tree-top, he at once, by her advice, blows a blast, and brings out the wild boar. They fight for four hours, and the boar is slain. The lady turns out to be warmly attached to the boar, and presently shares her monstrous paramour's fate. The refrain is "Wind well thy horn, good hunter," alternating with "For he was a jovial hunter" or some very similar line. The same refrain as that of Percy's ballad occurs in an old song, sung to "a spirited tune," of Henry VIII.'s time, in MSS. Reg. append. 58, printed in Mr. Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time," v. 1, p. 58.

Blow thy horne, hunter,
 Cum, blow thy horne on hye!
 In yonder woode there lyeth a doe,
 In fayth she woll not dye.
 Cum, blowe thy horne, hunter!
 Cum, blow thy horne, joly hunter!

"It must be remembered," says Mr. Chappell in a letter to

the editors, "that such *burdens* as this were commonly sung as an under-song, or ground-base to the tune, while the soloist sang the verses of the ballad. The burden was not merely sung at the end of each stanza, as in later times."

Sir Graysteel, in the romance called after him and Sir Eger and Sir Grime, demands the little finger of Sir Eger's right hand as a token of victory, just as the giant Sir Lionell's in v. 43.

[page 32.]

SIR Egrabell had sonnes 3, { } blow thy horne, good hunter, Sir Lionell
Sir Lyonell was one of these { } as I am a gentle hunter.

- 6 Sir Lyonell wold on hunting ryde
vntill the forrest him beside, rides a
hunting,
- And as thé rode thorow the wood sees a
knight slain,
where trees & harts & all were good,
- 10 And as he rode over the plaine,
there he saw a knight lay slaine.
- And as he rode still on the plaine, and farther
on a lady
sitting up a
tree,
he saw a lady sitt in a graine¹ :
- 14 " Say thou, lady, & tell thou me,
what blood shedd heere had bee."
- " Of this blood shedd we may all rew, who says
both wife & childe and man alsoe,
- 18 " for it is not past 3 days right that the
slain knight
is Sir
Broning,
since Sir Broninge was mad a knight,
- " Nor it is not more than 3 dayes agoe slain three
days ago by
the wild
boar.
since the wild bore did him sloe."

¹ in graine, i.e. in scarlet.—P.

22 "Say thou, lady, & tell thou mee,
how long thou wilt sitt in *that* tree."

The lady
will not
move till her
friends
fetch her.

She said, "I wilt sitt in this tree
till my friends doe feitch me."

26 "Tell me, lady, & doe not miste,
where that *your* friends dwellings is."

"downe," shee said, "in yonder towne,
there dwells my freinds of great renowne."

30 Says, "Lady, He ryde into yonder towne
& see wether *your* friends beens bowne¹;

"I my self wilbe the formost man
that shall come, lady, to feitch you home."

Riding off
to fetch the
lady's
friends,

34 But as he rode then by the way,
he thought it shame to goe awaw,

and vnbethought² him of a while,³
how he might that wilde bore beguile.

Lionell feels
ashamed to
go.

38 "Sir Egrabell," he said, "my father was,
he neuer left lady in such a case;

"Noe more will I"

[*half a page missing.*]

The giant
demands
from Lionell
his hawks
and hounds,

41 "and a[fter⁴] that thou shalt doe mee
thy hawkes & thy lease alsoe;

[page 33.]

¹ i.e. ready.—P.

² The word still exists in Lancashire.
"He's the very mon for yo! Aw've just
unbethought mo! He knows more cracks
[stories] nor onybody o' this side."—
Waugh's *Lancashire Sketches*, 1857, p.

207. But originally the *un* was *um*, A.-S.
umb, *ymb*, about. A.-S. *unbeþoht*, is un-
thought, inconsiderate; while *ymbþencan*
is to think about.—F.

³ wyle.—P.

⁴ MS. blotted.—F.

- 43 "soe shalt thou doe at my command
the litle fingar on thy right hand.¹" and the
litle finger
of his right
hand.
- "Ere I wold leaue all this with thee,
vpon this ground I rather dyee." He objecta.
- 47 The Gyant gaue Sir Lyonell such a blow,
the fyer out of his eyen did throw. The giant
strikes him
fiercely.
- He said then, "if I were saffe² & sound
as with-in this hower I was in this ground,
- 51 "It shold be in the next townne told
how deare thy buffett it was sold ; Sir Lionell
says if he
were only as
undamaged
as he had
been an
hour before,
- "And it shold haue beene in the next townne said
how well thy buffett it were paid." men should
tell how he
repaid that
stroke.
- 55 "Take 40 daies into Spite³
to heale thy wounds that beene soe wide ; The giant
bids him
take forty
days to
make
- "when 40 dayes beene at an end,
heere meete thou me both safe & sound, himself well,
and then
return.
- 59 "And till thou come to me againe,
with me thoust⁴ leane thy lady alone."
- when 40 dayes was at an end,
Sir Lyonell of his wounds was healed sound, After forty
days, he
rides to the
tryst ; his
- 63 He tooke with him a litle page,—
he gaue to him good yeomans wage,—

¹ See in "Eger and Grine," below, how the knight cuts off the little fingers of all whom he conquers.—F.

² safe.—P.

³ ? in spital or hospital.—H. But if Dr. Mahn (in *Webster's Dictionary*) is right in identifying *reprieve* with *reproof*, as I have no doubt he is, tracing both to

the Latin *re-probare*, then the Promptorium, "Spyyte, repref or schame (spite, reprieve or schame), *obprobrium*," leads at once, in form at least, to the *reprieve*, the 40 days' grace, that we want here.—F.

⁴ See note to *thoust* in "Robin Hood and the Butcher," l. 28, p. 20, above.—F.

And as he rode by one hawthorne,
even there did hang his hunting horne.

bugle blows
towards the
south. 67

He sett his bugle to his mouth,
& blew his bugle still full south ;

The lady
hears and
comes to
him,

He blew his bugle lowde & shrill ;
the lady heard, & came him till,

and says
that the
giant is
confident of
success. 71

Sayes, " the Gyant lyes vnder yond low,¹
& well he heares your bugle blow,

" And bidds me² of good cheere be,
this night heele supp with you & me."

He sets the
lady on a
horse, 75

Hee sett that lady vppon a steede,
& a litle boy before her yeede,

bidding her
flee if she
sees the
battell going
against
him. 78

And said, " lady, if you see that I must dye,
as euer you loued me, from me flye ;

" But, lady, if you see *that* I must lye,"

[*half a page missing.*]

¹ i. e. hill.—P.

² ? MS. eue[r].

Captaine Carré.¹

THE earlier part of this version of a well-known ballad is almost identical with the copy in the Cotton MSS. (Vespas. A. xxv.) printed by Ritson in his "Ancient Songs," with the striking burden given in the MS. (which is omitted in some reprints from him), viz. :

Syck, sicke, and to towe sike,
 And sicke, and like to die!
 The sikkest nighte that ever I abode!
 God lord, on me have mercy!

(Compare

When I fell sick, an' very sick,
 An' very sick, just like to die,

in "Jamie Douglas" in Mr. Bell's "Early Ballads." The iteration is extremely effective.) The end is different. So are the local names throughout. The atrocity here described is said to have been actually perpetrated in the year 1571. See Chambers' "Scottish Ballads," p. 67. As its perpetrator acted under the direction of Adam Gordon of Auchindown, the Marquis of Huntly's brother, the ballad is frequently known as "Edom o' Gordon." Under that name, taken down by Sir David Dalrymple from the recitation of a lady, it was first printed at Glasgow in 1755.

Ten years afterwards, modified by the fragment now for the first time given to the light, it appeared in the "Reliques." There is current yet another version, called "Loudoun Castle," printed by Prof. Child from "The Ballads and Songs of Ayrshire," first

¹ Our title: Percy's is "A Fragment of another ballad, of Cap^t Carr & his burning of a lady & 3 Child^{ren}." He adds, "In many things it resembles an

old Scottish song lately publish'd, intitled Edom of Gordon, 1759.—*Mem.* To correct the Scottish ballad by it.—T. P."

series, p. 74, where it is taken from a "Statistical Account of the Parish of Loudoun."

The popularity implied by this variety is not to be wondered at. There is no more vivid picture of a wild truculent time; nor in the picture of any time can there be seen a nobler figure than the lady here, with her touching tender love of her children, her high invincible spirit, alone, undismayed, true to the death.

"To the
castle of
Britons-
borough,"
the man
says.

4

¹ "faith, Master, whither you will,
whereas you like the best,
vnto the castle of Bittons borrow,
and there to take your rest."

[page 34.]

"The lord
is absent."

8

"But yonder stands a Castle faire,
is made of lyme & stone,
yonder is in it a fayre lady,
her lord is ridden & gone."

The lady
sees a host
approaching.

12

The lady stood on her castle wall,
she looked vpp and downe,
she was ware of an hoast of men
came rydinge towards the towne.

16

"See you not, my merry men all,
& see you not what I doe see?
Methinks I see a hoast of Men;
I muse who they shold be."

She thinks
it is her
lord. It is
Captain
Carr, lord of
Westerton.

20

She thought it had beene her louly Lord,
he had come ryding home:
it was the traitor, Captaine Carre,
the Lord of Westerton towne.

¹ The copy in the Cotton Library, which was printed by Ritson in his *Ancient Songs*, ii. 38, has the following first stanza:—

It befell at Martynmas
When wether waxed colde,
Captaine Care saide to his men,
"We must go take a holde."—F.

They had noe sooner super sett,
 & after said the grace,
 but the traitor Captaine Carre
 24 was light about the place.

At the
 beginning of
 supper,
 Captain
 Carr arrives,

"Giue over thy house, thou Lady gay,
 I will make thee a band,¹
 all night with-in mine armes thoust Lye,
 28 to-morrow be the heyre of my Land."

and bids
 her
 surrender
 the house.

"He not giue over my house," shee said,
 "neither for Ladds nor man,
 nor yet for traitor Captaine Carre,
 32 vtill my lord Come home ;

She stoutly
 refuses,

But reach me my pistoll pee,²
 & charge you well my gunne,
 He shoote at the bloody bucher,
 36 the lord of westerton."

calls for her
 pistol,

She stood vppon her castle wall
 & let the bulletts flee,
 39 and where shee mist ³

and fires it.

[*half a page missing.*]

¹ bond, agreement.—F.

² p^{te} (perdè).—P. piece.—F.

³ The Cotton copy has

She myst the bloddy bucher,
 And slew other three.

"I will not geve over my hous," she
 saithe,

"Neither for lord nor lowne,
 Nor yet for traitour Captain Care,
 The lord of Easter-towne.

"I desire of Captaine Care
 And all his bloddye band,
 That he would save my eldest sonne,
 The care of all my lande."

"Lap him in a shete," he sayth,
 "And let him downe to me,

And I shall take him in my armes,
 His warran wyll I be."

The captayne said unto himselfe
 Wyth sped before the rest ;
 He cut his tonge out of his head,
 His hart out of his breast.

He lapt them in a handkerchef,
 And knet it of knotcs three,
 And cast them over the castel-wall
 At that gay ladye.

"Fye upon thee, Captaine Care,
 And all thy bloddy band
 For thou hast slayne my eldest
 sonne,
 The ayre of all my land."—H.

Her little
child
complains of
the smoke.

43

But then bespake the litle child
that sate on the nurses knee,
saies, "mother deere, giue ore this house,
for the smoake it smoothers me."

[page 35.]

47

"I wold giue all my gold, my childe,
soe wold I doe all my fee,
for one blast of the westernne wind
to blow the smoke from thee."

51

But when shee saw the fier
came flaming ore her head,
shee tooke then vpp her children 2,
Sayes, "babes, we all beene dead!"

The lady and
her three
children
are burnt.

55

But Adam¹ then he fired the house,
a sorrowfull sight to see:
now hath he burned this lady faire
& eke her children 3.

Carr rides
away from
the scene of
his atrocity.

59

Then Captaine Carre he rode away,
he staid noe longer at that tide,
he thought that place it was to warme
soe neere for to abide;

63

He calld vnto his merry men all,
bidd them make hast away,
"for we haue slaine his children 3,
all, & his Lady gay."

The lady's
lord in
London
hears of
what has
been done,

67

Worde came to loully london,
to london wheras her lord lay,
"his castle & his hall was burned
all, & his lady gay."

¹ Adam Car is not unlike Edom of Gordon.—P.

Soe hath he done his Children 3,
 more dearer vnto him
 then either the siluer or the gold
 71 that men soe faine wold win."

But when he looket this writing on,
 Lord, in is hart he was woe!
 saies, "I will find thee, Captaine Carre,
 75 wether thou ryde or goe!

and vows to
 find Captain
 Carr.

"Buffe¹ yee, bowne yee, my merrymen all,
 with tempered swords of steele,
 for till I haue found out Captaine Carre,
 79 my hart it is nothing weele."

But when he came to dractons Borrow,
 soe long ere it was day,
 & ther he found him, Captaine Carre;
 83 that night he ment to stay.

He finds
 him at
 Dracton-
 borough.

[*half a page missing.*²]

¹ *Buske* is the more usual word; but *Buffe* may well mean—"don your buff jerkin." "arm."—F.

² The copy in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, ii. 38, makes the husband take no vengeance on Captain Car; but that in Ritson's *Scottish Songs*, ii. 17, has:

And some they raid, and some they ran,
 Fu fast out ovr the plain,
 But lang, lang, eer he cou'd get up,
 They were a' deid and slain.

But mony were the mudie men
 Lay gasping on the grien;

For o' fifty men that Edom brought
 out,
 There were but five ged heme.

And mony were the mudie men
 Lay gasping on the grien,
 And mony were the fair ladys
 Lay lemanless at heme.

And round and round the waes he
 went,
 Their ashes for to view;
 At last into the flames he flew,
 And bad the world adieu.—F.

Sir Lancelott of Bulake.

[page 36.]

[In the printed collection 1726. Vol. ii. p. 18.—N. III. Percy.]

THIS ballad, which has been printed again and again, was written towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, probably by Thomas Deloney, a notorious ballad-maker. It is nothing more than a rhymed version of certain chapters in Sir T. Malory's "Most Ancient and Famous history of the Renowned Prince Arthur, &c." (chaps. 106, 107, and 108 of the 1634 edition, lately reprinted by Mr. Wright). It is found first in the "Garland of Good Will." There are two copies of it in the Bagford Collection.

Falstaff quotes the first line except the last word, and after a brief interruption the second, which he makes "And was a worthy king," in the 2nd part of "King Henry IV." act ii. sc. iv. It is quoted also, as Mr. Chappell mentions, in Marston's "Malcontent," and Beaumont and Fletcher's "Little French Lawyer."

When
Arthur first
became
king,

4

WHEN Arthur first in Court began
& was approued king,
by force of armes great victoriys wonne
and conquest home did bring,

he came to
England
with fifty
knights of
the Round
Table.

8

Then into England straight he came
with 50⁷ good and able
knights that resorted vnto him,
& were of the round table.

And many Iusts & turnaments¹
 wherto were many prest,²
 weherin some knights did farr exell
 12 & eke surmount the rest.

And many
 iousts were
 held,

But one Sir Lancelot of Dulake
 he was approuved well,
 he for his deeds & feats of armes
 16 All others did exell.

wherein Sir
 Lancelot
 du Lac
 greatly
 excelled all
 others.

When he had rested him awhile
 In play & game to sportt,
 he said he wold goe prove himselfe
 20 in some aduenturous sort.

Sir Lancelot
 seeks for
 adventures.

He armed rode in a fforrest wide,
 & met a damsell faire,
 who told him of adventures great,
 24 wherto he gaue great care.

Riding in a
 forest, he
 meets a
 dameel,

"Why shold I not?" quoth Lancelott tho;
 For that cause came I hither."
 "thou seemst," quoth shee, "a *Knight* full good
 28 & I will bring thee thither

who leads
 him to
 where dwells
 a worthy
 foeman.

Weras the worthiest *knight* doth dwell"
 ch ³

[*half a page lost.*]

¹ The difference between justs and turnaments consists in this, that the latter is the genus, of which the former is only a species. Turnaments included all kinds of military sports and engagements made out of gallantry and diversion. Justs were those particular combats where the parties were near each other, and engaged with lance and sword: add, that the tournament was frequently performed by a number of cavaliers, who fought in a body; the just was a single combat of one man against another. *Chambers's Dict.* 1741, *Just.*—F.

² ready.—F.

³ *The Garland of Good Will* (1678, reprinted by the Percy Society) reads:

That now is of great fame;
 Therefore tell me what knight thou art,
 And then what is your name."

"My name is Lancelot du Lake."
 Quoth she, "It like[s] me than;
 Here dwells a Knight that never was
 O'ermatched with any man;

"Who has in prison three score Knights
 And four, that he has bound,

" You vannt
beyond
bearing,"
says
Lancelot.
" Defend
yourself." 34

" Thatts ouer much " quoth Lancelott tho, [page 37.]
" defend thee by & by."
they sett their speares¹ unto ther steeds,
and eache att other fle.

They
charge.

38 They coucht theire speares, their horses run
as though there had beene thunder,
& euery stroke in midst their sheelds,
werewith they broke in sunder.

Their
horses' backs
break.

They jump
off.

42 They horseses bakes brake vnder them,
they *knights* were both astond ;
to avoyd their horsse they made great hast,
& light vpon the ground.²

As they
stand
breathless
and faint,

46 They wounded were, & bled full sore,
they both for breath did stand,
& leaning on their swords awhile,
quoth Tarquine " hold thy hand, .

Tarquin
praises
Lancelot's
prowess ;

50 " And tell to me what I shall Aske."
" say on," quoth Lancelott tho ;
" thou art," quoth Tarquine, " the best *knight*
that euer I did know,

Knights of King Arthur's Court they
be,
And of his Table Round."

She brought him to a river side,
And also to a tree,
Whereon a copper bason hung,
His fellow shields to see.

He struck so hard, the bason broke ;
When Tarquin heard the sound,
He drove a horse before him straight,
Whereon a knight lay bound.

" Sir knight," then said Sir Lancelot,
" Bring me that horse-load hither,

And lay him down & let him rest ;
We'll try our force together.

" And as I understand thou hast,
So far as thou art able,
Done great despite and shame unto
The knights of the Round Table."

" If thou be of the Table Round,"
(Quoth Tarquin, speedilye,)
" Both thee and all thy fellowship
I utterly defie."—H.

¹ t. i. spurs.—F.

² A stanza is here wanting w^{ch} is to
be found in y^e printed copy.—P.

54 "Like to a knight that I doe hate,
 see that thou be not hee,
 I will deliuer all the rest,
 & eke accord with thee."

 "That is well said," said lancelott tho,
 "but seeth¹ it must see bee;
 what *knight* is that, *that* thou dost hate?
 58 I pray thee show to mee."

and
 promises, if
 he is not a
 certain
 knight
 whom he
 hates, to
 give up his
 captives.

"And pray
 who is this
 knight?"

"His name, *Sir Lancelott dulake* is,
 he slew my brother deere;"

"Sir
 Lancelot
 du Lac;
 he slew my
 brother."

[*half a page missing.*²]

¹ since.—F.

² The old printed ballad continues:

Him I suspect of all the rest;
 I would I had him here."

"Thy wish thou hast, but yet unknown;
 I am Lancelot du Lake!
 Now Knight of Arthur's Table Round,
 Kind Hand's son of Senwake;

"And I desire thee do thy worst."
 "Ho! ho!" quoth Tarquin, though,
 "One of us two shall end our lives
 Before that we do go.

"If thou be Lancelot du Lake,
 Then welcome shalt thou be;
 Wherefore see then thyself defend,
 For now defie I thee."

They buckled then together so,
 Like two wild boars rashing,
 And with their swords and shields they
 ran
 At one another flashing.

The ground besprinkled was with blood,
 Tarquin began to faint;
 For he gave back, and bore his shield
 So low, he did repent.

This soon 'spied Sir Lancelot though;
 He leapt upon him then,
 He pull'd him down upon his knee,
 And, rushing off his helm,

And then he struck his neck in two;
 And when he had done so,
 From prison, three score knights and four,
 Lancelot delivered though.—H.

The Turk: & Gowin.

[page 28.]

THIS fragment is printed from the Percy Folio in Sir Frederick Madden's "Sir Gawayne."

The commencement of it strongly resembles the opening scene of the "Green Knight" (see below, vol. ii. and "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight" in Madden's "Sir Gawayne," and among the Early English Text Society's Publications). Indeed, the commencement is probably borrowed from that poem, and imperfectly amalgamated with the main story. The proposed exchange of buffets is apparently forgotten altogether as the story proceeds. Instead of Sir Gawain's *receiving* in his turn a blow, the Turk implores and persuades him to *give* another—he offers him the other cheek.

The scene of the terrible competition to which Sir Gawain is challenged is the Isle of Man. Superstition firmly believed for many a century that that island was tenanted by a population of giants. Even when Waldron visited it about the middle of the last century, that belief prevailed. He intitles his book "The History and Description of the Isle of Man, its antiquity. . . curious and authentick Relations of Apparitions of giants that have lived under the castle, time immemorial. Likewise many comical and entertaining stories of the pranks play'd by fairies, &c." Giants had overpowered the primitive population—the fairies—said the common account, and been themselves in course of time overpowered and spell-bound by Merlin; and spell-bound they were still lying in huge subterranean chambers. "They say," says Waldron, who is himself not quite untouched by the infirmities of the islanders, "there are a great number of fine apartments underground, exceeding in magnificence any of the

upper rooms [of the Castle, at Castleton]. Several men of more than ordinary courage have in former times ventured down to explore the secrets of this subterraneous dwelling-place, but none of them ever returned to give an account of what they saw." And then he tells a story current amongst the natives how at one time an uncommonly bold fellow, well fortified with brandy, penetrated these dark regions, and at last reached light and a magnificent house, with a monster, fourteen feet long and ten or eleven round, recumbent in it, at the sight of whom he judiciously retraced his steps. So of Douglas Fort he tells us "there is certainly a very strong and secret apartment underground in it, having no passage to it but a hole, which is covered with a large stone, and is called to this day 'The great man's chamber.'" The island abounds with ancient stone circles, to some account of which a small pamphlet is devoted by Mr. Halliwell. So it was naturally enough made the scene of Sir Gawain's encounter with the giant brood.

The sports in which the monsters indulge are those, on a huge scale, which were generally in vogue at the time of the composition of the romance. The old writers could not conceive an age with different fashions from those of their own. Alexander was even as Arthur. So the giants sport after the manner of the knights. Hand-tennis (*Jeu de paume*, *pila palmaria* our 'fives') was a popular game at a very early period. Strutt quotes from the "Romance of the Three Kings' sons and the King of Sicily" (MS. Harl. 326): "The king for to assaie him made justes and tournies, and no man did so well as he; in runnyng, *playing at the pame*, shotyng, and *castyng of the barre*, ne found he his maister." Tennis-courts were common in France in Charles V.'s time (1364-1380). Our Henry VII. was a tennis-player. "Item," runs a MS. Register of his expenses in the Remembrancer's Office, "for the king's loss at tennis 12*d.*, for the loss of balls 5*d.*" In MSS. Harl. 2248 and 6271 (*apud* Strutt) we

find mentioned "tenes coats" and "drawers" and "slippers" for his son. The other sports—the flinging of the axletree, and of the huge chimney or fire-place (Cf. "Than was then on a chymenay a gret fyr that brente rede," MS. Ashmole, 33 f. 29 *apud* Halliwell s. v.)—are of one and the same kind, and a kind extremely popular in Old England, as still in the North, and in Scotland. Fitzstephen's "Description of London" informs us that such sports were in great favour in the twelfth century. In Edward III.'s time they were so much so as to endanger the practice of archery. The objects thrown or hurled were stones, darts, bars of wood and iron, and similar things. Cf. Barclay's "Ecloges" (1508), quoted by Strutt :

I can dance the raye ; I can both pipe and sing,
 If I were merry ; I can both hurle and fling ;
 I runne, I wrestle, *I can well throw the barre,*
No shepherd threwe the axeltree so farre ;
 If I were merry, I could well leape and spring ;
 I were a man mete to serve a prince or king.

Verses 154–165 inclusive would seem to be an interpolation made at one of the many periods when there was felt a general disgust with the clergy—probably in the fifteenth century.

The contrast between Sir Kay and Sir Gawain—the crabbed knight and the courteous—is one often brought out. See the next piece.

LISTEN, lords great & small,
 what aduentures did befall
 in England, where hath beene
 4 of knights that held the round table
 which were doughty & profittable,
 of kempys¹ cruell & keene.

¹ kempys *i.e.* warriors.—P.

- 8 All England both East & west,
 lords & ladyes of the best,
 they busked & made them bowne,
 & when the king sate in seate,—
 lords serued him att his meate,—
 12 into the hall a burne¹ there cane :
- He was not hye, but he was broad,
 & like a turke² he was made
 both legg & thye,
 16 & said, "is there any will, as a brother,
 to giue a buffett & take another,
 giff any soe hardy bee ? "
- Then spake sir Kay, that crabbed knight,
 20 & said "man, thou seemest not soe wight,
 if thou be not adread,
 for there beene knights within this hall
 with a buffett will garr thee fall,
 24 & grope thee to the ground.
- "Giue thou be neuer soe stalworth³ of hand
 I shall bring thee to the ground,
 that dare I safely sweare."
 28 then spake sir Gawaine, that worthy knight,
 saith, "cozen Kay, thou speakest not right,
 lewd is thy answer ;
- "What & that man want of his witt,
 32 then litle worshipp were to thee pitt
 if thou shold him forefore.⁴ "

While the
lords and
ladies of the
court were
feasting,

there
entered the
hall a man,

short,
broad,
Turk-like,
and offered
to exchange
buffets with
any one.

Sir Kay
derides him.

Sir Gawain
reproves Sir
Kay.

The Turk
challenges
the better of
them.

¹ burne, i.e. homo.—P. Cane is for came.—F.

² A hunchback or dwarf. Compare Sir John Paston's letter, CCXCIII. ed. 1841, vol. 2, p. 46, modernised (XXX. vol. 2, p. 29, orig. ed.) Item. there is come a new litle Turk, which is a well-visaged fellow of the age of forty years; and he is lower than Manuel by an handful, and

lower than my litle Tom by the shoulders, and more litle above his pap . . . and he is legged right enough. "Turk: an image made of cloth or rags, used by persons as a mark for shooting." Halliwell.—F.

³ i.e. stout.—P.

⁴ ? kill, from A.-S. *forfaran*, to perish; or is it from Du. *verfoeyen*, to dispraise, to vilifie, or to vilipend. Hexham.—F.

- then spake the turke ¹ with word[e]s thraw,²
 saith, "come the better of your tow
 36 though ye be breme³ as bore"
 [half a page missing.]
- "I shall
 scare you
 before you
 get back
 here."
 40 "this buffett thou hast page 39.]
 well quitt that it shall be,
 And yett I shall make thee 3th as feard
 as euer was man on middlearth,⁴
 this court againe ere thou see."
- Gawain
 declares
 himself bold
 to go with
 the Turk. 44 Then said Gawaine, "my truth I plight,
 I dare goe with thee full right,
 & neuer from thee flye;
 I will neuer flee from noe aduenture,
 lusting nor noe other turnament,
 whilest I may liue on lee."
- They ride
 off together
 northwards
 for more
 than two
 days.
 Gawain gets
 hungry. 48 The turke tooke leaue of King with crowne,
 Sir Gawaine made him ready bowne,
 his armor & his steed.
 they rode northwards 2 dayes and more;
 52 by then Sir Gawaine hungred sore,
 of meate & drinke he had great need.
- The Turk 56 The turke wist Gawaine had need of meate,
 & spake to him with word[e]s great,
 hawtinge vppon hee;⁵
 taunts him, says "Gawaine, where is all thy plenty?
 yesterday thou wast serued with dainty,
 & noe part thou wold giue me,

¹ the *e* has a tag to it as if for *s*.—F.

² A.-S. *þræd*, threat, menace; *þrædwian*, to assail with hard language.—F.

³ breme, *i.e.* fierce.—P. One of the commonest phrases in early romances.—F.

⁴ middle eard, *i.e.* middle earth.—P. The earth between heaven and hell. "*De*

mundo. Midden-eard is ge-haten eall þæt binnan þam *firmamentum* is." Anglo-Saxon Manual of Astronomy, in Wright's Middle-Age Treatises on Science, 1841, p. 10.—F.

⁵ halting on a height, see l. 66, or raising himself on high. *Hawte*, to raise, exalt. Halliwell.—F.

- 60 "but with buffett thou did me sore¹;
therefore thou shalt haue mickle care,
& aduentures shalt thou see.
I wold I had *king* Arthur heere,
64 & many of thy fellowes in fere
that behaues² to try mastery."

and promises
him trouble.

- He led Sir Gawaine to a hill soe plaine;
the earth opened & closed againe,
68 then Gawaine was adread;
the Merke was comen & the light is gone;
thundering, lightning, snow & raine,
therof enough they had.

They enter a
hill full of

darkness,
and thunder,
lightning,
snow, and
rain.

- 72 Then spake Sir Gawaine & sighed sore,
"such wether saw I neuer afore
in noe stead where I haue beene stood"
[*half a page missing.*]

Gawain
had never
known such
weather.

- " . . . made them noe answere
76 but only vnto mee."

[page 40.]

- To the Castle they then yode:
Sir Gawaine light beside his steed,
for horsse the turke had none;
80 there they found chamber, bower, & hall,
richly rayled about with pale,
seemly to look vpon;

They go up
to the castle.

They find
fair
chambers,
and bowers,
and a hall,

- A Bord was spred within that place,
84 all manner of meates & drinkes there was
for groomes that might it againe³:
Sir Gawaine wold haue fallen to *that* fare,
the turke bad him leaue for care;
88 then waxt he vnfaine;

and a board
spread with
viands;
wherfrom
the Turk
warns
Gawain to
abstain.

¹ sorrow and pain.—F.

² behoves, qu.—P.

³ gain, win, or get to.—F.

Gawaine said, "man, I maruell haue
that thou may none of these v[i]ttells spare,
 & here is soe great plentye ;
 92 yett haue I more mervaille, by my fay,
that I see neither man nor maid,
 woman nor child soe free ;

The Turk
 goes forth
 and brings
 him meat
 and drink.

96 "I had leuer now att mine owne will
 of this fayre meate to eate my fill
 then all the gold in christenty."
 the turke went forth, & tarried nought ;
 Meate & drinke he forth brought,
 100 was seemly for to see ;

He said, "eate, Gawaine, & make thee yare,
 infaith or thou gett victalls more
 thou shalt both swinke¹ & sweat ;
 104 eate, Gawaine, & spare thee nought !"
 Sir Gawaine eate as him good thought,
 & well he liked his meate ;

He asks
 that he may
 have his
 buffet and
 go his way.

108 He dranke ale, & after, wine,
 he saith, "I will be att thy bidding baine²
 without bost or threat ;
 but one thing I wold thee pray,
 gine me my buffett & let me goe my way,
 112 I wold not longer be hereatt.

[*half a page gone.*]

There stood a bote and
 Sir Gawaine left behind his steed,
 he might noe other doe.

[page 41.]

¹ swinke, *i.e.* labour.—P.

² prepared, ready, obedient. Old Norse

buinn, pp. of *bua*, to prepare, set out.
 Wedgwood.—F.

- 116 The turke said to Sir Gawaine,
 " he shalbe here when thou comes againe,—
 I plight my troth to thee,—
 within an hower, as men tell me."
 120 they were sailed over the sea ;
 the turke said, "Gawaine, hee !

He and the
 Turk sail
 over the sea.

- " Heere are we withouten scath ;
 but now beginneth the great othe.
 124 when he shall adventures doe."
 he lett him see a castle faire,
 such a one he neuer saw yare,
 noe wher¹ in noe country.

The Turk
 shows him
 a castle.

- 128 The turke said to Sir Gawaine
 "yonder dwells the *King* of Man,
 a heathen soldan is hee,

" There
 dwells the
 King of
 Man,

- " With him he hath a hideous rout
 132 of giants strong & stout
 & vglie to looke vpon ;
 who-so-euer had sought farr & neere
 as wide as the world were,
 136 such a companye he cold find none.

with his
 giants,
 a rare
 company."

- " Many auentures thou shalt see there,
 such as thou neuer saw yare
 in all the world about :
 140 thou shalt see a tenisse ball
 that neuer *knight* in Arthurs hall
 is able to giue it a lout² ;
 & other adventures there are moe:
 144 wee shall be assayled ere we goe,
 therof haue thou noe doute ;

And tells
 him of
 adventures
 at hand.

¹ MS. wherin.—F.

² lout, i.e. blow.—P.

"But heed
me, and I
will help
you."

148

"But & yee will take to me good heed,
I shall helpe you in time of need ;

for ought I can see
there shall be none soe strong in stower
but I shall bring thee againe to hi . . .

[*half a page missing.*]

"How do
your uncle
King Arthur
and all his
society, and
that Bishop
Bodwin ?

152

. . . . "Sir Gawaine stiffe & stowre, . [page 42.]
how fareth thy vnckle King Arthur,

& all his company,
& that Bishopp Sir Bodwine
that will not let my goods alone,
but spiteth them euery day ?

156

"He preached much of a crowne of thorne ;
he shall ban the time *that* he was borne
& euer I catch him may ;

I hate all
the clergy,
burn them
all !

160

I anger more att the spirituall¹
in England nor att the temporaltie,
they goe soe in theire array ;

And I purpose in full great ire
to brenn their clergy in a fire
& punish them to my pay :
sitt downe, Sir Gawaine, at the bord."
Sir Gawaine answered at that word,
saith, "nay, that may not be,

164

But pray sit
down at our
table."
"No,"
answers
Gawain,

168

"not before
I see
adventures."

"I trow not a venturous knight shall
sitt downe in a kings hall
adventures or you see."²

The king
sends for
his tennis
ball.

172

the King said, "Gawaine, faire mot then fall !
goe feitch me forth my tennis ball ;
for play will I and see."

¹ spirituality.—P.

² hee see.—P.

- They brought it out with-out doubt;
 176 with it came a hideous rout
 of Gyants great & plenty;
 all the giants were there then
 heire¹ by the halfe then Sir Gawaine,
 180 I tell you withouten nay.²

The ball
 comes; with
 a hideous
 mob of
 giants.

- There were 17 giants bold of blood,
 & all thought Gawaine but litle good.
 when they thought with him to play,
 184 all the giants thoughten then
 to haue strucke out Sir Gawaines braine.
 help him god that best may!

- The ball of brasse was made for the giants hand,
 188 There was noe man in all england
 were able to carry it . . .

The ball is
 made for
 giants' play.

[*half a page missing.*]

- and sticked a giant in the hall
 that grysly can hee grone.
 192 The King sayd, "bray³ away this axeltree,⁴
 for such a boy I neuer see;
 yett he shalbe assayd better ere he goe;

[page 43.]

"Take away
 this axle-
 tree.
 This boy
 (i. e. the
 Turk) is a
 rare one; but
 he shall be
 tried yet.

- "I told you, soe Mote I tho,⁵
 196 with the 3 aduenture, & then no more
 befor me at this tide."
 Then there stood amongst them all

There stood
 in their
 midst

¹ higher.—P. A flourish at the end of the *e* looks like *s*, but is repeated at the end of *good*, l. 182.—F.

² MS. may.—F.

³ brayn, as baxters her pastys, *Pinso*. *Catholicon*.—F.

⁴ Mirk says (E. E. T. Soc. 1867, l. 334):

Castynge of axtre & eke of ston,
 Sofere hem þere to vae non;

Bal and bares and suche play,
 Out of chyrcheȝorde put a-way.

Cp. "Late us caste the stone,"
 I grante well, be Sainte Johnne,
 "Late us caste the *exaltre*,"
 Have a foote before thee.

Fragment of an Interlude of Robin
 Hood, *Child's Ballads*, v. 429.

⁵ the, thrive.—F.

a fireplace
with huge
bars, and a
pound's
worth of
coals and
wood on it.

200

a chimney¹ in they *Kings* hall
with barres mickle of pride ;
there was laid on in that stond
coales & wood that cost a pound,
that vpon it did abide.

A giant bids
Gawain lift
the huge
fireplace
with his
hand.

204

A giant bad gawaine assay,
& said, "Gawaine, begin the play !
thou knowest best how it shold be ;
& afterwards when thou hast done,

208

I trow you shalbe answered soone
either with boy or me.

212

A great giant, I vnderstand,
lift vp the chimney¹ with his hand
& sett it downe againe fairly."

He bids his
boy (the
Turk) lift
it.

216

Sir Gawaine was neuer soe adread
sith he was man on midle earth,
& cryd on god in his thought.
Gawaine vnto his boy can say
"lift this chimney—if you may—
that is soe worthily wrought."

The boy
seises it and
swings it
thrice round
his head.

220

Gawaines boy to it did leape,
& gatt itt by the bowles² great,
& about his head he it flang ;
3¹ about his head he it swang
that the coals & the red brands

[*half a page missing.*]

224

. saw of mickle might
& strong were in battell.

[page 44.]

¹ Perhaps this meaning of the word *chimney*, *brasier*, may help to clear up the discrepancy between the existence of perpendicular flues in England in the twelfth century and the statements of

writers that chimneys (? *brasiers*) were of late introduction. *Domestic Architecture*, p. xvii-xviii.—F.

² ? the knobs at the side of the *brasier*. —F.

228 "I haue slaine them thorow my mastery,
 & now, Gawaine, I will slay thee,
 & then I haue slaine all the flower;
 there went neuer none againe no tale to tell,
 nor more shalt thou, thou thou be fell,
 nor none that longeth to King Arthur."

"I have
slain them,
and now I
will slay
thee."

232 The turke was clad inuissible¹ gay,
 no man cold see him withouten nay,
 he was cladd in such a weede;
 he heard their talking lesse & more,
 236 & yet he thought they shold find him there
 when they shold do that deed.

The Turk,
invisible,
hears.

Then he led him into steddie²
 werhas³ was a boyling leade,
 240 & welling vppon hie:⁴
 & before it a giant did stand
 with an Iron forke in his hand
 that hideous was to see.

Gawain is
conducted
to a boiling
cauldron,
before
which
stands a
giant with
an iron fork.

244 The giant *that* looked soe keene
that before Sir Gawaine had neuer scene
 noe where in noe country:
 the King saide to the giant thoc,
 248 "here is none but wee tow;
 let see how best may bee."

The king
and the
giant
conspire.

when the giant saw Gawaines boy there was,
 he leapt & threw, & cryed "alas
 252 *that* he came in *that* stead!"
 Sir Gawaines boy to him leapt,
 & with strenght vp him gett,
 & cast him in the lead;

The giant
discovers
Gawain's
boy,
who throws
him into the
lead

¹ inuissible.—P. ? *gay* for *gray*.—F.

² stede, place.—P.

³ whereas.—P.

⁴ walling up on high, boiling up, &c.
—P.

and holds
him down
with the
fork.

256 with an Iron forke made of steele
he held him downe wondrous weele
till he was scalded to the dead.
then Sir Gawaine vnto the King can say,
260 "with-out thou wilt agree vnto our law,¹
eatein is all thy bread.²"

The king
spits on
Gawain—is
thrown into
the fire by
the Turk.

264

The King spitt on Gawaine the knight:
with *that* the turke hent³ him vpright
& into the fyer him flang,
& saide to Sir Gawaine at the last,
"Noe force,⁴ Master, all the perill is past!
thinke not we tarrie too longe,"

[half a page missing.]

He brings a
basin and a

268

he tooke forth a bason of gold
as an Emperour washe shold,
as fell for his degree :

[page 45.]

sword, and
entreats
Gawain to
strike off his
(the Turk's)
head.

272

He tooke a sword of Mettle free,
saies "if euer I did any thing for thee,
doe for me in this stead ;
take here this sword of steele
that in battell will bite weele,
276 therwith strike of my head."

Gawain says
"Nay."

"that I forefend !" said Sir Gawaine,
"for I wold not haue thee slaine
for all the gold soe red."

The Turk
urges him.

280

"haue done, Sir Gawaine, I haue no dread,
but in this bason let me bleed
that standeth here in this steed,

¹ probably *laye* in orig.—F.

² you've had your last meal ; you'll be killed. Cp. *Ludus Coventrie*, ed. 1841, p. 38 :

"He xal hereafter nevyr ete brede."—H.

³ A.-S. *hentan*, to take, seize. "I *hente*, I take by vyolence, or to catche. *Je happe*. This terme is nat utterly comen." Palsgrave, A.D. 1530.—F.

⁴ no matter.—F.

284 " And thou shalt see a new play,
with helpe of Mary *that* mild mayd
that saued vs from all dread."

he drew forth the brand of steele
that in battell bite wold weelee,
298 & there stroke of his head.

He does as
he is asked,

And when the blood in the bason light,
he stood vp a stalwortht *Knight*
that day, I vndertake,
292 & song " Te deum laudam[*u*]s,
worshipp be to our lord Iesus
that saued vs from all wracke !

and up
stands a
stalwart
knight, who
sings the Te
Deum,

" A ! Sir Gawaine ! blesed thou be !
306 for all the service I haue don thee,
thou hast well quitt it me."
then he tooke him by the hand,
& many a worthy man they fand
300 *that* before they neue[r] see.

and blesses
Sir Gawain.

He said, " Sir Gawaine, withouten threat
sitt downe boldly at thy meate,
& I will eate with thee ;
304 Ladyes all, be of good cheere,
eche ane shall wend to his owne deer
in all hast that may be ;

They release
many
worthy
captives,
ladies and
men.

" first we will to *King* Arthurs hall,
308 & soone after your husbands send we shall
in country where they beene ;
There they wold abide
[*half a page missing.*]

" Thus we haue brought 17 ladys cleere [page 46.]
312 *that* there were left in great danger,
& we haue brought them out."

The ladies
are restored
to their
thankful
husbands.

- then sent they for their husbands swithe,
 & euery one tooke his oune wife,
 316 & lowlye can they lowte,
 And thanked the 2 *knights* & the *King*,
 & said the wold be at their bidding
 in all england about.
- Sir Gromer
 asks Arthur
 to make
 Gawain
 King of
 Man. 320 Sir Gromer kneeld vpon his knee,
 saith " Sir *King*, and your wilbe,¹
 crowne Gawaine *King* of man."
- Gawain
 declines the
 honour. 324 Sir Gawaine kneeled downe by,
 & said " lord, nay, not I ;
 giue it him, for he it wan,
- The king
 confers it on
 Sir Gromer
 himself, 328 " for I neuer purposed to be noe *King*,
 neuer in all my liuinge,
 whilest I am a liuing man."
 he said, " Sir Gromer, take it thee,
 for Gawaine will neuer *King* bee
 for no craft that I can."
- and thus
 ends the
 talg. 332 Thus endeth the tale that I of meane,²
 of Arthur & his knight[e]s keene
 that hardy were & free.
- The Lord
 love all that
 enjoy such
 tale-telling ! 336 god give them good life far & neere
 that such talking lounes to heere !
 Amen for Charity !

ffins.

¹ your will be.—F.² made, or make mention of; A.-S. *mænan*, to remind, tell.—F.

¹ The marriage of *Sr Gawaine*.²

THIS fragment was printed in the fourth English³ edition of the "*Reliques*" (1794), as it is in its unadorned state in the MS., along with a polished version, which Percy gave in his first, nearly thirty years before (1765), and two subsequent editions, promising in each one the MS. version to the public "some time or other."

Sir Frederick Madden suggests that this ballad was founded on the "*Weddyng of Syr Gawen and Dame Ragnell*," printed by him in his "*Syr Gawayne*," from the Rawlinson MS., C. 86, fol. 128 b. In accordance with that suggestion, the gaps unhappily caused by the mutilated state of the early part of the Percy Folio are filled up in our notes from that version of the

¹ NB. to supply the defects.—P.

² This is upon the same subject as the wife of Bath's tale in Chaucer, from which Chaucer very probably took the story.—P.

In the Collection of Scots Poems written before 1600, entitled *Y^e Evergreen*, by Allan Ramsay, 2 vol., Edinburgh 1724,* In Dunbar's Lament for the Loss of the Poets, stanza 16th, are these words, speaking of Death:—

"Clerk of Tranent eik he has tane,
"That made the adventures of Sir Gawane,
&c."

"Sir Gilbert Gray endit has he." &c.
vol. 1st, p. 133.

Dunbar mentions Chaucer 4 stanzas before He comes to the Author of *Gawane*; but this may not be on account of his being the more ancient Bard, but from his being the more eminent in his art, & by far more celebrated; On which

account he begins with him in these Words,

He (Death) has done petously devore
The nobil Chawser, of Makkars flowir,
The monk of Berry, and Gowre all thre,
&c.

St. 12, p. 137.

It appears also from The Squire's Tale in Chaucer that these were old ballads in his Time, see line 109, &c.

"A strange knight
"Salued the King & Queen & Lordis all
&c
"With so hie reverence and obeisance
&c
"That Sir Gawin with his old Curtesy,
"(Altho he came again out of faierye)
"He could him nought amending with no
word &c . . . —Percy.

³ The Dublin 1766 reprint of the first edition of 1765 is not reckoned here.—F.

* N.B. These are printed from a collection made 1563.—P.

† N.B. Dunbar lived in the time of our Henry 7th.—P.

story. The versions differ greatly in diffuseness, slightly in the incidents. In the Folio, Arthur offers Gawain to the hag for a husband on condition of her helping him. In the Rawlinson MS. the hag begs for him, and Arthur assents only after a consultation with Gawain himself.

The wonderful "metamorphosis" on which this story turns is narrated in Gower's "*Confessio Amantis*" as the story of Florent and the King of Sicily's daughter, taken by him, as Tyrwhit conjectures, from the *Gesta Romanorum*, or some such collection. It appears again, as the reader will remember, in Chaucer's "*Wyf of Bath's Tale*." "Worked over," says Prof. Child, "by some ballad-monger of the sixteenth century, and of course reduced to ditch-water, this tale has found its way into the '*Crown Garland of Golden Roses*,' Part I. p. 68 (Percy Society, vol. vi.) '*Of a Knight and a Faire Virgin*.'" On a similar transformation depends the story of "*King Henrie*" in Scott's "*Minstrelsy*," edited from Mrs. Brown's MS., with corrections from a recited fragment, and modernised as "*Courteous King Jamie*" in Lewis's "*Tales of Wonder*." The prime original, says Scott, "is to be found in an Icelandic Saga," and he gives a full quotation from Torfæus, setting forth how "*Hellgius, rex Daniæ*" admits to his couch at her earnest entreaty "*informe quoddam mulieris simulacrum, habitu corporis fœdum, veste squalore obsita, pallore, macie, frigorisque tyrannide, prope modum peremptum*." "*Cum autem prima luce forte oculos ultro citroque converteret, eximiæ formæ virginem lecto receptam animadvertit; quæ statim ipsi placere cœpit. Causam igitur tam repentinæ mutationis curiosius indaganti respondit virgo se unam e subterraneorum hominum genere diris novercalibus devotam tam tetra et execrabili specie quali primo comparuit damnatam, quoad thori cujusdam principis socia fieret, multos reges hac de re sollicitasse*."

"*Tearne Wadling*," in v. 32, is a tarn in Inglewood Forest, near

Hesketh in Cumberland; sometimes written *Terne Wathelyne*, as in the "Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne," printed in Madden's "Syr Gawayne." Sir Steven, mentioned in v. 115, "does not," says Sir Frederick Madden, "occur in the Round Table romances."

Banier, in v. 120, is probably, according to the same authority, a mistake for Beduer the King's Constable, Tennyson's Bedivere. Bore is Bors de Gauves (or Gaunes), brother of Lionel. Garrett is Gareth or Gaheriet, Sir Gawain's younger brother.

For the contrast between Sir Gawain and Sir Kay, already alluded to in the last Introduction, compare Chaucer's "Romaunt of the Rose" (ed. Morris, v. 6, p. 68, l. 2205-10):

It is no worshiþe to mysseye.
Thou maist ensample take of Keye
That was some time for mysseyng
Hated bothe of old and yong
As fer as Gawayn the worthy
Was preised for his curtesie.

and "the Squyeres Tale," v. 10, 403-11, ed. Wright, p. 108, col. 2, v. 2, p. 357, l. 81-9, ed. Morris :

This straunge knight that cam thus sodeynly. . .
Salued the kyng and queen, and lordes alle
By ordre as they seten into halle,
With so heigh reverens and observaunce,
As wel in speche as in coutynaunce,
That Gawayn with his olde curtesye
(They he were come again out of fayrre)
Ne couthe him nought amende with no word.

and the "Roman de Merlin : " " Si keux est felon et dénaturé."

KINGE Arthur lues in merry Carleile,

& seemely is to see,

& there he hath with him Qqueene Genever,

4 that bride soe bright of blee.

King Arthur
is at
Carleile,

And there he hath with Queene Genever,
 that bride soe bright in bower,
 & all his barons about him stode
 8 that were both stiffe and stowre.

keeping a
 merry
 Christmas.

The King kept a royall Christmasse
 of mirth & great honor,
 11 & when¹

[half a page missing, in which Arthur, to avoid fighting a
 Baron at Tearne Wadling, asks what his ransom will be.
 The Baron answers:]

¹ To fill up the gap take the following
 from *The Weddyng of Sir Gawen and
 Dame Ragnell*, printed from the Bodleian
 MS. Rawlinson, c. 86, fol. 128 back, &c.
 by Sir F. Madden in his *Syr Gawayne*,
 p. 297 b. Some of the MS. contractions
 are expanded here. The marks over *m*
 and *n*, and the overline commas after *d*,
f, *k*, &c. may mean a final *e*. The barred
h, printed *he* here, when followed by *t*,
 is printed *hte*, except in the plural *htes*,
 when it is not represented.

16 On huntynge he was in Ingleswod',
 Withe alle his bold' knyghtes good',—
 Nowe herkeñ to my spelle.
 The kyng was sett att his trestylle-tree,
 20 Withe his bowe to sle the wylde venere,
 And' hys lordes were sett hym besyde ;
 As the kyng stode, then was he ware
 Where a greatt hartt was and' a fayre,
 And' forthe fast dyd' he glyde.
 25 The hartt was in a braken ferne,
 And' hard' the houndes, and' stode fulle
 derne :
 Alle that sawe the kyng ;—
 "Hold' you styll, every mañ,
 And' I wolle goo my self, yf I cañ,
 30 Withe craft of stalkyng."
 The kyng in hys hand' toke a bowe,
 And' wodmanly he stowpyd' lowe,
 To stalk' vnto that dere ;
 Wheñ that he cañ the dere fulle nere,
 35 The dere lept forthe into a brere,
 And ener the kyng went nere & nere.
 So kyng Arthure went a whyle,

After the dere, I trowe, half a myle,
 And' no mañ withe hym went ;
 And' att the last to the dere he lett flye, 40
 And' smote hym sore and' sewerly,
 Suche grace God' hym sent.
 Douñ the dere tumblyd' so deroñ,
 And' felle into a greatt brake of feroñ,
 The kyng folowyd' fulle fast ; 45
 Anoñ the kyng bothe ferce & felle
 Was withe the dere, and' dyd' hym
 servele,*
 And' after the grasse he taste.
 As the kyng was withe the dere alone,
 Streight ther cam to hym a quaynt grome, 50
 Armyd' welle and' sure ;
 A knyghte fulle strong, and' of greatt
 myghte,
 And' grymly wordes to the kyng he
 sayd,—
 'Welle i-mett, kyng Arthour!
 Thou hast me done wrong many a yere, 55
 And' wofully I shalle quytte the here,
 I hold thy lyfe-days nyghe done ;
 Thou hast gevyñ my landes, in certayñ,
 Withe greatt wrong vnto sir Gaweñ ;
 Whate sayest thou, kyng alone ?" 60
 "Syr knyghte, whate is thy name, withe
 honour ?"
 "Syr kyng," he sayd, "Gromersomer
 Jourer,
 I telle the nowe withe ryghte."
 "A, sir Gromersomer ! bethynk' the welle,
 To sle me here honour getyst thou no 65
 delle ;
 Be-thynk' the thou artt a knyghte.

* serve welle ?—F. Madden.

"And bring me word what thing it is
that a woman most desire.
 this shalbe thy ransome, Arthur," he sayes,
 15 "for Ile haue noe other hier."

[page 47.] "And for
 ransom
 bring me
 word what
 is the great
 desire of
 women."

King Arthur then held vp his hand
 according theene as was the law ;
 he tooke his leaue of the baron there,
 19 & homward can he draw.

Arthur
 agrees to
 these terms,

And when he came to Merry Carlile,
 to his chamber he is gone,
 & ther came to him his Cozen Sir GAWAINE
 23 as he did make his mone.

and goes
 back to
 Carlile,
 moaning.

And there came to him his cozen Sir Gawaine
that was a curteous knight,
 "why sigh you soe sore, vnckle Arthur," he said,
 27 "or who hath done thee vnright?"

"O peace, O peace, thou gentle Gawaine,
that faire may thee befall,
 for if thou knew my sighing soe deepe,
 31 thou wold not mernaile att all ;

Arthur tells
 Gawain

Yf thou sle me nowe in thys case,
 Alle knyghtes wolfe refuse the in euery
 place,
 That shame shalle neuer the froo ;
 70 Lett be thy wyll, and folowe wytt,
 And' that is amys I shalle amend' itt,
 And' thou wolt, or that I goo."
 "Nay," sayd' sir Gromersomer, "by heuyñ
 kyng!
 So shalt thou nott skape, witheoute
 lesyng;
 75 I haue the nowe att avaylle;
 Yf I shold' lett the thus goo withe
 mokery,
 Anoder tyme thou wolt me defye,
 Of that I shalle nott faylle."
 Now sayd' the kyng, "so God' me saue,
 80 Save my lyfe, and' whate thou wolt crave

I shalle now graunt itt the ;
 Shame thou shalt haue to sle me in
 venere,
 Thou armyd', and I clothyd' butt in
 grene, parde."
 "Alle thys shalle nott help the, sekryly,
 For I wolfe nother lond' ne gold' truly, 85
 Butt yf thou graunt me att a certayñ day,
 Suche as I shalle sett, and' in thys same
 araye."
 "Yes," sayd' the kyng, "lo! here my
 hand."
 "Ye, butt a-byde, kyng, and' here me
 a stound."
 Fyrst thow shalt swere, vpon my sword' 90
 brouñ,
 To shewe me att thy cōmyng whate
 wemen love best in feld' and' towñ ;

of his
encounter
with the
Baron
at Tearne
Wadling,

35

"ffor when I came to tearne wadling,
a bold barron there I fand,¹
with a great club vpon his backe,
standing stiffe and strong ;

39

" And he asked me wether I wold fight,
or ² from him I shold begone,
o[r] else ³ I must him a ransome pay
& soe depart him from.

and that to
get off fight-
ing him,

43

" To fight with him I saw noe cause,
methought it was not meet,
for he was stiffe & strong with-all,
his strokes were nothing sweete ;

he must
find out,

47

" Therefor this is my ransome, Gawaine,
I ought to him to pay,
I must come againe, as I am sworne,
vpon the New yeers day.

by New
Year's Day,

what a wo-
man most
desires.

" And I must bring him word what thing it is ⁴ "

[half a page missing.]

¹ fonde.—P.

² i. e. e'er.—P.

³ or else.—P.

⁴ *Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell* con-
tinues:

Whate wemen desyreñ moste, in good faye,
My lyf els shold' I lese * ;

175 This othe I made vnto that knyghte,
And' that I shold' neuer telle itt to no
wighte,

Of thys I myghte nott chese.

And' also I shold' com in none oder
araye,

But euyñ as I was the same daye ;

180 And' yf I faylyd' of myne answer,
I wott I shal be slayñ ryghte there.

Blame me nott thoughe I be a wofulle
mañ,

Alle thys is my drede and' fere."

" Ye, sir, make good' chere,—

Lett make your hors redy

185

To ryde into straunge contrey ;

And' euer wher as ye mete owther mañ or
womañ, in faye,

Ask' of theyñ whate thay therto saye.

And' I shalle also ryde a noder waye,

And' enquire of euery mañ and' womañ,

190

and' gett whatt I may

Of euery mañ and' womans answer,

And' in a boke I shalle theyñ wryte."

" I graunt," sayd' the kyng as-tyte,

" Ytt is welles advysed, Gaweñ the good',

195

Evyñ by the holy rood' !"—

Sone were they† boths redy,

Gaweñ and' the kyng, wyttlerly.

The kyng rode oñ way, and' Gaweñ
anoder,

Then king Arthur drest¹ him for to ryde [page 48.]
 in one soe rich array
 toward the fore-said Tearne wadling,
 52 that he might keepe his day.

Arthur sets
 forth to
 fulfil his
 engage-
 ment.

And as he rode over a more,
 hee see a lady where shee sate
 betwixt an oke & a greene hollen²:
 56 She was cladd in red scarlett.

Crossing a
 moor, he
 sees a very
 hideous
 lady,

Then there² as shold haue stood her mouth,
 then there was sett her eye,
 the other was in her forehead fast
 60 the way that she might see.

with one
 eye instead
 of hermouth,

Her nose was crooked & turnd outward,
 her mouth stood foule a-wry;
 a worse formed lady than shee was,
 64 neuer man saw with his eye.

and a
 crooked nose.

And euer enquiryed' of mañ, womañ, and'
 other,
 200 Whate wemen desired' moste dere.
 Somme sayd they lovyd' to be welles
 arayd',
 Somme sayd' they lovyd' to be fayre
 prayed';
 Somme sayd' they lovyd' a lusty mañ
 That in theyr armys cañ clypp' them
 and' kysse them than; ;
 205 Somme sayd' one, somme sayd' other;
 And' so had' Gaweñ getyñ many añ
 answers.
 By that Gaweñ had' geteñ whate he
 maye,
 And' come agayñ by a certeyñ daye,
 Syr Gaweñ had' goten answerys so many
 210 That had' made a boke greatt, wytterly,
 To the courte he cañ agayñ.
 By that was the kyng comyñ withe hys
 boke,

And' eyther oñ others pamphlett dyd'
 loke,—
 "Thys may nott fayd'," sayd' Gaweñ.
 "By God'," sayd' the kyng, "I drede me 215
 sore!
 I cast me to seke a lytelle more
 In Yngleswod' Forest;
 I haue butt a moneths to my day sett,
 I may happen oñ somme good' tydynges
 to hytt;
 Thys thynkythe me nowe best." 220
 "Do as ye list," then Gaweñ sayd',
 "What so euer ye do I hold me payd',
 Hytt is good' to be spyrryng;
 Doute you nott, lord', ye shalle welles
 spede,
 Sume of your sawes shalle help att nede, 225
 Els itt were ylle lykynge."

¹ i. e. address.—P.

² holly.—P.

³ where.—P.

To halch¹ vpon him, *King Arthur*,
 this lady was full faine,
 but *King Arthur* had forgott his lesson,
 68 what he shold say againe.

She asks
 "Who are
 you? Fear
 not me.

"What knight art thou," the lady sayd,²
 "that will not speak to me?"
 Of me be thou nothing dismayd
 72 tho I be vgly to see;

Perhaps I
 may succour
 you."

for I hane halched you curteouslye,
 & you will not me againe,
 yett I may happen Sir Knight," shee said,
 76 "to ease thee of thy paine."

"Succour me
 and Gawain
 shall marry
 you."

"Giue thou ease me, lady," he said,
 or helpe me any thing,
 thou shalt have gentle Gawaine, my cozen,
 80 & marry him with a ring."

"Why, if I help thee not, thou noble *King Arthur*,
 Of thy owne hearts desiringe,
 83 of gentle Gawaine³"

[half a page missing.]

¹ ? take by the *hals* or neck, salute.—F.
² the *d* and curl after it may be meant
 for *es*, "sayes."—F.

³ *Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell* does
 not make Arthur dispose of Gawen in so
 unceremonious a way as our ballad does.
 It makes him first refuse the hag's offer,
 and ride home and tell Gawen what he has
 done. Gawen offers at once to marry her:
 and' she were the moste fowlyst wyghte
 That euer men myghte se withe syghte.

Arthur accepts the offer, returns to the
 hag, tells her Gawen will marry her,

and asks her for the answer she has
 promised him. This it is:

"Syr," quod' dame Ragnelle, "nowe 406
 shalt thou knowe
 Whate wemen desyreñ moste, of highc
 and' lowe,
 From this I wolle not varaye.
 Summe men sayñ, we desyre to be fayre,
 Also we desyre to haue repayre 410
 Of diuerse straunge men;
 Also we loue to haue lust in bed',
 And' often we desyre to wed',
 Thus ye men nott ken.*

And when he came to the tearne wadling
 the baron there cold he finde,¹
 with a great weapon on his backe,
 standing stiffe and stronge.

[page 49.] At the tarn
 he finds the
 Baron,

And then he tooke *king* Arthurs letters in his hands
 & away he cold² them fling,
 & then he puld out a good browne sword,
 & cryd himselfe a *King*.

who thinks
 Arthur
 cannot
 produce the
 ransom or
 answer,

And he sayd,³ "I have thee & thy land, Arthur,
 to doe as it pleaseth me,
 for this is not thy ransome sure,
 therfore yeeld thee to me."

and claims
 him and his
 land.

And then bespoke him Noble Arthur,
 & bad him hold his hand,⁴
 " & giue me leaue to speake my mind
 in defence of all my land."

Arthur bids
 him wait a
 bit,

He⁵ said "as I came over a More,
 I see a lady where shee sate
 betweene an oke & a green hollen;
 shee was clad in red scarlett;

Yett we desyre a noder maner thyng,
 To be holden nott old', but fresshe and'
 yong;
 Withe flatryng, and' glosyng, and' quaynt
 gyf,
 So ye meñ may vs wemeñ euer wyñ,
 Of whate ye wolle crave.
 Ye goo fulle nyse, I wolle nott lye,
 Butt there is one thyng is alle oure
 fantasye,
 And' that nowe shalle ye knowe;
 We desyreñ of meñ, aboue alle maner
 thyng,
 To haue the souereynte, withoute lesyng,
 Of alle, bothe hyghe and' lowe.
 For where we haue souereynte alle is ourys,
 Though a knyghte be neuer so ferys,
 And' euer the mastery wyne;
 Of the moeste manlyest is oure desyre,
 To haue the souereynte of suche a syre,
 Suche is oure crafte and' gynne.

Therefore wend', sir kyng, on thy way,
 And' telle that knyghte, as I the saye,
 That itt is as we desyreñ mooste;
 He wol be wrothe and' vnsoughte,
 And' curse her fast that itt the taughte,
 For his laboure is lost.
 Go forthe, sir kyng, and' hold' promyse,
 For thy lyfe is sure nowe in alle wyse,
 That dare I welle vndertake."
 The kyng rode forthe a greatt shake,
 As fast as he myghte gate,
 Thorowe myre, more, and' fenne,
 Where as the place was sygnyd' and' sett
 theñ.

¹ he fonde.—P. In MS. fimde.—F.

² did.—P.

³ the *d* and final curl may be meant
 for *es*, "sayes."—F.

⁴ there is a tag to the *d*, as if for *s*.—F.

⁵ MS. "the" altered to *He*.—F.

then gives
the answer :
"a woman
will have
her will."

"And she says 'a woman will haue her will,
& this is all her cheef desire' :

doe me right, as thou art a baron of skill,
107 this is thy ransome & all thy hyer."

The Baron
curses the
lady (his
sister, it
turns out).

He sayes "an early vengeance light on her !
she walkes on yonder more ;
it was my sister that told thee this ;

111 & she is a misshappen hore !

"But heer Ile make mine avow¹ to god
to doe her an euill turne,
for an euer I may thate fowle theefe get[t],
115 in a fyer I will her burne." ²

[about nine stanzas missing.]

THE 2^d PART.³

A company
of knights,
riding out
with the
King and
Sir Gawain,

SIR: Lancelott & Sir Steven bold
they rode with them⁴ that day,
and the formost of the company
119 there rode the steward Kay

[page 50.]

¹ my vow.—P.

² *Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell* goes on :

- 476 For that was my suster dame Ragnelle,
That old' scott, God' geve her* shame
Elles had' I made the fulls tame,
Nowe haue I lost moche travaylle.
Go where thou wolt, kyng Arthoure,
481 For of me thou maiste be euer sure,
Alas! that I euer se this day;
Nowe welle I wott, myne enime thou
wolt be,
And' att suche a pryk' shalle I neuer gett
the,
485 My song may be welle-awaye!"
"No," sayd' the kyng, "that make I
warraunt,
Söme harnys I wolles haue to make me
defendaunt,
That make I God' avowe!

In suche a plyghte shallt thou neuer me
fynde,
And' yf thou do, lett me bete and' bynde, 490
As is for thy best prouf.†"
"Nowe haue good' day," sayd' sir
Gromer,
"Farewell," sayd' sir Arthoure, "so
mott I the,
I am glad' I haue so sped'."—

The poem goes on with—

King Arthoure turnyd' hys hors into the 495
playn,
And' sone he mett with dame Ragnell'
agayn
In the same place and' stede:
and then has the long passage printed
as a note to l. 150 here, pp. 114–115.—F.
³ in the left margin of the MS.—F.
⁴ qu. him.—P.

* he, MS.

† prow?

Soe did Sir Banier & Sir Bore,
 Sir Garrett with them soe gay,
 soe did Sir Tristeram *that gentle knight*,
 123 to the forrest fresh & gay.

And when he came to the greene forrest,
 vnderneath a greene holly tree
 their sate that lady in red scarlet
 127 *that vnseemly* was to see.

meet the
 hag.

Sir Kay beheld this Ladys face,
 & looked vpon her smire,¹
 "whosoener kisses this lady," he sayes
 131 "of his kisse he stands in feare."

Sir Kay
 does not
 fancy her
 to kisse.

Sir Kay beheld the lady againe,
 & looked vpon her snout,
 "whosoener kisses this lady," he saies,
 135 "of his kisse he stands in doubt."²

"Peace cozen Kay," then said Sir Gawaine,
 "amend thee of thy life;
 for there is a knight amongst vs all
 139 *that must marry her to his wife.*"

Sir Gawain
 bids him be
 quiet, for
 one of them
 must have
 her to wife.

"What! wedd her to wiffe!" then said Sir Kay,
 "in the diuells name anon,
 gett me a wiffe where-ere I may,
 143 for I had rather be shaine³!"

Sir Kay
 says he had
 rather
 perish than
 it should be
 he.

Then some tooke vp their hawkes in hast,
 & some tooke vp their hounds,
 & some sware they wold not marry her
 147 for Citty nor for towne.

The others
 are of the
 same mind.

¹ ? *swire* is neck. A.-S. *smirian* is to smear, and *sméru* is fat, grease, butter.—F.

² fear.—F.

³ ? for shent, slaine or shamed.—F.
 'I'm sure she shall be none.' qu.—P.

Arthur
reproves his
knights.

And then be-spake him Noble king Arthur,
& sware there by this day,

150 "for a litle foule sight & misliking¹

[half a page missing.]

¹ To fill up the gap, take the following long passage from *Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell*, though it follows at once the lines given in the last extract:

498 "Syr kyng, I am glad' ye haue sped'
welle,
I told' howe itt wold' be, euery dells;
500 Nowe hold' that ye haue hyghte;
Syr I haue sau'd' your lyf, and' none
other,
Gaweñ must me wed', sir Arthoure,
That is a fulle gentille knyghte."
"No, lady, that I you highte I shalle
not faylle;
505 So ye wol be rulyd' by my councelle,
Your wille theñ shalle ye haue."
"Nay, sir kyng, nowe wolle I nott soo,
Openly I wol be weddyd' or I parte the
frow,
Elles shame wolle ye haue.
510 Ryde before, and' I wolle com after
Vnto thy courte, sir kyng Arthoure,
Of no mañ I wolle shame;
Be-thynk' you howe I haue sau'd' your
lyf,
Therfor withe me nowe shalle ye nott
stryfe,
515 For and' ye do, ye be to blame."
The kyng of her had' greatt shame,
But forthe she rood', though she were
grevyd';
Tylle they cam to Karlyle forthe they
mevyd'.
In to the courte she rode hym by,
520 For no mañ wold' she spare; securly
Itt likyd' the kyng fulle ylle.
Alle the contraye had' wonder greatt
Fro whens she com, that foule vnswe'te;
They sawe neuer of so fowle a thyng.
525 In to the halle she went, in certen:
"Arthoure kyng, lett fetch me sir
Gaweñ,
Before the knyghtes, alle in hyng.
That I may nowe be made sekyr,
In welle and' wo, trowithe plyghte vs
togeder
530 Before alle thy chyvalry;
This is your graunt, lett se, haue done,

Sett forthe sir Gaweñ, my love, anon,
For lenger taryng kepe nott I."
Theñ cam forthe sir Gaweñ the knyghte;
"Syr, I am redy of that I you hyghte,
535 Alle forwardes to fulfyll;"
"Godhauemercy," sayd' dame Ragnelle
theñ,
"For thy sake I wold' I were a fayre
woman,
For thou art of so good' wyll."
Ther sir Gaweñ to her his trowthe 540
plyghte,
In welle and' in woo, as he was a true
knyghte.
Theñ was dame Ragnelle fayn;
"Alas!" theñ sayd' dame Gaynowr;
So sayd' alle the ladyes in her bower,
And' wept for sir Gaweñ.
545 "Alas!" theñ sayd' bothe kyng and'
knyghte,
That euer he shold' wed' suche a wyghte!
She was so fowle and' horyble;
She had' two tethe on euery syde,
As borys tuskas, I wolle nott hyde, 550
Of lengthe a large handfulle.
The one tusk' went up, and the other
doun;
A mowthe fulle wyde, and' fowle igrowñ
Withe grey herys many oñ;
Her lyppes lay lumpryd' on her chyñ, 555
Nek' forsothe on her was none iseen,
She was a lothly oñ!
She wold' nott be weddyd' in no maner,
Butt there were made a krye in alle the
shyre,
560 Bothe in towñ and' in borowe;
Alle the ladyes nowe of the lond',
She lett kry to com to hand',
To kepe that brydalle thorowe.
So itt befylle after oñ a daye,
That maryed' shold' be that fowle [lady] 565
Vnto sir Gaweñ;
The daye was comyñ, the daye shold' be,
Therof the ladyes had' greatt pitey,
"Alas!" theñ gañ they sayñ.
The queñ prayd' dame Ragnelle, sekerly, 570
To be maryed' in the mornynge erly
As pryvally as we may;
"Nay," she sayd', "by hevyn kyng!

Then shee said "choose thee, gentle Gawaine, [page 51.]

truth as I doe say,

wether thou wilt haue me in this liknesse

154 in the night or else in the day."

Gawain's
bride asks
whether he
will have
her foul by
day or night.

That wolles I neuer, for no thyng,
575 For oughte that ye can saye.
I wol be weddyd' alle openly,
For with the kyng suche covenawnt made

I,
I putt you oute of dowte;
I wolles nott to church tylls highe masse
tyme,

60 And' in the open halle I wolles dyne,
In myddys of alle the rowte."

"I am greed'," sayd' dame Gaynowr,
"Butt me wold' thynk' more honour,
And your worschyp' moste;"—

75 "Ye, as for that, lady, God' you saue,
This daye my worschyp' wolles I haue,
I telle you withoute boste."

She made her redy to church to fare,
And' alle the States that there ware.

620 Syrs, withoute lesyng,
She was arayd' in the richest maner,
More fresher than dame Gaynowr.
Her arayment was worth iij m' mark'
Of good' red' nobles styff and' stark',

75 So richely she was begon;
For alle her rayment she bare the belle
Of fowlnesse, that euer I hard' telle,
So fowlle a sowe sawe neuer mañ.
For to make a shortt conclusioñ,

660 When she was weddyd', they hyed' theym
home;

To mete alle they went;
This fowlle lady bygañ the highe dese;
She was fulle foulle, and' nott curteys,
So sayd' they alle, verament.

665 When the siruyce cam her before,
She ete as moche as vj. that ther wore,
That mervayld' many a mañ;
Her naylys were long ynchys iij*,
Therwith she breke her mete vngoodly,
Therefore she ete alone.

610 She ette iij*. capons, and' also curlues iij*,
And' greatt bake metes she ete vp, perde,
Al meñ therof had' mervaylle;

615 Ther was no mete cam her before,
Butt she ete itt vp, lesse and' more,
That praty fowle dameselle.

Alle meñ then that euer her sawe,

Bad' the deville her bonys gnawe,
Bothe knyghte and squyre.
So she ete tylls mete was done, 620
Tylle they drewe clothes, and' had'
wassheñ,

As is the gyse and' maner.
Meny meñ wold' speke of diuerse seruice,
I trowe ye may wete inowghe ther was,
Bothe of tame and' wyld; 625
In King Arthours courte ther was no
wontt

That myghte be gotten with mannys
hond',

Noder in forest ne in feld'.
Ther wer mynstralles of diuerse contrey

[A leaf here is wanting.]

"A, sir Gawen, syñ I haue you wed', 630
Shewe me your cortesy in bed',
Withe ryghte itt may nott be denyed'.

I-wyse, sir Gawen," that lady sayd',
"And' I were fayre, ye wold' do a noder
brayd'

635 Butt of wedlok' ye take no hed';
Yett for Arthours sake, kysse me att the
leste,

I pray you do this att my request,
Lett se, howe ye can spede."
sir Gawen sayd', "I wolles do more
Then for to kysse, and' God' before!; 640
He turnyd' hym her vntille;

He sawe her the fayrest creature,
That euer he sawe withoute mesure;
She sayd', "whatt is your wylle?"

645 "A, Ihesu!" he* sayd' "whate ar ye?"
"sir, I am your wyf, securly!

Why ar ye so unkynde?"
"A, lady, I am to blame;
I cry you mercy, my fayre madame,
Itt was nodd in my mynde. 650

A lady ye ar fayre in my syghte,
And' to day ye were the foulyst wyghte,
That euer I sawe with myne iet;

655 Wele is me, my lady, I haue you thus,"—
And' brasyd' her in his armys, and' gañ
her kysse,
And' made greatt joye, sycurly. 656

* she, MS.

† ien, MS.

Gawain And then bespake him Gentle Gawaine,
 with one soe¹ mild of Moode,
 answers sayes, "well I know what I wold say,
 158 god grant it may be good !

 "To haue thee fowle in the night
 when I with thee shold play ;
 yet I had rather, if I might,
 "By day." 162 haue thee fowle in the day."

 "What ! when Lords goe with ther seires,²" shee said,
 "both to the Ale & wine ;
 "Then I alas ! then I must hyde my selfe,
 must hide 166 I must not goe withinne."
 from your
 com-
 panions."

 And then bespake him gentle gawaine,
 said, "Lady, thats but a skill³ ;
 "No ; do as And because thou art my owne lady,
 you like." 170 thou shalt haue all thy will."

"Bless you,
 Gawain,
 you have
 cured me." Then she said, "blesed be thou gentle Gawain[e],
 this day *that* I thee see,
 for as thou see me att this time,
 174 from hencforth I wilbe :

 "My father was an old knight,
 & yett it chanced soe
 that he marryed a younge lady
 178 *that* brought me to this woe.

I was
 witched
 into the
 likeness of
 a fiend." "Shee witched me, being a faire young Lady,
 to the greene forrest to dwell,
 & there I must walke in womans liknesse,
 182 Most like a feend of hell.

¹ which was soe, qu.—P.

? for feires, i. e. Mates.—F.

² So in MS., though the i is blotched ;

³ ? reason, feint, pretence.—F.

"She witched my brother to a Carlist B . . ."

[*half a page missing.*¹]

"that looked soe foule, & that was wont

[page 52.]

185 on the wild more to goe.

"Come kisse her, Brother Kay," then said Sir Gawaine,

"& amend thé of thy life;

I sweare this is the same lady

189 that I married to my wiffe."

"Kiss her,
brother
Kay," says
Gawain,
"and regret
your
rudeness."

¹ *Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell* gives us to fill up this gap, or rather from l. 179,—though at the end it does not fit in well:—

For I was shapen by nygramancy
Withe my stepdame,—God' haue on her
mercy!—

And' by enchantement,

635 And' shold' haue bene oderwyse vnder-
stond',

Euyñ tyll the best of England'

Had' wedyd' me, verament,

And' also he shold' geueme the souereynthe

Of alle his body and' goodes, sycurly,

700 Thus was I difformyd';

And' thou, *sir* knyghte, curteys Gawen,

Has geuyñ me the souereynthe, sirteyn,

That wolte not wrothe the erly ne late.

Kysse me, *sir* knyghte, euyñ now here,

705 I pray the, be glad', and' make good'
chere,

For welles is me begoon."

Ther they made joye oute of mynde,

So was itt reason and' cours of kynde,

They two theym self alone.

710 She thankyd' God' and' Mary mylde,

She was reconerd' of that that she was
defoylyd'.

So dyd' *sir* Gawen;

He made myrthe alle in her boure,

And' thankyd' of alle oure Sauoure.

715 I telle you, in certeyñ,

Withe joye & myrthe they wakyd' tyll
daye,

And' than wold' ryse that fayre maye,*

"Ye shalle nott," *sir* Gawen sayd';

"We wolles lye, & slepe tyll pryne,

720 And' then lett the kyng calle vs to
dyne,"—

"I am greed'," then sayd' the mayd'.

Thus itt passyd' forth tyll mid-daye,—
"Syrs," quod' the kyng, "lett vs go
and' asaye,

Yf *sir* Gawen be on lyre;

I am fulle ferd' of *sir* Gawen,

725

Nowe lest the fende haue hym slayñ,

Nowe wold' I fayñ preve.

Go we nowe," sayd' Arthoure the kyng,

"We wolles go se theyr vprysyng,

Howe welle that he hath sped'."

730

They cam to the chambre, alle in certeyñ,

"Aryse," sayd' the kyng to *sir* Gawen,

"Why slepyst thou so long in bed'?"

"Mary," quod' Gawen, "*sir* kyng, sicurly,

I wold' be glad' and' ye wold' lett
me be,

735

For I am fulle welle att eas;

Abyde, ye shalle se the dore vndone,

I trowe that ye wolles say I am welle
goon,

I am fulle lothe to ryse."

Syr Gawen rose, and' in his hand' he toke

740

His fayr lady, and' to the dore he shoke,

And' opynynd' the dore fulle fayre;

She stod' in her smok' alle by that syre,—

Her her † was to her knees as red' as
gold' wyre,—

"Lo! this is my repayre.

745

Lo!" sayd' Gawen Arthoure vntille,

"Syr, this is my wyfe, dame Ragnelle,

That sauyd' onys your lyfe."

He told' the kyng and' the queñ hem
beforn,

Howe sodenly from her shap she dyd'
torne,

750

"My lord', nowe be your leue."

And' whate was the cause she forshapen
was,

Syr Gawen told' the kyng, bothe more
and' lesse.

755

* mayd, *MS.*

† Syr, *MS.*

‡ hed, *MS.*

Kay kisses
her,

Sir Kay kissed that lady bright,
standing vpon his ffeete ;
he swore, as he was trew knight,
193 the spice was neuer soe sweete.

and con-
gratulates
Gawain.

“ Well, Cozen Gawaine,” sayes Sir Kay,
“ thy chance is fallen arright,
for thou hast gotten one of the fairest maids
197 I euer saw with my sight.”

“ It is my fortune,” said Sir Gawaine ;
“ for my vnckle Arthurs sake
I am glad as grasse wold be of raine,
201 great Ioy that I may take.”

He and Kay
take the
lady be-
tween them,
and lead her
to King
Arthur,

Sir Gawaine tooke the lady by the one arme,
Sir Kay tooke her by the tother,
they led her straight to King Arthur
205 as they were brother & brother.

King Arthur welcomed them there all,
& soe did lady Geneuer his queene,
with all the knights of the round table
209 most seemly to be seene.

who thanks
God for
Gawain's
bliss.

King Arthur beheld that lady faire
that was soe faire and bright,
he thanked christ in trinity
213 for Sir Gawaine that gentle knight ;

All the
knights
rejoice.

Soe did the knights, both more and lesse,
reioyced all that day
for the good chance *that* hapened was
217 to Sir Gawaine & his lady gay. ffinis.

A Fragm^t of y^e Ballad of Lord Barnard & the little Musgrave.¹

THIS ballad is referred to in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Knight of the Burning Pestle," (1611), act v. sc. iii.

And some they whistled, and some they sung,
Hey down down !
And some did loudly say
Ever as the Lord Barnet's horn blew,
Away, Musgrave, away.

And in the "Varietie," 1649, and in Sir William Davenant's "Wits," where Twack, an antiquated beau, boasting of his qualifications, adds :

Besides I sing *Musgrave*,
And for *Chevy Chase* no lark comes near me.

But the oldest copy of it extant is this of the folio MS. unhappily much mutilated. The oldest entire copy is to be found in "Wit Restor'd," 1658, p. 174, which is reprinted from a reprint of that work by Prof. Child, in his collection, and elsewhere. That same version appears in Dryden's "Miscellany Poems," and from it in Ritson's "Ancient Songs and Ballads." A more diffuse version, called "Lord Barnaby," is given by Jamieson in his "Popular Ballads and Songs," in which apparently Little Musgrave turns out to be the son of the injured, revengeful lord. Another has been published by the Percy Society in their "Scottish Traditional Versions of Ancient Ballads." There is yet another in the Bagford Collection (I. No. 36) in the British Museum, a later, emasculate thing,

¹ Percy's title.—F. See an intire Copy in Dryden's Misc. Vol. 3, pag. 312.—P.

entitled "A Lamentable Ballad of Little Musgrave and the Lady Barnet, to an excellent New Tune," which tune Mr. Chappell gives in his valuable work, vol. i. p. 170. "In the Pepys Collection," says Bishop Percy, "there is an imitation of this old song in 33 stanzas."

Musgrave is a common Westmoreland name. It occurs not unfrequently in Border ballads.

This is certainly one of the most effective ballads in our language.

Lord Barnard is told that little Musgrave is sleeping with his wife.

¹ "For this same night att [Bucklesfeildberry] [page 53.]
2 little Musgreue is in bed with thy wife."

"If it be trew, thou litle foote page,
this tale thou hast told to mee,
then all my lands in Bucklefeildberry

6 He freely giue to thee :

¹ The copy in *Wit Restored* (1658, reprinted in 1817) supplies the beginning thus :

As it fell one holy-day, *hay downe*,
As many be in the yeare,
When young men and maids together
did goe,
Their mattins and masse to heare,

Little Musgrave came to the church dore,
The preist was at private masse ;
But he had more minde of the faire
women,
Then he had of our lady grace.

The one of them was clad in green,
Another was clad in pale ;
And then came in my lord Bernards wife,
The fairest amongst them all.

She cast an eye on little Musgrave,
As bright as the summer sun,
And then bethought this little Musgrave,
"This ladys heart have I woonn."

Quoth she, "I have loved thee, little
Musgrave,
Full long and many a day ;"

"So have I loved you, fair lady,
Yet never word durst I say."

"I have a bower at Buckelsfordbery,
Full daintily it is geight ;
If thou wilt wed thither, thou little
Musgrave,
Thou's lig in mine armes all night."

Quoth he, "I thank yee, faire lady,
This kindnes thou showest to me ;
But whether it be to my weal or woe,
This night I will lig with thee."

With that he heard a little tyne page,
By his ladyes coach as he ran ;
"All though I am my ladyes footpage,
Yet I am lord Barnards man.

"My lord Barnard shall knowe of this,
Whether I sink or swimme."
And ever where the bridges were broake,
He laid him downe to swimme.

"A sleep, or wake ! thou lord Barnard,
As thou art a man of life," &c.

“ But if this be a lye, thou litle foot page,
 this tale thou hast told to mee,
 then on the highest tree in Bucklesfeild-berry
 10 all hanged that thou shalt bee.”

Saies, “ vpp & rise, my merrymen all,
 & saddle me my good steede,
 for I must ride to Bucklesfeildberry ;
 14 god wott I had neuer more need ! ”

He bids his
 men “ Up
 and to
 Bucklesfeild-
 bury.”

But some they whistled, and some thé sunge,
 & some they thus cold say,
 “ when euer as Lord Barnetts horne blowes,
 18 away, Musgreue, away ! ”

“ ¹ Mie thinkes I heare the throstlecocke,
 me thinkes I heare the lay,
 Me thinkes I heare Lord Barnetts horne,
 22 away, Musgreue, away ! ”

Little
 Musgrave
 wishes to
 be gone,

“ But lie still, lie still, litle Musgreue,
 & huddle me from the cold,
 for it is but some sheaperds boy
 26 is whistling sheepe ore the Mold.

but Lady
 Barnard per-
 suades him
 to linger.

“ Is not thy hanke vpon a pearch,
 thy horsse eating corne & hay,
 & thou, a gay lady in thine armes,
 30 & yett thou wold goe awaie ² ! ”

By this time Lord Barnett was come to the dore,
 & light vpon a stone,
 and he pulled out 3 silver kayes,
 34 & opened the dores euery one.

Lord
 Barnard
 reaches his
 house

¹ This verse is written in the MS. after the next but one. A marginal note by the scribe says, “ this verse must be

put at the cross ab[ove,]” i.e. two verses higher than it is written in the MS.—F.

² MS. awaw.—F.

and finds
the lovers.

And first he puld the couering downe,
& then puld downe the sheete,
saies, "how now? how now? litle Musgreue,
38 dost find my gay lady sweet?"

"I find her sweete," saies litle Musgreue,
"the more is my greefe & paine;"¹

[half a page missing.]

Lord
Barnard
laments
what he
has done.

"Soe haue I done the fairest Lady
42 that euer wore womans weede;

[page 54.]

"Soe haue I done a heathen child,²
which ffull sore greineth mee,
for which Ile repent all the dayes of my life
46 & god be with them all 3." ffins.

¹ The ballad in *Wit Restored* continues:
I would gladly give three hundred pounds
That I were on yonder plaine."

"Arise, arise, thou littell Musgrave,
And put thy clothés on;
It shal ne're be said in my country
I have killed a naked man.

"I have two swords in one scabberd,
Full deere they cost my purse;
And thou shalt have the best of them,
And I will have the worse."

The first stroke that little Musgrave
stroke,
He hurt Lord Barnard sore;
The next stroke that Lord Barnard stroke,
Little Musgrave ne're struck more.

With that bespake this faire lady,
In bed whereas she lay;
"Although thou'rt dead, thou little
Musgrave,
Yet I for thee will pray;

"And wish well to thy soul will I,
So long as I have life;

So will I not for thee, Barnard,
Although I am thy wedded wife."

He cut her paps from off her brest,
(Great pitty it was to see)
That some drops of this ladies heart's
blood
Ran trickling downe her knee.

"Woe worth you, woe worth my mery
men all,
You were ne're borne for my good;
Why did you not offer to stay my hand
When ye saw me wax so wood?

"For I have slaine the bravest air
knight
That ever rode on steed;
So have I done the fairest lady
That ever did womans deed.

"A grave, a grave," Lord Barnard cryd,
"To put these lovers in:
But lay my lady on upper hand,
For she came of the better kin."

² ? wild, loose knight.—F.

Musleboorowe field.¹

THERE can be no doubt that "10th day of December" in the first line of this fragment should be "9th day of September," that "4th year" in the second should be "1st year," and "12th day" in the seventeenth should be "10th day." The chronology of ballads is anything but their strongest point. Their dates not unfrequently are quite wrong. The battle here meant is that generally known in our histories as Pinkie, or Pinkie Cleugh. The older writers, as Grafton, Fabyan, Holinshed, Baker, call it by the title here given it; Carte gives it both names. The English government, on the death of Henry VIII., was extremely solicitous to arrange a marriage between the young prince who succeeded him and the Princess Mary of Scotland. Scotland declined this arrangement, and the Lord Protector presently visited that country with fire and sword in order to bring it to a better mind. The most striking act in this rough wooing was the battle of Pinkie, fought on the bank of the Esk, close by a town of the name, a few miles from Edinburgh. A very interesting account of the whole expedition and of this particular act is given by an eye-witness in a work entitled "The expedition into Scotlande of the Most Worthily Fortunate Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, uncle unto our most noble sovereign Lord, y^e Kiges Majestie Edward the VI, governour of hys hyghnes persone and protectour of hys graces realmes, dominions, and subjectes, made in the first yere of his Majesties most prosperous reign, and set out by way of Diarie by W. Patten, London," reprinted in "Fragments of Scottish History," 1798.

¹ This is in better language than most of that age.—P.

Patten gives the same picture as our ballad of the confidence of the Scotch army. "As for of victorie," he says, "he [the governor of Scotland] thought hymself no less sure then he was willynge to fyght. That makes me in this case more to be so quite out of doubt, wear the causes whearof I was after so certainly ascertained. And they were, firste, his respecte of our onely strength (as he thought) of our horsmen, the which, not so much upon pollecie to make his men hardy agaynste us as for that he plainly so took it, he caused to be published in his hoste that it was hooly but of very young men, unskilfull of the warres, and easie to be delt with al. And thē his regard to y^e number place of our power and his, y^e whiche indede wear far unequall. And hereto his assured hope of xii galleys and l. ships that always he lookt for to be sent out of Fraūce to come in at our backes. He with hys hoste made themselves hereby so sure of the matter that in the night of this day they fel aforehand to playing at dyce for certeine of our noble men & captains of fame."

This confidence of the Scotch—so great that when they saw the English army moving they at once concluded it was intent on a retreat—was terribly falsified by the event. Their defeat was most complete, and would have been followed by still severer distress, had not the need of his presence in England presently recalled the invader. But in how grievous a plight the country was at this time, may be seen in the "Complaynt of Scotland."

Verse 21. It may be remarked that the English gunnery seems to have been very effective. When our Italian and Spanish mercenaries discharged their fire-arms into the first ranks, "a raking fire," says Lingard, "was opened on the Scots from a galley and two pinnaces in the bay; and a battery of guns from a neighbouring eminence scattered destruction amidst the dense and exposed mass."

"And yet," writes Patten of a previous skirmish when the Scotch fled before some English hakbutteres, "I know they lack no hartes, but thei canst so well away w^t these crakkes."

Any one who wishes for information about the state of Scotch artillery at this time may find it in Leyden's Introduction to his reprint of the above-mentioned "Complaynt."

ON the 10th day of december

[on page 54.]

At Musle-
borough the
English and
Scotch met.

& the 4th yeere of King Edwards Raigne,
att Musleboorowe, as I remember,

4 2 goodly hosts there mett on a plaine ;

All night that¹ they camped there,
soe did the scotts both stout & stubborne,

The Scotch
confident.

"but wellaway," it was their song ;

8 2 for wee haue taken them in their owne turne.³

Over night they carded⁴ for our english mens coates,
they fished before their netts were spunn,
a white for 6^d, a red pro 2 groates⁵ ;

12 now wisdome wold haue stayed till they had been
woone.

Wee feared not but that they wold fight,
yett itt was turned vnto their owne paine,
thoe against one of vs *that* they were 8^t;

They were 8
to 1, but we
beat them.

16 yett with their owne weapons wee did them beat.

On the 12th day in the morne

thé made a face as thé wold fight,

but many a proud Scott there was downe borne,

20 & many a ranke coward was put to flight.

¹ ? that night.—H.

² This may refer either to Flodden Field (A.D. 1513) or to the very recent overthrow of Solway Moss.

³ The MS. may be read *horne*.—F.

⁴ i.e. played for *them* at Cards.—P.

⁵ It should seem from hence that there was somewhat of a Uniform among our Soldiers even then.—P.

But when they heard our great gunnes cracke,
 then was their harts turned into their hose;
 they cast down their weapons, and turned their backes,
 24 they ran soe fast *that* thé fell on their Nose.

Of Lord
 Huntley's
 10,000 men
 not one
 escaped.

The Lord Huntley, wee had him there,¹
 with him hee brought 10000: men;
 yett, god be thanked, wee made them such a banquet
 28 that none of them returned againe.

Wee chased them to D . . .

[*half a page gone.*]

¹ The Earl of Huntley commanded the Scotch rear. He was taken prisoner.—H.

Fragment of a Ballad about Thomas Lord Cromwell.¹

CROMWELL was a favourite subject with the ballad-writers of the middle of his century. Regarded as a great author and promoter of the radical ecclesiastical changes of his time, he reaped a plentiful harvest both of hatred and of popularity. The oldest ballad in print deals with him: "A newe ballade made of Thomas Crumwel, called Trolle on away," with the burden—

Trolle on away, trolle on awaye.

Synge heave and howe rombellowe trolle on away.

printed in London in 1540, composed probably, as Bishop Percy (who prints it in his "Reliques," v. ii. Bk. I. No. xi.) suggests, between the disgraced minister's arrest on June 10th (Percy wrongly says 11th), and execution on the 28th of the following month. This piece, says Percy, "gave rise to a poetic controversy, which was carried on through a succession of seven or eight ballads, written for and against Lord Cromwell. These are all preserved in the archives of the Antiquarian Society, in a large folio collection of proclamations, &c. made in the reigns of K. Hen. VIII., K. Edw. VI., Q. Mary, Q. Eliz., K. James I., &c."

The details of ballad-mongers can seldom boast much historical value. The object of the tribe is to place events before their audience in the most picturesque way possible. To this object details must courtsey. The great event alluded to here undoubtedly transpired: Cromwell was attached; but the costume of the event is the fancy-work of the ballad-writer.

¹ Our title.—F. Percy's side note is, "This seems to be a Fragment of another Ballad about Lord Cromwell.—P."

No woman's spiteful clamouring for his life—no Herodias daughter—ruined him, but simply the failure of his matrimonial scheme. Cromwell might have died peaceably in his bed, had Anne of Cleves been endowed with beauty. Beauty has been many men's bane; the want of it was Cromwell's. Anne's plain face killed him. Not the Earls of Derby and Shrewsbury arrested him, but the Duke of Norfolk at the council table. Lastly, he was never after his arrest admitted to an interview with the king. Letters passed between the fallen servant and the merciless master. "Most gracious Prince," wrote Cromwell from the Tower, "I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." Over which appeal the master is said to have shed a tear, but he never intervened between the maker of it and the block; and on one and the same day the minister was beheaded, and the king married Catherine Howard,—a coincidence not mentioned by Mr. Froude.

The details of this fragment are therefore void of accuracy. As Catherine Howard gained, as at first it might seem, by the fall of Cromwell and the divorce of his protégée, she perhaps is the person here represented as denouncing him for a traitor ("the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign" he was described to be in the Act of Attainder) and begging his death. There may have been current a rumour to such an effect. Rapin says: "The solicitations of the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, seconded by those of Catherine Howard, who acted in their favour, rendered the endeavours of the prisoner [to obtain his pardon] fruitless." But, according to Miss Strickland, "there is not the slightest contemporary evidence, not so much as a private letter, to bear out" this assertion.

The king's first speech is worthy of notice as mentioning the two great considerations of the early Tudors—the crown and the people. The barons had been completely broken down in the

long wars of the preceding centuries culminating in the Wars of the Roses. Edward IV. leaned upon the people. So Henry VII. Accordingly, in the ballads of the early part of the sixteenth century, the "commonalty" is frequently heard of.

[*half a page missing.*]

- 2 "for if your boone be askeable,
soone granted it shalbe
- [page 56.] The King inclines to grant her boon.
- "If it be not touching my crowne," he said,
"Nor hurting poore comminaltye."
"Nay, it¹ is not touching your crowne," shee sayes,
6 "Nor hurting poore cominaltye,
- "But I begg the death of Thomas Cromwell,
for a false traitor to you is hee."
"then feitch me hither the Earle of darby
10 and the Earle of Shrewsbury,
- "And bidde them bring Thomas Cromawell;
lets see what he can say to mee."
for Thomas had woont to haue carryed his head vp,
14 but now he hanges it vppon his knee.
- "How now ? How now ?" the King did say,
"Thomas, how is it with thee ?"
"Hanging & drawing, O King !" he saide ;
18 "you shall neuer gett more from mee."
- ffins.
- She begs Thomas Cromwell's death.
- Cromwell is brought before the King.
- and condemned to be hanged and drawn.

¹ MS. it it.—F.

Listen Jolly Gentlemen.¹

THIS is evidently an old song roughly re-dressed for the reign of James I. A different song with the same beginning is, says Mr. Chappell, in the Pepys Collection. (Mr. Pattrick cannot find it.)

-
- | | | | |
|--|----|--|--|
| <p>A word in
praise of old
King Harry.</p> | | <p>LISTEN iolly gentlemen,
listen and be merry!</p> | <p>a word or tow faine wold I speake
in the praiise of old <i>King Harry</i>,
for hee wold sweare, & he wold stare,
& lay hand on his dagger;
& he wold swiue, if he were aliuie,
from the queene vnto the beggar.</p> |
| <p>But he is
gone.</p> | 8 | <p>But let him alone, he is dead & gone,
another wee haue in his place,</p> | <p>our Noble <i>King</i>, of whome weelee sing</p> |
| <p>And God
bless King
James,</p> | 12 | <p>“god blesse <i>King James</i> his grace!
With a hey downe downe, with How downe downe,
With a hey downe, downe, downe derry &c.”</p> | |
| <p>who is a
jolly fellow,</p> | 16 | <p><i>King James</i> hath meate, <i>King James</i> hath men,
<i>King James</i> loues to be merry,
<i>King James</i> is angry now & then,
but it makes him quickly weary.</p> | |

[*half a page missing.*]

¹ In James I.'s Time.—P.

Of his office bestowed vpon him. [page 56.]

- 20 for your whores & your knaues & your merry
drunken slaues
cry a plauge & a pox vpon him!
with a hey downe &c.

Before I haue done with our Kings braue sonne

and has a
brave son.

- 24 I must sett forth his praise;
England had neuer a linelier ladd
to prolonge our happy dayes;
but I made this song, I must not be long,
28 for good King Iames his sake;
god blese his grace, his children & realme!
& soe I make an end.

God blees
'em!

ffins.

[The Loose Song "See the Bwildinge" follows.]

A fragment of the Ballad of the Child of Ell.¹

THIS is a fragment of one of the most popular stories of Northern Europe. "More than thirty versions have been published in the Northern languages," says Prof. Child. "Of the corresponding Danish ballad, 'Ribolt og Guldberg,' Gruntvig has collected more than twenty versions, some of them ancient, many obtained from recitation; and eight of the kindred 'Hildebrond og Hilde.' There have also been printed of the latter three versions in Swedish, and of the former three in Icelandic, two in Norse, and seven in Swedish. ('Danmarks Samle Folkeviser,' ii. 308-403, 674-81.)"

Compare "Erlinton" and "The Douglas Tragedy" (of which Scott mentions a "local habitation") in the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," "The brave Earl Brand and the King of England's daughter" in Mr. Bell's "Ballads and Songs of the English Peasantry," "Robin Hood and the Tanner's Daughter" in Gutch's "Lytell Geste."

The present fragment of a version may be fairly said to be now printed for the first time, as in the "Reliques" it is buried in a heap of "polished" verses composed by Percy. That worthy prelate, touched by the beauty of it—he had a soul—was unhappily moved to try his hand at its completion. A wax-doll-maker might as well try to restore Milo's Venus. There are 39 lines here. There are 200 in the thing called the "Child of Elle" in the "Reliques." But in those 200 lines all the 39 originals do not appear. Now and then one appears, always (with

¹ Percy's title.—F. The Beauty of these few Stanzas tempted me to attempt the long Ballad of "The Child of Elle,"

which I have printed in my Reliques, &c., Vol. I.—P.

one exception) a little altered to fit it for the strange bed-fellows with which the polishing process has made it acquainted, its good manners corrupted, so to speak, by evil communications. On the whole, the union of the genuine and the false—of the old ballad with Percy's tawdry feebleness—makes about as objectionable a *mesalliance* as that in the story itself is in the eyes of the father. The crowning efforts of the polishing process are this version of vv. 15-18 :

And thrice he clasped her to his breste,
And kist her tenderlie;
The teares that fell from her fair eyes
Ranne like the fountayne free.

and this of vv. 33-39 :

But light nowe downe, my ladye faire,
Light downe, and hold my steed,
While I and this discourteous knight
Doe trye this arduous deede.

But light now downe, my dear ladyè,
Light downe and hold my horse;
While I and this discourteous knight
Doe trye our valour's force.

So fared our poor fragment in the hands of its friends a hundred years ago.

Sayes "Christ thee saue, good child of Ell !

2 christ saue thee & thy steede !

"my father sayes he will noe Meate,
nor his drinke shall doe him noe good,
till he haue slaine the child of Ell

6 & haue seene his harts blood."

"I wold I were in my sadle sett,
& a Mile out of the towne,

I did not care for your father

10 & all his merrymen !

[page 57.] "My father,"
says the
maiden,
"vows to
slay thee."

"I care not
for him,"
says the
child, "were
I but
mounted
and out of
the town."

- " I wold I were in my saddle sett,
 & a little space him froe,
 I did not care for your father
 14 & all that long him to ! "
- They kiss,
 with tears,
 he leaned ore his saddle bow
 to kisse this Lady good ;
 the teares *that* went them 2 betweene
 18 were blend¹ water & blood.
- ride away,
 he sett himselfe on one good steed,
 this lady of one palfray,
 & sett his litle horne to his mouth,
 22 & roundlie he rode away.
- and are
 pursued by
 the lady's
 father and
 seven
 brothers.
 26 he had not ridden past a mile,
 a mile out of the towne,
 her father was readye with her 7 brether,
 he said, " sett thou my daughter downe !
 for it ill beseemes thee, thou false charles sonne,
 to carry her forth of this towne ! "
- The child
 prepares to
 fight them.
 30 " but lowd thou lyst, Sir Iohn the *Knight* !
 thou now doest Lye of me ;
 a knight me gott, & a lady me bore ;
 soe neuer did none by thee.
- 34 " but light now downe, my lady gay,
 light downe & hold my horsse,
 whilst I & your father & your brether
 doe play vs at this crosse ;
- 38 " but light now downe, my owne trew loue,
 & meeklye hold my steede,
 whilst your father [& your brether] bold"
 [*half a page missing.*]

¹ i. e. blended.—P.

King James & Browne.¹

[page 88.]

THIS piece may be regarded as a sort of second part to "The Bishop and Brown" referred to in verse 108. The theme is Brown, and how vigorously and successfully he succoured King James the Sixth of Scotland, afterwards the First of England, from the perpetual treasons that assailed his minority. "The Bishop and Brown," as we learn from the black-letter copy in the collection of the Antiquarian Society, was written by W. Elderton, a copious ballad-writer, who tippled himself to death early in the last decade of the sixteenth century, and was commemorated by this epitaph:

Hic situs est sitiens atque ebrius Eldertonus;
Quid dico hic situs est? Hic potius sitis est.

Probably enough he wrote "King James and Brown" too. The villain of it is that same Douglas, who is warned by the Earl of Morton in the last verse but one of "The Bishop and Brown:"

Take heede you do not offend the king;
But shew yourselves like honest men
Obediently in everything.

What Bishop Percy says in his Introduction to "The Bishop and Brown" of the historical value or valuelessness of that ballad, applies pretty much to this one. As frequently with ballads, the spirit is true, the letter false. James the Sixth was born and cradled and grew up in the midst of turmoils and troubles. The royal person was the great bone of contention amongst the different parties that rent the state, and, down to within three

¹ See also song in page 273 [of MS.].—P.

years of the union of the Scotch and English crowns, was in constant peril from them. It was always being seized, or attempted to be seized, or rumoured to be about to be seized. All the winds of faction were let loose, and his majesty was as cruelly blown and tossed about as Æneas himself. The sagacious discoverer of Gunpowder Plot had had therefore much experience of treason before he came southward. He had lived in an atmosphere of it. Such an atmosphere is represented by the following ballad. From the words already quoted from "The Bishop and Brown," we may perhaps be justified in dating it in the Earl of Morton's regency (1572-1580, with a short interruption)—the fourth regency since Queen Mary's compelled abdication in 1567. What historical justification there is for it is perhaps contained in the following extract from "The Historie of King James the Sext," printed by the Bannatyne Club: "In the nixt moneth of Apryle, the Erle of Mortoun began to consider with him self, that he had not done weill of his suddan demissioun; and tharefor he entysit a factioun of the hous of Mar to cum to the castell of Stirling, with force and slight to transport the King from the hands of Alexander Erskin his ordinar and laughfull kepar, to Lochlevin; whare he intendit to have keapit him till the end of his yeiris of perfection, or els for all the dayis of his lyftyme, as he intendit to have keapit his mother afore. And in the meyne tyme he maid his residence thair, as it war for policie, devysing the situation of a fayre gardene with allayis, to remove all suspicion of his consavit treason in that mater. Bot as thay war in executioun of this purpose, it was sumthing narrolie espyit that a speciall gentilman of reputation was murdreist amang thayme callit Erskin, wha defendit stoutlie the Kings dure from thair assault, besyd the hurt of many uthers. To conclude, that thair treasonable interpryse was postponit for that tyme, bot Mortons devyce was not devulgat till efter."

The Ballad surrounds the king with traitors—sets his body

about with disloyal swords and spears—and makes his mercy as unavailing as his power. Happily for the poor prince, there is at hand one Brown—a loyal, energetic, incorruptible Englishman. He had three times before delivered the king out of the hands of his enemies—from some assailants at Edinburgh, from the “Sheriff’s sonne of Carlile,” from the Bishop of St. Andrews—and he delivers him again. How pleasant to ballad-hearers in the English streets about the year 1580 to know that the King of Scotland was being so well looked after and protected by Brown!

V. 27. The Earl of Lennox was murdered at Stirling in 1571.

AS I did walke my selfe alone,
 & by one garden greene,
 I heard a yonge prince make great moane
 4 which did turne my hart to teene.¹

A young
king is
heard
complaining
of his
danger.

“O lord!” he then said vntou me,
 “Why haue I liued soe long?
 for yonder comes a cruell scott,”
 8 quoth hee, “*that* will doe me some ronge.”²

and then came traitor douglas there,—
 he came for to betray his king,—
 some they brought bills, & some they brought bowes,
 12 & some thé brought other things.

Douglas,
with other
lords, comes
to seize him.

the king was aboue in a gallery
 with a heany heart;
 vnto his body was sett about
 16 with swords & speares soe sharpe.

“be you the Lordes of Scotland,” he said,
 “*that* hither for counsell seeke to me?
 or yoe bee³ traitors to my crowne
 20 by my blood *that* you wold see?”

Asked by
the Prince
what they
want,

¹ grief, vexation, indignation.—P.

² wrong.—P.

³ bee you.—P.

they say
his blood.

“wee are they *Lords* of Scotland,” they said,
“nothing we come to craue of thee,
but wee be traitors to thy crowne ;
24 thy blood that wee will see.”

The Prince
cries shame
on them.

“O! fye vpon you, you false Scotts !
for you neuer all trew wilbe ;
my grandfather you haue slaine,
28 & caused my mother to flee !

“my grandfather you haue slaine,
& my owne mother¹ you hanged on a tree !
& now,” quoth he, “the like treason
32 you haue now wrought for me !

“ffarwell hart, & farwell hand !
farwell all pleasures alsoe !
35 farwell th my head ”

[*half a page missing.*]

“If thou wilt [page 59, the first whole page.
37 & soe goe away with mee.”

Browne
refuses
Douglas's
bribe.

“goe Marry thy daughter to whome thou wilt,”
quoth Browne, “thou marrys none to me,
for Ile not be a traitor,” quoth Browne,
41 “for all the gold that euer I see.”

this Douglas, hearing Browne soe say,
began to flee away full fast;
“but tarry a while,” saies lusty Browne,
45 “Ile make you to pay before you passe.”

¹ father, the Lord Darnley.—P.

he hath taken the Douglas prisoner,
 & hath brought him before the *King* ;
 he kneeled low vpon his knee,

Browne
 seizes
 Douglas,
 who prays
 for pardon,

49 for pardon there prainge.

"how shold I pardon thee," saith the *King*,
 " & thoule remaine a traitor still ?
 for euer since that I was borne,"

53 quoth he, " thou hast sought my blood to spill."

"for if you will grant me my pardon," he said,

"out of this place soe free,
 I wilbe sworne before your grace

57 a trew subiect to bee."

"god for-gaue his death," said the *King*,

"when he was nayled vpon a tree,
 & as free as euer god forgaue his death,

which at
 last the
King grants.

61 douglas," quoth he, " Ile forgiue thee !

"and all the traitors in Scotland,"

quoth he, " both great & small,
 as free as euer god forgaue his death,

65 soe free I will forgiue them all."

"I thanke you for your pardon, king,
 that you haue granted forth soe plaine ;

if I liue a 12 month to an end,

Douglas
 thanks him,
 but aside
 vows to
 undo him.

69 you shall not alieue remaine.

"tomorrow yet or ere I dine

I meane to doo thee one good turne,
 for Edenborrow that is thine owne "

73 quoth he, " I will both h . . & [burne]."

thus douglas hied towards Edenborrow,

& many of his men were gone beffore,
 & after him on euery side,

Douglas
 goes to
 Edinburgh
 with his
 men.

77 with him there went some 20 score.

but when that they did see him come,
 they cryed lowd with voices, saying,
 "yonder comes a false Traitor
 81 that wold haue slaine our *King* ! "

Browne
 again seizes
 Douglas,

they chaynd vp the gates of Edenborrow,
 & there thé made them wonderous fast,
 & there Browne sett on douglas againe,
 85 & quicklye did him ouer cast.

but worde came backe againe to the *King*
 with all the speed that euer might bee,
 that Traitor douglas there was taken,
 89 & his body was there to see.

"bring me his taker," quoth the *King*,
 "come, quickly bring him vnto me !
 He giue a 1000 pound a yeere,
 93 what man soener he bee."

and is
 brought
 before the
 King.

But then they called Lusty Browne ;
 sayes, " Browne, come thou hither to mee !
 how oft hast thou foughten for my sake,
 97 & alwayes woone the victory ? "

Browne
 recounts
 how he
 served the
 King

" the first time that I fought for you,
 it was in Edenborrow, *King* ;
 if there I had not stoutly stood,
 101 my leege, you neuer had beene *King* :

and saved
 his life

" the second time I fought for you,
 here I will tell you in this place,
 I killd the Sheriffs sonne of Carlile,"
 105 quoth he, " that wold haue slaine your grace :

"the 3^d time that I fought for you,¹

twice.

here for to let you vnderstand,

I slew the bishopp of S^t Andrew[s,]"

109 quoth he, "with a possat² in [his hand]."

. quoth hee

[page 60.]

"that euer my manhood I did trye,

He make a vow for Englands sake

113 that I will neuer battell flee."

"god amercy, browne," then said the King,

Browne is
made an
earl.

"& god amercy heartilye!

before I made thee but a knight,

117 but now an Earle I will make thee."

"God saue the Queene of England," he said,

He declares
his fealty to
England.

"for her blood is verrey neshe,³

as neere vnto her I am

121 as a colloppe shorne from the fleshe.

"If I be false to England," he said,

either in Earnest or in Iest,

I might be likened to a bird,"

125 Quoth he, "that did defile it Nest.⁴"

ffins.

¹ This alludes to the subject of the ballad in page 273 [of the MS., *Bishoppe & Browne*].—P.

² qu. : MS. rubbed. Compare "Bishop & Browne."—H.

³ tender, delicate.—F.

⁴ "Tis an ill bird that bewrays it own nest." Ray's "Proverbs" in *Bohn's Handbook*, p. 72.—F.

Sir Lambewell.¹

[IN 3 PARTS.—P.]

IN the Registers of the Stationers' Company (see Mr. Collier's extracts therefrom) is this entry: "1557-8, To John Kynge, to printe these bokes folowyng; that ys to saye a Jeste of Syr gawayne . . . Syr lamwell . . ." Of "Syr lamwell" Mr. Collier says, "if printed, it has perished." It was printed; but the print, with the exception of one single page preserved in the Douce Collection, has perished. The poem, however, has not perished; we now print it.

The piece is simply a *rifaccimento* of that highly popular romance "Lanval"—No. 5 of Maries lays, which "are known to exist only in one MS., viz. Harl. MSS. No. 978" (see Mr. Halliwell's "Ellis' Early Eng. Met. Rom.")—or rather of the English translation of it made by Thomas Chestre, as we are told at the end:

Thomas Chestre made thys tale,
Of the noble Knyght syr Launfale
Good of chivalrye.

preserved in the Cotton MSS. Calig. A. 2. f. 33, from which it is printed by Ritson in his "E. E. Met. Rom." "Lamwell" is one of the pieces mentioned in the memorable list of Captain Cox's ballads in Laneham's well-known Kenilworth Letter (1575).

This version differs in form (Chestre's translation is written in the favourite metre of the romances—the "Rime of Sir Topas" metre) and slightly in matter from its original. It omits the previous career of the knight as it is detailed by Chestre—how he disliked Queen "Gwennere" as soon as ever she arrived at

¹ A curious old romantic ballad written before the Reformation, see part 3^d, v. 24. This is upon the same subject as the old

Romance of Sir Launfal, but differs in some Parts of the Story, probably altered by some minstrel.—P.

Arthur's court, and, she reciprocating his feelings, resolved to seek some other quarters, and accordingly proceeded to "Karlywon," and there abode in extreme destitution, till riding one day into a forest the rare adventure on which the tale centres befell him. Chestre calls the lady, who is anonymous in the Folio, "Dame Tryamour," and speaks of her dwelling-place as "Olyroan," not as "Million" or "Amilion." The place meant here—the "jolly island that clipped was Amilion"—is of course that Fortunate Isle to which Arthur was conveyed by the three queens ("I wil into the vale of Avilion," says the sick King to Sir Bedivere, "for to heal me of a greivous wounde:") so richly described by Tennyson in his "Morte d'Arthur" as

The island-valley of Avilion
Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea.

Chestre says that once a year something might be heard or seen of the "translated" knight:

Every yer upon a certayn day
Me may here Launfales stede nay
And hym se with syght.
Ho that wyll there axsy justus
To kepe hys armes fro the rustus
In turnement other fyght;
Dar he never forther gon,
Ther he may fynde justes anoon,
With syr Launfal the knyght.

The presents the lady makes her lover are more curious in Chestre's poem than in ours:

I wyll the yeve an alner,
Imad of sylk and of gold cler,
Wyth fayre ymages thre;
As oft thou putttest the hond therinne,
A mark of gold thou schalt wyne,
In wat place that thou be.
Also, sche seyde, syr Launfal,

I yeve the Blaunchard my stede lel
 And Gyfre my owen knave;
 And of my armes oo pensel,
 Wyth thre ermyns ypeynted well,
 Also thou schalt have.
 In werre, ne yn turnement,
 Ne schall the greve no knyghtes dent
 So well y schall the save.

Our version, made a century later—Chester lived probably in Henry VI.'s reign—is indifferent to these and such details, as also to the exploits performed in Lombardy by the knight with his mistress' assistance so given, which in Chestre are so famous as to lead King Arthur to recall him to the court. It characteristically attaches more importance to the trial-scene, which it gives in full.

King Arthur
 is at Carlisle.

Many
 knights and
 squires
 resort to
 him.

Amongst
 them Sir
 Lambwell,

DOUGHTY in king¹ Arthures dayes
 when Brittain was holden in noblenesse,
 and in his time a long while
 4 he sojourned in merry Carlile.²
 with him he had many an heire
 as he had else many a whide³ where;
 Of his round table they were *Knights* all,
 8 & thé had much Mirth in bower & hall;
 in euery Land of the world wide
 thé came to the court on every side,
 both yonge knights & Squires eke,
 12 all thé came to the courte to seeke.
 & with him there longed⁴ a bold bachelor,
 & soe he did many a yeere,
 a yonge *Knight* of much might,
 16 Sir Lambewell forsooth he hight,
 and euer he spent worthilye,
 & he gaue gifts that were larglie;

¹ = In doughty king: Cp. "good my Lord," &c.—F. p. 284 [of MS.].—P.

² In other Ballads it is Carleile, v⁴.

³ from every.—P.

⁴ from long: ? stayed, remained.—F.

- [soe largely¹] his good he spent,
 20 much more than euer he had rent,
 & soe outragiouslye he it sett
 that he became far in debt.
 and when he saw *that* all was gone,
 24 then hee begunn to make great moane,
 "alacke!" he said, "noe goods I haue;
 I know not how to doe, soe god me saue,
 & I can neither begg nor borrowe!
 28 thus I am brought far in sorrow,
 & I am far in a strange land,
 & haue noe goods, as I vnderstand.
 of all these *Knights that* are soe feirce
 32 of the round table, *which* are my peeres,
 eche one to haue me they were glad,
 & now for me thé wilbe sad;
 both Sir Huon² & Sir Gaion,³
 36 Some time of me *that* you were faine;
 ffarwell Sir Kay, *that* crabbed Knight!
 farwell Sir Perciuall the wight!
 of my companie *that* thou was faine,
 40 the good Knight Sir Agraunaine⁴!
 farwell Sir Garrett⁵ & Sir Griffine,⁶

who
squanders
his fortune,

bids
farewell to
his fellows,

¹ MS. torn.—F. soe largelye.—P.

² ? Uwayne les awoutres. Maleor (ed. Southey) vol. 1, p. 230–3. Uwayne le blaunche maynys, *ib.* i. 231; syre Vwayne le fyse de roy Vreyne, *ib.* i. 370.—F.

³ Sir Hayne and Sir Gawaine.—P.

⁴ Agraunaine was the knight, "eueropen mouthed," who told Arthur of Lancelot's adultery with Guinevere: see cap. ii. of "the book of the pyteous hystorye whyche is of the morte or deth of kyng Arthur," being "the twenty book" of Caxton's Maleor, v. 2, p. 391 of Southey's reprint. Agraunaine was Gawain's brother, and Lancelot's killing him was the cause of Gawain's bitter revenge, and his forcing Arthur to invade Lancelot in France gave opportunity for Mordred's treason, which led to Arthur's death.—F.

⁵ "The seventh book" of Caxton's Maleor (vol. 1, 186–245 of Southey's reprint) contains "the tale of Syr Gareth of Orkeney that was called Beaumayns by syr kay." He was the son of the Queen of Orkney, and loved (and wedded) Dame Lyones of the Castel Peryllous, but was kept from anticipating his marital rights by Lynet the damoyzel, who made a knight stab him in the thigh when he needed cooling; and when he chopped the knight's head off and in pieces, she stuck it together and on again. In v. 2, p. 383, occurs "the good knygt sir Gareth, that was of veray knyghthode worth al the bretheren."—F.

⁶ Griffine is not mentioned among the "honderd knyghtes and ten" of Arthur's court, in Maleore, v. 2, p. 382–5, ed. 1817.

- of my company *that* thou was faine !
 ffarwell the *Knight* Sir Iron side¹ !
- 44 - of my company thou had much pride,
 ffor my expence & noble wray,²
 - & the rich gifts that I gaue aye !
 Certes you shall me nene[r] see ;
- 48 ffarwell, I take my leaue of you³
 as a single batchlour without blame,
 where before I bare a good name.”
 then he leaped vppon a fresh courser
- and
 unattended
 rides away
 westward. 52 without page or any squier,
 & tooke his way-towards the west,
 betweene the water & a faire fforrest.
 the sun was at the [even-tide⁴], [page 61.]
- 56 the *Knight* light downe, & thought to abide,
 & layd him downe, the *knight* free,
 vnder the shadow of a tree ;
 and what for Weeping much & warle,⁵
- Sleeps under 60 a-sleepe I-wis this *Knight* fell,
 a tree. & what for sobbing & greet.
 when he wakned, vp he him sett,
 and then he looked afore him tho :
- As he wakes,
 two maidens
 come to him
 out of a
 forest, 64 out of a fforrest came Maydens tow,
 towards Sir Lambewell they did grow⁶ ;
 ffairer befor he neuer sawe.
- 68 Mantles they had of Red veluett
 fringed with gold full well sett,
 & kirtles of purple sandall,⁷
 they were small laced, & fitted well ;
 they were tyred aboue⁸ over all,
- 72 & either of them had a ffresh color,

¹ Syr Ironsyde is mentioned in Caxton's *Maleor*, v. 1, p. 224, cap. xxiii. &c. At p. 234 he is "syre Ironsyde that was the reed knyghte of the reed laundes," and at v. 2, p. 384.—F.

² qu. array.—P.

³ of yee.—P.

⁴ The Sun was now at the even-tide : qu.—P.

⁵ perhaps waile.—P. *warly*, weary, Gawain and Golagros.—F.

⁶ draw qu.—P.

⁷ cendal, thin silk ; "*cendell*, thynne lynnyn, Fr. *sendal*." Palsgrave.—F.

⁸ above all, over.—P.

- they had faces as white as snowdownc,
 they had loue-some color & eyen Browne;
 & one of them had a gold Bason,
 76 & the other a towell of silke fine,
 towards Lamewell drew these maids twaine:
 the Knight was curteous, and rose them againe;
 thé said, "god speede thee, thou Knight free, greet him,
 80 there as thou lvest full of pouirty!"
 "damsell," saies Lamwell, "welcome to mee!"
 "Sir," quoth the one, "well may thou bee!
 My Lady thats bright as blossome or flower, and give
 84 thee greets, Sir Lamwell, as her paramoure, him an
 & prays you for to speake with her Invitation
 & if it be your will, faire Sir." from their
 Lamwell answered them both there, lady.
 88 "& I am faine¹ with you to fare, He accepts
 for which way soener your gate lies, it,
 I deeme certaine be² paradise, praises their
 for fairer maids then you tow bee beauty,
 92 I neuer saw mone with mine eye.³"
 thé thanked Lambwell, that Knight Curteous,⁴
 for giuing them soo great a praise:
 "but shee as much fairer then wee are seene,
 96 & ouer vs might be a queene,
 her bewtie passeth vs as far
 as betweene the flower & the steale.⁵"
 they washed their⁶ hands & face alsoe,
 100 & forth with those maids the Knight did goe. and goes
 within that forrest thé did see with them
 a rich paullion pight full hee,⁷ to a rich
 & euery pomell of the panillion pavilion in
 104 was well worth a 100 pound: the forest,

¹ i.e. glad.—P.² to be.—P.³ The page is torn across; Percy reads, "I never saw none with mine eye;" but the first letter of none is clearly m.—F.⁴ forte certes.—P.⁵ i.e. stalk.—P. Du. steel, the Stalk or Stem of any Hearbe (Hexham). Scotch steel, the handle of anything (Jamieson).—F.⁶ perhaps his.—P.⁷ hie or high, olim pronounced hee.—P.

- vpon the topp a gripe¹ stood,
 of shining gold, fine & good ;
 in his mouth he bare a carbuncle bright,
 108 like the moone it shines euery night ;
 King Alexander the conquerour,
 nor Salamon in his most honour,
 nor Charlemount² the rich King,
 112 they neuer welded such a thing.
 for sooth there was in that pauillion
 the Kings daughter of Million³ ;
 in that pauillion was a bed of price
 116 that was couered ore with goodlie vice,⁴
 & therein sate a lady bright,
 from the Middle shee was naked vpright,
 and all her cloathing by her lay ;
 120 ffull seemlie shee sate, I say,
 all in a mantle of white Ermines
 was fringed about with gold fine.
 her mantle downe for heat shee did
 124 full right vnto her girdle steed⁵ ;
 shee was as white as lilly in may,
 or snow that falls on winters day ;
 the blossome, nor the bryar, nor noe Kind of f[lower,]
 128 it hath noe hue vnto her color ;
 [and the red] Rose when it is new, [page 62.]
 to her rednesse hath noe hue,
 for it shone Like the gold wyer ;
 132 yett noe man can tell of her attyre.
 when of her he had had a sight,
 downe of his⁶ knees then fell the Knight,
 & saluted her with mild steuen⁷
 136 as though that shee had come from heauen,
- in which
 was the
 daughter of
 the King of
 Avillion,
 a most fair
 lady.
 The knight
 makes his
 obeisance.

¹ Grype, i. e. Griffin.—P.² Charlemagne.—P.

³ Olyron (Oleron) in the original by
 T. Chester.—P. See l. 621, Amilion.
 —F.

⁴ perhaps device.—P.⁵ i. e. place.—P.⁶ on his.—P.⁷ A.-S. *stefn*, voice.—F.

- & spake to her when he had space,
 "I put me,¹ lady, into your grace."
 "Sir Lambewell," shee said, "my harts sweete,
 140 for thy loue my hart I leete,²
 & theres noe King nor emperour—
 but & if I loued him paramour
 as much, Sir Lambewell, as I doe thee,—
 144 he wold be right glad of me."
 he sett him downe the lady beside,
 "Lady," he saies, "what-ere betide,
 both early & late, loud & still,
 148 command [me] ready at your will!
 but as helpe me god, my lady deere,
 I am a knight without hawere³;
 I haue noe goods noe more,⁴ nor men,
 152 to maintaine this estate I find your in."
 then said that Lady, "I doe you see kind,⁵
 I know thy estate first & end.
 & thou wilt trustilie to mee take,
 156 & for my loue all other forsake,
 then I will maintaine thine honour
 with gold, with siluer, & with rich treasure,
 & with euery man thou shalt spend larglie,
 160 & I will giue thee great plentie."
 then of *that* profer he was full blithe,
 & thanked this lady often sithe;
 he obaid him vnto her there,
 164 he list this lady that was soe faire,
 & by that Lady downe him sett,
 & bad her maides downe meat fet,
 & to there hands watter cleer,
 168 for then shee wold vnto supper⁶:

They
converse.

He confesses
his poverty.

She offers
him of her
abundance.

¹ me, qu.—Percy. MS. my. —F.

² A.-S. *latan*, let go, dismiss.—F.

³ harbere, i.e. home.—P. hawere, Fr.
avoir, possessions.—F.

⁴ more, ? adv. longer.—F.

⁵ to ken.—P.

⁶ suppere.—P.

They sup
together,

- there was meate & drinke,¹ great plentie,
of euery thing *that* was daintye.
when they had eaten & druken² both,
172 then to her bed this lady wold goe.³
Sir Lambwell, like a hailow⁴ Knight,
by her bedside stood vp full right,
said, "you displease, *that* wold I nought,
176 but Iesus leene, you knew my thought."
then spake *that* Lady free,
saies, "vndight thee, Lambewell, & come to mc."
then was Lambwell soone vndight,
and go to 180 & in bed with this Lady bright,
bed.
& did all that night lye there,
& did whatsoener their wills were ;—
for play the slept but litle *that* Knight⁵
184 till it began to be daylight.—
& when the daylight was comen, tho⁶
At dawn she bids him
take enough
gold and
silver with
him, and
expect more, 188
& with euery man thoust spend larglie ;
& more thou spendest, meryer thoust sitt,
& I will send thee innoughe of it ;
but one thing, Knight, I thee forefendant,
but he is 192 that of mee thou neuer auant⁷ ;
never to
mention
her, or he'll
lose her
love.
for & thou doe, I tell thee before,
for euer thou hast my loue forelore.
& when thou wilt, thou gentle Knight,
196 speake with me by day or night,
into some secrett place look you goe,
& thinke vppon me soe & soe,
& shortly I will with you bee,
200 not a man saue you that shall me see."

¹ drinke in MS.—F.

² drunken.—P.

³ goeth or gothe.—P.

⁴ ? A.-S. *halig*, holy.—F.

⁵ night.—P.

⁶ *i.e.* then.—P.

⁷ avaut, *i.e.* boast.—P.

- a maid brought him his horsse anon ;
 hee took his leane, & leapeth vpon ;
 "farewell my hony, farwell my s[weete !]" [page 63.] He returns
to Carlisle,
- 204 "farewell, Sir Lambwell, till oft¹ we meete !"
 of treasure then he had great plentie,
 & thus he ryds thorowout² the cittye.
 while³ he came there he shold have beene,
 206 a merryer man they neere had seene ; and leads a
generous,
feastful life.
 now Lambwell he makes rich feasts,
 Lambewell feeds minstrelsie their Iests,⁴
 Lambwell rewards religious,
 212 Lambewell helpes euery poore howse ;
 were it Knight, squier, or swaine,
 with his goods he helpeth them ;
 of his largnesse euery man wotts,⁵
 216 but noe man witts how he itt gotts.⁶
 alwayes when he lyed priuy & still,
 his lady was ready at his will ;
 but well happy were the man
 220 that in these dayes had such a one !

The 2^d parte.⁷

- Soe vpon a day Sir Gawaine
 the gentle knight, & Sir Haion,⁸
 Sir Lambewell with them alsoe,
 224 & other knights 20 & moe,
 went for to play them on a greene
 vnderneath the tower where lay the queene.
 these knights on there game plaid thoe,
 228 but sithe to dancinge they wold goe ;
 Sir Lambell he was before sett,
 for his large spending they loued him best ;

¹ next.—P.² perhaps towards.—P.³ when. qu.—P.⁴ Gest. qu.—P.⁵ wot.—P.⁶ got.—P.⁷ In the left margin of the MS.—F.⁸ qu. Hayne.—P.

the Queen
becomes
enamoured
of Lambwell.

- 232 | the queene in a bower beheld them all, |
 & saies "yonder is Large¹ Lambwell!
 of all the knights *that* be there,
 there is none soe faire a bachlour,²
 & he hath neither lemman nor wiffe;
- 236 ' I wold he loued me as his life!
 betide me well, betide me ill,
 I shall," shee said, "goe witt his will."
 shee took with her a companie
- 240 of damsellis that were right pretty,
 & downe shee goes anon-wright
 for to goe dance with a knight;
 & shee went to the first end
- 244 ' between Gawaine & Lambwell the hend, |
 & all the maids soe forth right,
 one & one, betweene 2 knights.
 & when this dancing did aslake,
- 248 ' i the queene Sir Lambwell to counsell did take: |
 / "Lambwell," shee saies, "thou gentle *Knight*,
 I haue loued thee, & doe with all my might,
 and as much desire I thee
- 252 as Arthur that *Knight* soe free;
 good hap is now to thee tane,
 that thou wilt loue me & noe other woman."
- He declines
her
overtures. 256 he saies, "Madam, noe, certez
 I wilbe noe traitor neuer in all my daies,
 for I owe my king fealtie & homage,
 & I will neuer doe him that damage."
- "You love no
woman, and
no woman
loves you,"
says she,
spitefully. 260 she said, "fie vpon thee, faint Coward!
 dastard harlott as thou art!
 that thou linest, it is great pitye,
 thou louest noe woman, nor noe woman loues thee!
- He answers
that his
mistress's 264 he said, "Madadam,³ say yee your will,
 but I can loue both lowde & still,

¹ *Large* seems rather to mean prodigal, profuse, as in *Lancelot of the Laik*, l. 2434, than "*large*, hey, long and semely,

Procerus" of the *Catholicon*.—F.

² batchelere.—P.

³ for Madam. —F.

- & I am louned with my lemman,
 /that fairer hath noe gentleman,
 nor none soe faire, yett say I,
 268 neither mayd nor yett Lady.
 the simplest maiden with her, I weene,
 ouer you, Madame, may be queene."
 then she was ashamed & full wroth ;
 272 shee clippeth¹ her mayds, & forth goeth ;
 to Chamber shee wold all heauey,
 for teene² & anger shee wold die.
 then King Arthur came from hunting,
 276 glad & merry for all thing ;
 to the queenes Chamber gone is hee ;
 & then she fell downe vpon her knee,
 & fast, lord, that shee did crye,
 280 " helpe me, Lord, or euer I dye !
 without might
 I shall die this yenders³ night.
 I spake to Sir Lambwell in my game,
 284 & he desired my body of shame ;
 as a false villane traitor
 he wold haue done my body dishonor,
 and when I wold not to him aply,⁴
 288 he shamefully rebuked me,
 & of [his⁵] Lemman praisment he made,
 ' that the lowest maiden that shee had
 might be a queene over mee ;'
 292 & all, Lord, was in despight of thee."
 the King therwith he waxed wroth,
 & for anger he sware an oathe
 that Lambwell shold abide the law,
 296 peradventure both to hang & draw,

lowest
maiden is
fit to be
Guinevere's
queen.

Guinevere
goes away
wroth.

[page 64.]

She accuses
Lambwell
to Arthur of
an attack
upon her
honour,

and of
boasting,
when she
gainsaid
him, that his
mistress's
lowest
maiden
might be her
queen.

¹ clepeth.—P. A.-S. *clypian*, to call.
 "I clepe, I call. *Je huyche*. This
 terme is farre northerne." Palgrave.—
 F.

² greif, [sic] indignation.—P.

³ *aunder*, afternoon, evening. Halli-
 well.—F.

⁴ *perhaps* comply.—P.

⁵ of his.—P.

The King
orders
Lambwell to
be fetched.

- 300 & he commanded 4 knights
to feitch the traitor to his sight.
theese 4 knights seeken him anon,
& to his chamber he is gone ;
"alacke," he sayd, "now my life is lorne !"
hereof shee warned me be-forne,
of all things *that* I did vse,
304 of her I shold neuer make my rowze.¹"
he clipped,² hee called, he her besought,
but all availed him of nought ;
he sorrowed & he did cry,
308 & on his knees besought her mercy,
"O my Lady, my gentle creature,
how shall my wretched liffe endure ?
my worldlie blisse I haue forlorne,
312 & falslie to my lady forsworne !"
for sorrow & care he made that stond,
he fell in soonde to the ground ;
soe long he lay *that* they³ Knights came,
316 & in his chamber tooke him then,
& like a theefe they led him then,—
thus was his sorrow, weale⁴ & woe,—
thé brought [the] *Knight*⁵ before the Kinge,
320 & this he said at his comminge:
"thou false & vntrue traitor !
thou besought my wife of dishonor !
that shee was lothlier,⁶ thou her vpbraid,
324 then was thy Lemmans lodlyest⁷ maid."
Sir Lambewell answerd with Mild moode,
& tooke himselfe sworne by the roode,
"that it was noe otherwise but soe,
328 & that my selfe will make good thoe ;

Lambwell
bewails his
violation of
his lady's
command,—

invokes her
vainly,

swoons in
his agony.

He is
brought
before the
King, who
upbraids
him.

Sir
Lambwell
holds to his
boast.

¹ boast. Old Norse, *hrós*, Dan. *roes*,
praise ; O.N. *hrósa*, Dan. *rose sig*, to boast
of a thing. Scotch *ruse*, *roose*, to extol.
Jamieson.—F.

² cleped.—P. A.-S. *clepan*, to cry out.
—F.

³ the.—P.

⁴ wail.—P.

⁵ the knight.—P.

⁶ lothlier, *i.e.* more loathsome.—P.

⁷ *i.e.* ugliest.—P.

& therto ouer your court Looke."

12 knights¹ were d[r]iuen² to a booke
the sooth to say in that case

Twelve
knights are
appointed
to try him.

332 altogether as it was.

these 12 knights, as I weene,

✓ I thé know the rule of the queene, |
although the King were bold & stont,

They,
knowing the
Queen's
profligacy,
acquit him
of the
heavier
charge,

336 that shee was wicked out & out,
but shee had such a comfort
to have Lemmans vnder her Lord ;
therfore thé acquitt the trewman ;

340 but sithe thé spake forth then,
for why *that* he is³ lemman bring
wherby he made his aduancing,⁴
and alsoe *that* he proue in place

but insist
on his
justifying
his boast.

344 *that* her maids fairer was,
& alsoe more bright & sheene,
& of more beutye then the queene,
& alsoe⁵ countenance & hue,

348 they wold quitt him as good & trew ;
& if he might not stand ther till,⁶
he shold abide the Kinges will.
this verditt was giuen before the King,

352 The day was sett [*pared off by the binder.*] [page 65.]
sureties he found to come againe,
both Sir Gawaine & Sir Hayon⁷ ;
"alacke," he said, "now my life is lorne !

A day is
appointed
for him to
do so.

356 herof shee warned [*me*⁸] beforne,
of all things *that* I did vse,
of her *that* I shold neuer make rowze."
he cleped, hee called, he her besought,

Again he
bewails his
unhappy
assertion.

360 but all awayled him of nought ;

¹ i.e. a Jury of 12 of his peers.—P.

² (?) MS. dinen.—F.

³ his.—P.

⁴ auanting.—P.

⁵ of.—P.

⁶ i.e. thereto.—P.

⁷ Hayne: Qu.—P.

⁸ me.—P.

- he bent his body & his head eke,
 he curst his mouth *that* of her did speake,
 and thus he was with sorrow Num,¹
 364 he wold his ending day were come
that he might from his life goe.
 eche man for him was full woe,
 for a large[r]² spender then hee
 368 neuer came in that countrye,
 & thereto he was feirce & bold,
 none better in the Kings houshold.
 the day was come of his appearing,
 The day comes. 372 thé brought the *Knight* afore the *King* :
 his barons *that* his surties³ was,
 they brought him forth, alas !
 the *King* let it be rehersed there,
 376 both the plaintiffe & the answer ;
 the *King* bad him bring his lemman in sight :
 he answered that he ne might,
 “ but this I say to you alone,
 380 a fairer than shee was neuer none,
 both of bewtye & of shape ;
 I am to simple to tuch her lappe
 or yett to come vnto her bower,
 384 eccept it were for her pleasure,
 not displeasing her sickerlie,
 yet wold I you saw her ere I dye.”
 “ bring her forth,” the *King* sayes,
 388 “ that thou dost now soe fast praise,
 to prooue the sooth *that* thou sayst of.”
 “ forsooth, my Lord, *that* can I nought.”
 then sayd the *King* anon thoe,
 392 “ fforsooth thy disworshipp is the more⁴ ;
 what may wee all know therby
 but that thou lyst loud & hye ? ”

He again
 warmly
 praises his
 mistress, but
 he cannot
 bring her.

¹ nome, *i.e.* taken.—P. ? MS. Mun.—F.

² larger.—P.

³ sureties.—P.

⁴ moe.—P.

- he bade the barons gine Iudgment.
 396 the Barons answered verament,
 "to it, Lord, wee will gone,
 wee will to it soone & anon."
 & then bespake the Erle of cornwayle
 400 who was one of the counsell,
 & say[d],¹ "wee know thee *King* our Lord,
 hees owne mouth beares record,
 the wich by his owne assent
 404 hath-the g[i]uen the *Knight* Iudgment;
 - therefore, & we shold by² the law,
 Lambewell shold both hang & draw;
 - but villany it were to eche of vs one
 408 to let vs fordooe soe a noble man,
 or yett soe doughtie a bachlour³
 amongst vs all had neuer peere,
 & therfore say by our reede⁴
 412 wee will the *King* such way leade
 that he shalbe commanded to goe,
 & void the court for evermore."
 & while they stood thus speaking,
 416 they saw 2 Ladyes come ryding
 vpon 2 ambling palfrayes,
 much fairer then the summers dayes,
 & they were clothed in rich atire,
 420 that euery man had great desire.
 Them espied Gawaine the gentle *Knight*,
 "Lamwell,⁵" he said, "dread for noe wight; [page 66.]
 yonder comes thy life, yond maist thou see;
 424 the loue of thee, I wott, is shee."
 Lambewell beholds them with much thought,⁶
 & said, "slacke, I know them nought!
- The King
bids the
barons give
judgment.
- They debate.
- Lord
Cornwall
says his life
is forfeit,
but
recommends
banishment.
- At this
moment two
wondrous
fair ladies
ride up.

¹ sayd.—P.² bide or byde, but bye means the same thing.—P. ? stand by, stand to.—F.³ batchelere.—P.⁴ reade, i.e. counsel.—P.⁵ supplied from foot of p. 66.—F.⁶ anxiety.—F.

- Lambwell
says his
lady is
fairer still. 428 My lady is much fairer certainlie."
when they came Sir Lambwell by,
not tarrying with him thé yode,
but to the King both thé rode,
& said, "thou Lord of worshipp, Arthur,
The ladies
bid Arthur
prepare 432 lett dresse thy halls¹ & thy bowers
both by ground, roofe, & wall,
with clothes of gold rich ouer all;
it must be done att device;
to receiue
their
mistresse. 436 heere comes our Lady of much price;
shee comes to you, as I weene;
before yee, my lord, shee shalbe seene."
thé commanded for her sake
440 the fairest chamber to them to take.
the Ladyes are gone to bower on hye²;
the King bade his barronrye
haue done, & giue their iudgment.
444 the Barons were att verament,
"wee haue beholden this maiden bright,
& yee haue letted vs by this light,
but to it, Lord, we will gone,
The barons
again
debate. 448 wee will haue done soone & anon."
a new speech they began thoe,
some said "well," & some said "not soe,"
some to death wold him deeme
452 for to please the King & queene;
& other some wold make him cleere.
whilest they stood pleading in feare,³
the whilest thé stood thus speaking,
Two more
ladies of
marvellous
charms
approach. 456 other tow Ladies came ryding
vpon tow goodly mules of Spaine,
they had sadles, & bridles were champaind;
they were clothed in rich attire,
460 that euery man had great desire

¹ hall, bower.—P.

not at verse 200 [of MS., l. 415 here].—P.

² Here I would begin the third Part, if³ in-ferre, i. e. together.—P.

- for to behold their gentryes¹;
 they came in oft² soe rich a wise.
 them espyed Huon the hind³;
 464 "Lambewell," he said, "my brother & freind,
 yond comes thy life, yond may thou see;
 the tone of these, I wott, is shee,
 for fairer then shee there may be none;
 468 if it be not shee, choose thee none."
 Lambewell beholds them both I-wis,
 & said, "of them 2 none it is;
 My Lady is much fairer certainly,
 472 but of her servants they may be."
 these Ladies that thus came ryding
 rode to the Castle to the King,
 & when thé came it Lamwell⁴ by,
 476 baysance⁵ thé made certainly;
 not tarrying with him thé made,
 but to the King both thé rode,
 ✓ and thé said, "you Lord of worshipp, Arthur,
 480 let dresse thy halls & bowers⁶
 by ground, by rooffe, & by wall;
 with clothes of gold hang it all,
 & cleath thy carpetts vnder her ffeete,
 484 [. 7]
 it must be done at device,
 for heere comes our lady of much price."
 Much sorrow had dame Geneuer
 488 when shee saw the ladies color;
 then shee trowed of some guile
 that Lamwell shold be holpen within a while
 by his ladye that was coming.
 492 fast shee cryed vpon the King,

Lambewell
says his lady
is much
fairer still.

These ladies
too bid
Arthur
prepare to
receiue a
great lady.

Guinevere
grows
suspicious,

¹ gentrise, vide p. 358, st. 11 [of MS.]

—P.

² delend.—P.

³ hend.—P.

⁴ Sir Lambewell.—P.

⁵ i. e. obeysance.—P.

⁶ hall and bower.—P.

⁷ a verse is here wanting.—P.

and urges
the instant
execution
of Sir
Lambwell.

- & said, "lord, if thou loue thine honour,
avenge me on this traitor!"
To hang Lambwell shee wold not spare,¹ [page 67.]
496 "your barons make you not to care;
without you him sloe² without more,
I shall die my-self before."
he bad his barons giue iudgment,
500 "or I will my-selfe, by mary gent."
"we will him doome, Sir, soone anon!"
to tell they³ tale they once began: //

The 3^d parte.⁴

Just as the
barons are
agreed upon
their
judgment,
the lady
herself
appears in
sight, in all
her beauty.

- 504 "My lord, thus for-sooth agreed are wee."
"peace," said Sir Haion, "noe more say yee,
ffor yonder I see her come rydinge
on whome Sir Lambwell made his auanting,⁵
a damsell by her selfe alone,
508 on earth was fairer neuer none,—
vpon a fresh ambling palfray,—
much fairer then the summers day;
'her eyes beene blossomed cleere & faire,
512 Iolly & Iocund as the faulconer
or the Iay that sits on a bough;
of all things she is faire enoughe;
lord! shees a louely creature,
516 & rides thus att her pleasure."
a sparhawk⁶ shee had on her hand,
a softly pace her palfray sand,⁷

hawk on
hand,

¹ not spare.—P. MS. cut away.—F.

² i. e. slay.—P. ³ the, or their.—P.

⁴ I would rather chuse to begin the 3^d Part at the 226th verse of the preceding, [part of the MS., line 441 here,] as well in regard to the sense as to the equality of the division.—P. The title is in the left margin of the MS.—F.

⁵ One stroke of the *n* is wanting in the MS.—F. auanting.—P.

⁶ "Nisus is a sparow hawke, & it is a gentyll byrd, & is federed like a gos-hawke . . . and he is so proud that he will flee alone to y^e game, & none other with him; but whan he hath taken his game or mete, he will well depart with it." Laurens Andrewe, *The Noble Lyfe*, Pt. II. cap. lxxxij. sign. O ij b.—F.

⁷ ? sent, went. *sand*, to try.—F.

- 3 white greyhounds running her by,
 520 as well beseemed for such a lady;
 she had a crowne vppon her head
 of precious stones & gold soe red,
 wife & child, yonge & old,
 524 all came this lady to beholde,
 & all still vppon her gazinge
 as people that behold the sacring¹;
 & all they stood still in their study,
 528 & yet they thought them neuer weary,
 for there was neuer man nor woman *that* might
 be weary of this ladies sight.
 as soone as Sir Lambwell did her see,
 532 on all the people cryed hee
 "yond comes my life & my likinge!
 shee comes *that* me out of baile shall bring!
 yond comes my lemman, I make you sure;
 536 treulie shee is the fairest creature
that euer man see before; indeed,
 looke where shee rydes vppon her steed!"
 This Lady when shee came thus ryding,
 540 rode to the castile to the King;
 the Knight there his owne worshipp did,
 he rose vp, & he gaue her the steed,²
 & lowly³ he can her greete,
 544 & shee againe with words sweete.
 ✓ | the queene & other Ladyes stout |
 behold her comlye round about,
 and there the sate as dumme
 548 as the moone is light from the sunn.⁴
 then shee said to the King,
 "hither am I come for such a thing:
 my trew lemman Sir Lambwell
 552 is Challenged, as I heere tell,

and hounds
by her side.

The people
never weary
of gazing at
her.

Sir
Lambwell
recognises
his love.

She vindicates Sir
Lambwell.

¹ consecration, at Mass.—F.

² i.e. place.—P.

VOL. I.

³ lowly.—P. no: lovely.—F.

⁴ moon's light beside the sun's.—F.

- how that he shold with villanie
 beseech¹ the queene of adoutry.² .
 that is false to bleene,³ Sir King;
 556 he bade not her, for shee bade him;
 if he had desired her, with-out let
 not a foot hither I wold haue sett;
 you may beleene me, euery word;
 560 that this is right, I will make good;
 & for the other praisment that he made,
 that mine owne Lowtest⁴ mayd
 was mor of beawtye then thy queene,
 564 let the prooffe, Sir, soone be seene."
 the King said, "verament,
 Barrons, heere shall be noe iudgment,
 but I my selfe the same will deeme
 568 both of the queene & of the Mayden⁵;
 if I doe not right, then you may say
 but Sir Lambwell
 (?) quoth the knight [page 68.]
 and takes 572 "I will loue him with all my might
 Sir L. both in place & in stead
 into greater 576 much better then ener I did."
 fauour than
 ever. & when shee heard him soe say,
 The lady 576 she leaped on her palfray
 prepares to
 go; & obayd her⁶ to the King soe hind,⁷
 all this 580 & tooke leaue away to wend.
 time saying
 not a word
 to Sir L. then of all that while to Sir Lambwell
 580 shee wold not speake nor looke neuer soe⁸ deale;
 but wott you well, sorry was hee,
 befor her he fell on his knee,
 He 584 & said, "Madam! trespassed I haue,
 passionately
 implores her
 pardon. & I am come of your mercy to crane!

¹ beseech, i.e. seek, solicit.—P.² avoutry, i.e. adultery.—P.³ i.e. believe.—P.⁴ lowliest. q.—P.⁵ Perhaps, 'both of the mayden and the Queene.'—P.⁶ i.e. made obeysance.—P.⁷ hend.—P.⁸ a. qu.—P.

- I k[n]ouledge¹ me of that wicked deed
*that was forbidden me when you yode*² ;
 I am well worthy therfor to hange,
 588 or leade my life in paines³ strange ;
 what pennance, Lady, you will to me say
 or you depart from me away,
 Lady, I desire noe more of thee
 592 but once aside to looke on me !
 My lord the *King*, of soe high a prow,
 for all the service I haue done you,
 one good word for me to speake !
 596 & all my fellowes, I you beseeke,
 with the *King* pray you alsoe
 of her good word ; I aske no moe."
 ffor that they saw he mad such mone,
 600 they *King* & thé prayd, enery one ;
 but for all that euer he cold doe,
 not a word shee wold speake him too,
 but obayd her to the *King* soe hind,⁴
 604 & tooke her leaue away to wend.
 then Lambewell saw *that* shee wold fare,
 his owne hart he tooke to him there ;
 when shee turned her horse to haue gone,
 608 he leaped vpon soone anon,
 vpon her palfrey ; what-soener betide,
 behind her he wold not abide ;
 & he said, " Madam, with reason & skill
 612 now goe *which* way soe-ere you will,
 for when you light downe, I shall stand,
 & when you ryd, all at your hande,
 & whether it be for waile⁵ or woe
 616 I will neuer depart you froe."

The King
and court
plead for
him, in
vain.

As she
thus goes
unrelenting,
Sir L. leaps
on to her
palfrey
and vows
not to be
separated
from her.

¹ *i.e.* acknowledge.—P.

² yede, or I yede, *i.e.* went.—P.

³ one stroke of the *n* is missing in the

MS.—F.

⁴ hend.—P.

⁵ weale.—P.

this Lady now the right way numm¹
 with her maids all and some,
 & shee brought Sir Lambwell from Carlile
 farr into a Iolly Iland²
 that clipped³ was Amilion,⁴
 which knoweth well every briton ;
 & shee came there, that Lady faire,
 624 shee gaue him all that he found there,
 that was to say, all manner of thing
 that euer might be to his liking ;
 & further of him hard noe man,
 628 nor more of him tell can,
 but in that Iland his life he spend,
 soe did shee alsoe tooke her end.
 and there
 live and die
 together.
 butt god that is the King of blisse,
 632 bring vs thither as his woning⁵ is ! ffins.

¹ nome, *i.e.* took.—P. MS. *may be*
 runn.—F.

² isle.—P.

³ cleped.—P.

⁴ Olyron (Oleron) in Chester's original
 Poem.—P.

⁵ *i.e.* dwelling.—P.

Sir Aldingar.¹

THIS ballad is printed in the "Reliques," with additions and corrections.

Scott regards it as founded on the evidently kindred one, "Sir Hugh le Blond," which he prints in the "Minstrelsy" from a copy supplied by a friend who had taken it down from the recitation of an old woman. "The incidents," as he says, "are nearly the same in both ballads, excepting that in Aldingar an angel combats for the queen, instead of a mortal champion. The names of Aldingar and Rodingham approach near to each other in sound, though not in orthography, and the one might, by reciters, be easily substituted for the other."

"The corresponding Danish ballad, Ravengard og Memering," says Prof. Child, who speaks on the strength of "Danmarks Samle Folkeviser," (i. 177-213, ii. 640-645,) "first published by Gruntvig, is extant in no less than five copies, the oldest derived from a MS. of the middle of the sixteenth century, the others from recent recitations. With these Gruntvig has given an Icelandic version, from a MS. of the seventeenth century, another in the dialect of the Faroe Islands, and a third half Danish, half Faroish, both as still sung by the people. All these ballads contain a story one and the same in the essential features—a story which occurs repeatedly in connection with historical personages in Germany, France, Italy and Spain, as well as in England—and which has also furnished the theme for various modern romances, poems, and tragedies. . . . The names of the characters in the Danish ballads are Henry (called Duke of

¹ N.B. Without some corrections, this will not do for my Reliques, &c.—P.

Brunswick and of Schleswig in the oldest), Gunild (of Spires, called also Gurder), Ravengaard, and Memering. To these correspond, in the English story, King Henry, Queen Eleanor, Sir Aldingar (the resemblance of this name to Ravengaard will be noted), and a boy, to whom no name is assigned. Eleanor, it hardly need be remarked, is a queen's name somewhat freely used in ballads (see vol. vi. 209, and vol. vii. 291); and it is possible that the consort of Henry II. is here intended, though her reputation both in history and in song hardly favours that supposition."

The form of the *Judicium Dei* varies much in the different versions. The form given here is used under similar circumstances, when Sir Meliagraunce accuses Queen Guenever, in Malory's "Morte d'Arthur," chaps. 135-137 of the third part of the 1634 edition. Compare especially chap. 137: "Now leave we Sir Launcelot galloping all that he might, and speake we of queene Guenever that was brought to a fier to have been burnt; for Sir Meliagraunce was sure, him thought, that Sir Launcelot should not be at that bataile, &c."

OUR king he kept a ffalse steward,
men called him Sir Aldingar :

Sir
Aldingar,
repulsed by
the Queen, 4

he wold hane layen by our comely queene,
her deere worshipp to hane betraide.
our queene shee was a good woman,
& euer more said him nay.

8 Aldingar was offended in his mind,
with her hee was neuer content,
but he sought what meanes he cold find out,
in a fyer to hane her brent.

- There came a lame lazar to the *Kings* gates, [page 69.]
 12 a lazar was [b]lind & lame;
 he tooke the lazar vpon his backe,
 vpon the queenes bed he did him lay;
 lays a lazar
 in her bed,
- he said, "lye still, lazar, wheras thou lyst,
 16 looke thou goe not away,
 He make thee a whole man & a sound
 in 2 howres of a day."
- & then went forth Sir Aldingar
 20 our Queene for to betray,
 and then he mett with our comlye *King*,
 saies, "god you saue & see!
 meets the
 King,
- "If I had space as I haue grace,
 24 A message I wold say to thee."
 "Say on, say on, Sir Aldingar,
 say thou on and vnto me."
- "I can let you now see one of [the] greiuos[est] sights
 28 that euer Christen *King* did see:
 Our Queene hath chosen a New New loue,
 She will haue none of thee;
- "if shee had chosen a right good *Knight*,
 32 the lesse had beene her shame,
 but she hath chosen a Lazar man
 which is both blinde & lame."
 and tells him
 where the
 lazar lies.
- "if this be true, thou Aldingar,
 36 that thou dost tell to me,
 then will I make thee a rich *Knight*
 both of gold & fee;

40 "But if it be false, Sir Aldingar,
 that thou doest tell to me,
 then looke for noe other death
 but to be handg on a tree.
 goe with me," saide our comly king,
 44 "this Lazar for to see."

The King
 finds the
 lazar in the
 Queen's bed,

When the King he came into the queenes chamber,
 standing her bed befor,
 "there is a lodly lome,¹" says Harry King,
 48 "for our dame Queene Elinor !

"if thou were a man, as thou art none,
 here thou sholdest be slaine ;
 but a paire of New gallows shall be biil[t,²]
 52 thoust hang on them soe hye ;

and
 sentences
 her to be
 burnt.

"and fayre fyer there shalbe bett,³
 & brent our Queene shalbee."
 fforth then walked our comlye King,
 56 & mett with our comly Queene,

saies, "God you saue, our Queene, Madam,
 & Christ you saue & see !
 heere you [haue] chosen a new new lome,
 60 and you will haue none of mee.

"If you had chosen a right good Knight,
 the lesse had beene your shame,
 but you haue chosen a lazar man
 64 that is both blind & lame."

¹ "Loombe, or instrument. *Utensile, instrumentum.*" Promptorium. "*Loom*, any utensil, as a tub." Grose. "Still in use." Halliwell.—F.

² MS. bul ; t torn off, and one stroke of the u dotted.—F.

³ A.-S. *bétan*, to light a fire, perf. *bétte*. —F.

"Euer alacke!" said our comly Queene,

"Sir Aldingar is false to mee;

but euer alacke!" said our comly Queene,

68 "Euer alas, & woe is mee!

The Queen
laments;

"I had thought swenens² had neuer been true;

I haue prooued them true at the Last;

I dreamed in my sweauen on thursday at eueninge

72 in my bed wheras I lay,

she had
dreamed
that a griffin
tried to carry
her off,

"I dreamed the grype & a grimlie beast

had carryed my crowne away,

my gorgett & my Kirtle of golde,

76 and all my faire heade geere;

"How he wold haue worryed me with his tush

& borne me into his nest,

saving there came a litle hawk

80 flying out of the East,

[page 70.]

"saving there came a litle Hawke

which men call a Merlion,

vntill the ground he stroke him downe,

84 that dead he did fall downe.

but it was
killed by a
litle hawk,
a merlin.

"giffe I were a man, as I am none,

a battell I would prone,

I wold fight with that false traitor;

88 att him I cast my gloue!

"Seing I am able noe battell to make,

you must grant me, my leege, a Knight

to fight with that traitor, Sir Aldingar,

92 to maintaine me in my right."

She asks for
a knight to
fight in her
cause;

¹ S^r before Euer crossed out.—F.

² Dreams. A.-S. *swefen*, a dream.—F.

has 40 dayes
allowed her
to find one ;

"He giue thee 40 dayes," said our *King*,
to seeke thee a man therin ;
if thou find not a man in 40 dayes,
96 in a hott fyre thou shall brenn."

sends a
messenger
southward,
in vain ;

100

Our Queene sent forth a Messenger,
he rode fast into the South,
he rode the countryes through & through,
soe ffar vnto Portsmouth ;

he cold find never a man in the South country
that wold fight with the *Knight* soe keene.

sends
another
eastward,

104

the Second messenger the Queen forth sent,
rode far into the east,
but—blessed be god made sunn & moone !—
he sped then all of the best :

who meets a
litle child,

108

as he rode then by one riuer side,
there he mett with a litle Child,
he seemed noe more in a mans likenesse
then a child of 4 yeeres old ;

112

He askt the Queenes Messenger how far he rode :
loth he was him to tell ;
the litle one was offended att him,
bid him adew, farwell !

116

Said, " turne thou againe, thou Messenger,
greete our Queene well from me ;
when Bale is att hyest, boote is att next,
helpe enough there may bee !

who bids
him remind
the Queen
of her
dream,

120

" bid our queene remember what she did dreame
in her bedd wheras shee lay ;
shee dreamed the grype & the grimly beast
had carryed her crowne away,

124 "her gorgett & her Kirt[l]e of gold,
alsoe her faire head geere,
he wold haue werryed her with his tushe
& borne her into her nest,

128 "saving there came a litle hawke—
men call him a merlyon¹ —
vntill the ground he did strike him downe,
that dead he did ffall downe.

132 "bidd the queene be merry att her hart,
euermore light & glad,
when bale is att hyst, boote is at next,²
helpe enoughe there shalbe [had." ³]

and tell her
to be at ease.

136 then the Queenes messenger rode backe,
a gladed man then was hee;
when he came before our Queene,
a gladd woman then was shee;

140 shee gaue the Messenger 20³:
O lord, in gold & ffee,
saies, "spend & spare not while this doth last,
then feitch thou more of me."

144 Our Queene was put in a tunne to burne,
She thought no thing but death;
thé were ware of the litle one
came ryding forth of the East

The Queen
is about to
be burnt,
when the
child
arrives

148 with a Mu [*line cut away*] . . . [page 71.]
a louelie child was hee:
when he came to that fier,
he light the Queene full nigh;

¹ Merlin, a sort of Hawk, the least
of all Birds of Prey. Phillips.—F.

² When sorrow is highest, remedy is
nighest.

"When the bale is heest,
Thenne is the bote nest;
Quoth Hendyng." *Reliq. Ant.* v. 1, p. 113;
Morris's Specimens, p. 100.—F.

³ had.—P.

and orders
Sir Aldingar
to be
fetched.

152

said, "draw away these brands of fire
lie burning before our Queene,
& feitch me hither Sir Aldingar
that is a knight soe keene."

Aldingar
despises
him ;

156

when Aldingar see *that* litle one,
ffull litle of him hee thought,
if there had beene halfe a 100 such,
of them he wold not haue wrought.¹

but he trusts
in God,

160

hee sayd, "come hither Sir Aldingar,
thou see-must as bigge as a ffooder²!
I trust to god, ere I haue done with thee,
god will send to vs anger."

164

saies, "the first stroke thats giuen, Sir Aldingar,
I will giue vnto thee,
& if the second giue thou may,
looke then thou spare not mee."

168

the litle one pulld forth a well good sword,
I-wis itt was all of guilt,
it cast light there over *that* feild,
it shone soe all of guilt :

and cuts
Aldingar
down.

172

he stroke the first stroke att Aldingar,
he stroke away his leggs by his knee,

176

sayes, "stand vp, stand vp, thou false traitor,
& fight vpon thy feete !
for & thou thrine³ as thou begins,
of a height wee shalbe meete."

Aldingar
makes a
confession
of his

180

"A preist, a preist !" sayes Aldingar,
"me for to houzle & shriue !
A preist, a preist," sayes Aldingar,
"while I am a man liuing a-liue !

¹ A.-S. *róhte*, recked, cared.—F.

² A.-S. *foðer*, mass, load.—F.

³ One stroke of the *u* is left out in the MS.—F.

- "I wold haue laine by our comlie Queene ;
 to it shee wold neuer consent ;
 I thought to haue betrayd her to our King,
 184 in a fyer to haue had her brent ;
- "there came a Lame Lazar to the Kings gates,
 a lazar both blind & lame ;
- "I tooke the lazar vpon my backe,
 188 in the Queenes bed I did him lay,
 I bad him ' lie still, Lazar, where he lay,
 looke he went not away,
 I wold make him a whole man & a sound
 192 in 2 houres of a day.'
- "euer alacke !" sayes Sir Aldingar,
 "falsing neuer doth well ;
- "forgiue, forgiue me, Queene, Madam !
 196 for Christs loue forgiue me !"
- "god forgaue his death, Aldingar,
 & freely I forgiue thee."
- "Now take thy wife, thou K[ing] Harry,
 200 & loue her as thou shold ;
 thy wiffe shee is a[s] true to thee
 as stone *that* lies on the castle wall."
- the Lazar vnder the gallow tree
 204 was a pretty man & small,
 the Lazar vnder the gallow tree
 was made steward in *king* Henerys hall.
 ffins.

treachery to
the Queen,

asks her
forgiveness,

and
preclaims
her true.

The lazar is
made King
Henry's
steward.

The Heir of Lin: ¹

THIS ballad was printed by the Bishop in his "Reliques," but polished till he could see his own face in it. He says "the breaches and defects" of the Folio copy "rendered the insertion of supplemental stanzas necessary. These it is hoped the reader will pardon, as indeed the completion of the story was suggested by a modern ballad on a similar subject." The result is that the 125 lines of the Folio are swollen into 216 in the "Reliques," (in "the modern ballad" there are 188)—a fine flood of ballad and water. The reader of 1867 may see how far such a sartorial-fartorial process was necessary.

The best version of the ballad—the purest and neatest—is, to our thinking, the one now given *in puris naturalibus*. Besides the Bishop's hybrid production, there are two others, both printed by the Percy Society, and one of them—the "Drunkard's Legacy"—also by Mr. Bell in his "Ballads of the Peasantry." The main story is pretty much the same in all these versions. The prodigal son is brought to his senses by adversity, and, by a happy device of his deceased father, or mother, is enabled to recover his position, to the great discomfiture of the *parvenu* steward and his vulgar wife, who have been disporting themselves in it. There is a touch of humour in the deposed woman's lamentation:

"Now welladay!" said John o' the Scales wife,
 "Welladay, and woe is me!
 Yesterday I was the lady of Linne,
 And now I am but John o' the Scales wiffe!"

The parental device varies. In the "Drunkard's Legacy"—

¹ This old copy (tho' a very indifferent Fragment) I thought deserving of some attention. I have therefore bestowed an

intire revisal of the subject for my Reliques, &c.—P.

the "modern ballad" alluded to in the "Reliques," and in the "Reliques" version completed by its means—the repentant heir finds, not a "bill," but a halter. In the Scottish traditional copy, he

. . . minded him on a little wee key
That his mither left to him.

His mither left him this little wee key
A little before she deed;
And bad him keep this little wee key
Till he was in maist need.

Then forth he went an' these nobles left,
A' drinkin' in the room;
Wi' walkin' rod intill his hand,
He walked the castle roun'.

There he found out a little door,
For there the wee key slippit in,
An' there he got as muckle red gowd
As freed the lands o' Linne.

OFF all the lords in faire Scotland
a song I will begin:
amongst them all there dweld a Lord
4 which was the vnthrifty Lord of linne.

The Lord of
Linn wastes
his
substance
in riotous
living.

his father & mother were dead him free,
& soe was the head of all his kinne;
he did neither cease nor bl[i]nne¹
8 to the cards & dice *that* he did run,

to drinke the wine that was soe cleere,
with euery man he wold make merry.
and then bespake him Iohn of the Scales,
12 vnto the heire of Linne sayd hee,

John of the
Scales

¹ for blinne, A.-S. *blinnan*, to cease.—F.

persuades
him to sell
his estate.

sayes, "how dost thou, Lord of Linne,
doest either want gold or fee?
wilt thou not sell thy lands soe brode
16 to such a good fellow as me?"

"ffor¹ . . . I . . ." he said,
"my land, take it vnto thee;
I draw you to record, my lord[e]s all:"
20 with *that* he cast him a good-se peny,²

[page 72.]

he told him the gold vpon the bord,
it wanted neuer a bare penny.
"that gold is thine, the land is mine,
24 the heire of Linne I wilbee."

He wastes
the purchase
money too,

"heeres gold inoughe," saithe the heire of Linne,³
"both for me & my company."
he drunke the wine *that* was soe cleere,
28 & with euery man he made Merry.

with-in 3 quarters of a yeere
his gold & fee it waxed thinne,
his merry men were from him gone,
32 & left him himselfe all alone.

and is soon
in great
distress.

he had neuer a penny left in his pursse,
neuer a penny but 3,
& one was brasse, & another was lead,
36 & another was white mony.

"Now well-aday!" said the heire of Linne,
"now welladay, & woe is mee!
for when I was the lord of Linne,
40 I neither wanted gold nor fee;

¹ *ffor* is supplied from the bottom of p. 71.—F.

² "gods penny" in l. 105; something down to clench the bargain. "A God's

pennie, an earnest-pennie, Florio, p. 39: God's-penny, earnest-money: Northern." Halliwell.—F.

³ MS. Lime.—F.

“for I haue sold my lands soe broad,
 & haue not left me one penny!
 I must goe now & take some read
 44 vnto Edenborrow, & begg my bread.”

he had not beene in Edenborrow
 not 3 quarters of a yeere,
 but some did giue him, & some said nay,
 48 & some bid “to the deelee gang yee!

He goes to
 Edinburgh
 and begs,
 and is
 abused.

“for if we shold hang any Land selfeer,
 the first we wold begin with thee.”
 “Now welladay!” said the heire of Linne,
 52 no[w] welladay, & woe is mee!

“for now I have sold my lands soe broad,
 that mery man is irke with mee;
 but when *that* I was the Lord of Linne,
 56 then on my land I liued merrily;

“& now I have sold my land soe broade
 that I haue not left me one pennye!
 god be with my father!” he said,
 60 “on his land he liued merrily.”

Still in a study there as he stood,
 he vnbethought him of [a] bill
 [he vnbethought him of a bill]
 64 which his father had left with him,

Bethinks
 him of a bill
 his father
 had left him,

bade him he shold neuer on it looke
 till he was in extreame neede,
 “& by my faith,” said the heire of Linne,
 68 “then now I had neuer more neede.”

only to be
 looked at
 in dire
 necessity

¹ This line has *his* prefixed to it. The *vn* is for *um*, about.—F.

Looks at it
now, and is
informed of
a fresh store
of money.

he tooke the bill, & looked it on,
good comfort *that* he found there ;
itt told him of a Castle wall
72 where there stood 3 chests in feare¹ :

Fills his
wallet from
it.

2 were full of the beaten gold,
the 3 was full of white mony.
he turned then downe his baggs of bread,
76 & filled them full of gold soe red.

Goes to
John of the
Scales'
house,

then he did neuer cease nor blinne²
till Iohn of the Scales house he did winne.
when *that* he came to Iohn of the Scales,
80 vpp at the speere³ he looked then :
there sate 3 lords vpon a rowe,
4and Iohn o the Scales sate at the bords head,
[and Iohn o the Scales sate at the bords head,]
because he was the Lord of Linne.

84 and then bespake the heire of Linne,
to Iohn o the Scales wiffe thus sayd hee :
sayd, " Dame, wilt thou not trust me one shott
that I may sitt downe in this company ? "

Is rudely
treated by
John's wife,

88 " now, christs curse on my head," shee said,
if I doe trust thee one pennye."
then be-spake a good fellowe,
which sate by Iohn o the Scales his knee,

but spoken
for by one of
his guests,

92 Said, " haue thou here, thou heire of linne, [page 73.]
40 pence I will lend thee,—
some time a good fellow thou hast beene,—
& other 40 if neede bee."

¹ *fere*, company.—F.

² MS. blime.—F.

³ *speere*, s. A hole in the wall of a house, through which the family received

and answered the inquiries of strangers
Ritson.—F.

⁴ This line has *his* prefixed to it.—F.

- 96 *thé druken wine that was soe cleere,*
 & euery man thé made merry ;
 & then bespake him Iohn o the Scales,
 vnto the Lord of linne said hee :
- 100 *said, " how doest thou, heire of Linne,*
 since I did buy thy Lands of thee ?
 I will sell it to thee 20^l better cheepe
 nor euer I did buy it of thee."
- 104 *" I draw you to recorde, lord[e]s all ;"—*
 with that he cast him gods penny¹ ;
 then he tooke to his baggs of bread,
 & they were full of the gold soe redd,
- 108 *he told him the gold then over the borde ;*
 it wanted neuer a broad penny :
 "that gold is thine, the land is mine,
 & the heire of Linne² againe I wilbee."
- 112 *" Now welladay ! " said Iohn o the Scales wife,*
 " welladay, & woe is me !
 yesterday I was the lady of Linne,
 & now I am but Iohn o the Scales wiffe ! "
- 116 *saies " haue thou heere, thou good fellow,*
 40 pence thou did lend me,³
 [40 pence thou did lend me,]
 & 40^l I will giue thee,
- 120 *Ile make thee keeper of my forrest,*
 both of the wild deere & the tame."
- but then bespake the heire of Linne,³*
 these were the words, & thus said hee,
- 124 *" christs curse light vpon my crowne*
 if ere my land stand in any Ieopardye ! "
 ffins.
- John
mockingly
offers to
resell the
estate for
20*l*. less than
he gave for
it.
- The heir
takes him
at his
word,
- and pays
down the
money.
- John's wife
is much
crestfallen.
- The kind
guest is
rewarded.
- The heir
vows to be
more
careful.

¹ See note to line 20.—F.² MS. Lime.—F.³ This line is marked *bis* in the MS.
—F.

Lord : of Learne¹ :

[Shewing how a false steward would have wrong'd him in his Travels by robbing him & then assuming his name, &c.—P.]

Of this ballad there are, as Mr. Chappell mentions, two black-letter copies known—one in the Pepys Collection (I. 494), one in the Roxburghe (I. 222). The Roxburghe version is evidently of later date than the one here given. It reads “head steward” for “hend steward” in v. 47, and “dost thou ware” for “Disaware” in v. 115; and, omitting a few stanzas here and there, makes the following genial, though not very powerful, addition at the end :

These children both they did rejoice
to hear the Lord his tale so ended,
They had rather to-day than tomorrow
so he would not be offended.

But when the wedding ended was
there was delicate dainty cheere,
I'll tell you how long the wedding did last
full three quarters of a year.

Such a banquet there was wrought
the like was never seen ;
The King of France brought with him then
a hundred tun of good red wine.

Five set of musicians
that never rested night or day,
Also Italians then did sing
fully pleasantly with great joy.

Thus have you heard how troubles great
unto successive joys did turn,
And happy news amongst the rest
Unto the worthy lord of Lorn.

¹ Query Lorne, one of Duke Hamilton's Titles.—P.

Let Rebels therefore warned be
 how mischief once they do pretend,
 For God may suffer for a time
 but will disclose it in the end.

The intrusion of the word "Rebels" in the moral—the steward of the ballad is nothing more than a private impostor—seems to connect this version with the middle of the seventeenth century.

"The Lord of Learn," more commonly written "The Lord of Lorn," is founded on the romance of "Roswal and Lillian," of which some account is given in Ellis's "Early English Romances." It was composed in Henry VIII.'s time, as we learn from Guilpin's "Skialethia" (1580), quoted by Mr. Chappell. Guilpin says the doublet and hose he wears are like his grandfather's, but for the fashion of them

. . . like th' olde ballad of the Lord of Lorne
 Whose last line in King Harries day was borne,
 It still retains the title of as new
 And proper a fashion as you ever knew.

It differs from its original in a manner characteristic of the change that had passed over the public taste. (Compare the Introduction to "Sir Lambewell.") The ballad omits all the tournament scenes which appear in the romance, and makes no mention of the knights who, in gratitude for a service the young lord had previously done them (which service had caused his banishment), equip him to figure in those scenes.

Both as a romance and as a ballad, this story was a great favourite, as it well deserved to be. How touching the young lord's replies to the princess are !

"Madam, I was borne in faire Scotland,
 That is soe farr beyond the sea."

"My name," he sayes, "is poore Disaware,
 That tends sheepe on a lonely lee."

Indeed the ballad throughout gently "disturbs the soul with pity," and charms the reader into sincere distress for the sufferings of the accomplished, gentle, truthful, patient, much-abused young

lord. No wonder Guilpin refers to it as well-known. In the same year in which his "Shadow of Truth" appeared, we find it entered at the Stationers' Hall. "Oct. 6, 1580, the Lord of lorne, or the false steward." (See Mr. Collier's "Extracts from the Reg. Stat. Company.") It was sung to the tune of "Green Slaves," as Mr. Chappell informs us. No wonder it was often posted up, according to the custom, in country houses. Says Cotton (1630-1685) in the Prologue to his "Burlesque upon Burlesque:"

We in the country do not scorn
Our walls with ballads to adorn,
Of patient Grissel and the lord of Lorn.

(A happy conjunction. Meekness is their common characteristic.) "Within the memory of man," says Sir Walter Scott in his *Tristrem*, "an old person used to perambulate the streets of Edinburgh, singing in a monotonous cadence the tale of Rosewal and Lilian."

The young
Lord of
Learne

IT was the worthy Lord of learen,
he was a lord of a hie degree;
he had noe more children but one sonne,
4 he sett him to schoole to learne curtesie.

makes great
progress in
his studies.

learing did soe proceed with that child—
I tell you all in veretie—
he learned more vpon one day
8 then other children did on 3 :

& then bespake the SchooleMaster,
vnto the Lord of Learne said hee,
"I thinke thou be some stranger borne,
12 for the holy gost remaines with thee."

he said, "I am noe stranger borne,
forsooth, Master, I tell it to thee,
it is a gift of almighty god
16 which he hath giuen vnto mee."

the schoole *Master* turnd him round about,
 his angry mind he thought to asswage,
 for the child cold answer him soe quicklie,
 20 & was of soe tender yeere of agee.

the Child, he caused a steed to be brought,
 a golden bridle done him vpon;
 he tooke his leaue of his schoolfellows,
 24 & home the Child that he is gone.

He leaves
 school,

& when he came before his father,
 he fell low downe vpon his knee,
 "my blessing, father, I wold aske,
 28 if christ wold grant you wold giue it me."

"Now god thee blesse, my sonne & my heira,
 his servant in heauen *that* thou may bee!
 what tydings hast thou brought me, child?
 32 thou art comen home so soone to mee."

"good tydings, father, I hane you brought,
 Goo[d tydings ¹] I hope it is [?] to mee,
 the booke is not in all S[c]ottlande
 36 but I can reade it before your eye."

[page 74.]

and as he
 now knows
 well his
 native
 tongue,

a *Loyed* man his father was,
 euen the worthy *Lord* of Learne,
 "thou shalt goe into ffrence, my Child,
 40 to learne ² the speeches of all strange lands."

Is to be sent
 abroad to
 learn others,

but then bespake the Child his mother,—
 the Lady of learne & then was shee,—
 saies, "who must be his well good guide
 44 when he goes into that strange country?"

¹ *Goo* is supplied from the foot of p. 73 of the MS.—F.

² to learne sh^d be the Rhime.—P.

& then bespake that bonnie Child
 vntill his father tenderlie,
 saies, "father, Ile haue the hend Steward,
 48 for he hath beene true to you & mee."

under the
 care of the
 steward.

the Lady to conuell the steward did take,
 & counted downe a 100ⁿ there,
 saies, "steward, be true to my sonne & my heire,
 52 & I will giue thee mickle mere.¹"

"If I be not true to my *Master*," he said,
 "Christ himselfe be not trew to mee!
 if I be not true to my lord & *Master*,
 56 an ill death *that* I may die!"

the *Lord* of Learne did apparell his Child
 with Bruche,² & ringe, & many a thinge;
 the apparrell he had his body vpon,
 60 thé say was worth a Squiers liuinge.

He starts on
 his tour;

the parting of the younge *Lord* of Learne
 with his ffather, his mother, his ffellows deere,
 wold haue made a manis³ hart for to change,
 64 if a Iew borne that he were.

is cruelly
 treated by
 the steward;

the wind did serue, & thé did sayle
 over the sea into ffrance Land:
 he vsed the Child soe hardlie,
 68 he wold let him haue neuer a penny to spend,

and meate he wold let the Child haue none,
 nor mony to buy none trulie;
 the boy was hungry & thirsty both;
 72 alas! it was the more pittie.

¹ maire.—P.

² Brooche.—P.

³ ? mams in MS.—F.

- he laid him downe to drinke the water
that was soe low beneath the brimn ;
 he was wont to haue drunke both ale & wine,
 76 then was faine of the water soe thinne¹ ;

 & as he was drinking of the water
that ran soe low beneath the brime,
 soe ready was the false steward
 80 to drowne the bonny boy therin.

 " haue Mercy on me, worthy steward !
 my life," he said, " lend it to mee !
 & all *that* I am heire vpon "
 84 saies, " I will giue vnto thee."

 Mercy to him the steward did take,
 & pulld the child out of the brime ;
 euen, alacke ! the more pittye !
 88 he tooke his clothes euen from him ;

 saies, " doe thou me of that veluett gowne,
 the crimson hose beneath thy knee,
 & doe me of thy cordiuant² shoone
 92 are buckled with the gold soe free ;

 " doe thou me off thy sattin doublett,
 thy shirtband wrought with glistering gold,
 & doe mee³ off thy golden Chaine
 96 about thy necke soe many a fold ;

 " doe thou me off thy veluett hat
 with fether in *thats* is soe ffine,
 all vnto thy silken shirt
 100 *thats* wrought with many a golden swaine.⁴"

to save his
life, gives up
everything
to him,

even his
clothes

and his gold
neck-chain ;

¹ MS. thime.—F.

² cordiuant : *proprie* cordwane, corium denominatum a Corduba, urbe Hispaniæ. The same as Morocco Leather, *i.e.* cordovan. Jun. see Pag. 431.—P. "*Cordouan* : m. Cordouan leather ; (which is properly, a Goatskin tanned)." Cot.—F.

³ There is a long *f* in the MS. between *me* and *off*.—F.

⁴ Perhaps *twine*, *i.e.* twist or braid.—P. Compare the Promptorium "*daggy-sweyne, Lodix*," and Mr. Way's note on it. "A bed-covering, or a garment formed of frieze, or some material with

the child before him naked stood,
 with skin as white as lilly flower;
 for his worthy lords bewtie

104 He might haue beene a ladyes paramoure. [page 76.]

dresses in
 leather,

he put vpon him a lether cote,
 & breeches of the same beneath the knee,
 & sent that bony Child him froe,

108 service for to craue, truly.

changes
 his name to

he pulld then forth a naked sword
that hange full low then by his side,
 "turne thy name, thou villaine," he said,
 112 or else this sword shall be thy guide."

Disaware,

"what must be my name, worthy steward?
 I pray thee, now tell it me."

116 "thy name shalbe pore disaware,¹
 to tend sheepe on a lonelye lee."

the bonny Child, he went him froe,
 & looked to himselfe truly,
 saw his apparrell soe simple vpon;
 120 O Lord! he weeped tenderlye.

obtains
 a situation
 as shepherd's
 boy,

vnto a shepards house *that* Childe did goe,
 & said, "Sir, god you sane & see!
 doe you not want a servant boy

124 to tend *your* sheepe on a lonelie lee?"

"where was thou borne?" the shepard said,
 "where, my boy, or in what country?"

"Sir," he said, "I was borne in fayre Scotland
 128 *that* is soe farr beyond the sea."

long thrums like a carpet, was termed a *doggyseyne*." Swaine can hardly mean here *Armiger*.—F.

¹ Perhaps the same as Disware, Chaus^s, i.e. not aware, unwary, Urry, Glos.—P.

"I haue noe child," the shepard sayd,
 "my boy, thoust tarry & dwell with mee ;
 my liuinge," he sayd, "& all my goods,
 132 He make thee heire [of] after mee."

& then bespake the shepards wife,
 to the Lord of learne thus did she say,
 "goe thy way to our sheepe," she said,
 136 "& tend them well both night & day."

and tends
the sheep.

it was a sore office, O Lord, for him
that was a lord borne of a great degree !
 as he was tenting his sheepe alone,
 140 neither sport nor play cold hee.

Let vs leaue talking of the Lord of Learne,
 & let all such talking goe ;
 let vs talke more of the falst steward
 144 *that* caused the Child all this woe.

Meanwhile
the steward,

he sold this lord of Learnes his Clothes
 for 500ⁿ to his pay,
 & bought himselfe a suite of apparrell
 148 might well beseeme a Lord to weare.¹

when he *that* Gorgeous apparrell bought
 that did soe finelie his body vppon,
 he laughed the bony Child to scorne
 152 *that* was the bonny Lord of learne ;

gorgeously
dressed,

he laughed *that* bonny boy to scorne ;
 Lord ! pitty it was to heare !
 I haue herd them say, & soe haue you too,
 156 *that* a man may buy gold to deere.²

¹ perhaps "a Lord's array."—P.

Ray's Proverbs in Bohn's Handbook,
p. 98.—F.

² A man may buy gold too dear.

calling
himself Lord
of Learne,
woos the
Duke of
France's
daughter,

when *that* he had all *that* gorgeous apparrell
that did soe finelie his body vpon,
 he went a woiing to the dukes daughter of france,
 160 & called himselfe the *Lord* of Learne.

the duke of ffrance heard tell of this ;
 to his place *that* worthy *Lord* was come truly ;
 he entertaind him with a quart of Red renish wi[ne],¹
 164 saies, "*Lord* of Learne, thou art welcome to me !"

then to supper that they were sett,
 Lords & ladyes in their degree ;
 the steward was sett next the duke of france ;
 168 an vnseemlye sight it was to see.

who is to
have 500*l*.
a-year.

then bespake the duke of ffrance,
 vnto the *Lord* of leearne said hee there,
 sayes, "*lord* of Learne, if thoule marry my daught[er],
 172 Ile Mend thy liuing 500*l*. a yeere."

Then bespake *that* Lady fayre,
 answered her ffather soe alone,
 that shee wold be his marryed wiffe
 176 if he wold make her Lady of Learne.

[page 76.]

and is
betrothed to
her.

then hand in hand the steward her he tooke,
 & plight *that* Lady his troth alone,
that she shold be his Marryed wiffe,
 180 & he wold make her the Ladie of learne.

The lady,
hunting,

thus *that* night it was gone,
 the other day was come truly,
 the Lady wold see the Robucke run ²
 184 vp hills & dales & forrest free.

¹ wine.—P.

² M.S. rum.—F.

- then shee was ware of the younge Lord of learne
 tending sheepe vnder a bryar, trulye ;
 & thus shee called vnto her maids,¹
 183 & held her hands¹ vp thus an hie,
 sayes, "feitch me yond shepards boy,
 Ile know why he doth mourne, trulye."
 when he came before *that* Lady fayer,
 192 he fell downe vpon his knee,
 he had beene so well brought vpp
 he needed not to learne curtesie.²
 "where wast thou borne, thou bonny boy,
 196 where or in what countrye ? "
 "Madam, I was borne in faire Scotland
that is soe farr beyond the sea."
 what is thy name, thou bonny boy ?
 200 I pray thee tell it vnto mee."
 "My name," he sayes, "is poore Disaware,
 that tends sheepe on a lonely lee."
 "one thing thou must tell mee, bonny boy,
 204 which I must needs aske of thee :
 "dost not thou know the young Lord of Learne ?
 he is comen a woing into france to me."
 "yes, *that* I doe, Madam," he said ;
 208 & then he wept most tenderlie ;
 "the Lord of learne is a worthy Lord,
 if he were at home in his oune³ country."

sees
Disaware
tending his
sheep,

and hearing
he is from
Scotland,

asks him if
he knows
the Lord of
Learne.

He weeps,

¹ The tag after these *d*'s may not mean *s*.—F.

² The direction in all the Books of Courtesy, Urbanity, &c., is to fall on your knee before a lord: see my edition of *The Babees Book*, &c., E. E. Text Soc., 1867; l. 334 of this poem, &c. The *Constitutions of Masonry*, printed by Mr. Halliwell from MS. Bibl. Reg., 17 A, i. ff. 32, gives the general order in this form, (p. 37, l. 695-702: I have read it with the MS. fol. 29-30.—F.)

When þou comest byfore a lorde,
 Yn halle, yn bowre, or at þe borde,
 Hod or cappe þat þou of do
 3er þou come hym allynge to ;
 Twyes or þryes, withoute dowte,
 To þat lord þou moste lowte ;
 With þy ryȝth kne let hyt be do,
 þyn owne worschepe þou saue so.

³ One stroke too many for *oune*, in MS.—F.

and says it's
for a dead
friend.

- 212 “what ayles thee to weepe, my bonny¹ boy ?
tell me or ere I part thee froe.²”
“nothing but for a freind, Madam,
thats dead from me many a yeere agoc.”

- a loud laughter the Ladie lought ;
216 O Lord ! shee smiled wonderous hie ;
“I haue dwelled in france since I was borne ;
such a shepards boy I did neuer see. .

The lady
engages him
to be her
chamberlain.

- 220 “wilt thou not leaue thy sheepe, my Child,
& come vnto service vnto mee ?
& I will giue thee meate & fee,
& my Chamberlaine thou shalt bee.”

He goes
with her.

- 224 “then I will leaue my sheepe, Madam,” he sayd,
“& come into service vnto thee ;
if you will giue me meate & fee,
your Chamberlaine *that* I may bee.”

- when the Lady came before her father,
228 shee fell Low downe vpon her knee,
“grant me, father,” the Lady said,
“this boy my Chamberlaine to be.”

- “but O Nay, Nay,” the duke did say,
232 “soe my daughter it may not bee ;
the Lord *that* is come a woing to you
will be offended with you & mee.”

The steward
is angry to
see him,

- 236 then came downe the false steward
which called himsele the Lord of learne, trulio :
when he looked that bonny boy vpon,
an angry man I-wis was hee.

¹ One stroke too many for *bonny* or too few for *bonny* in the MS.—F.

² from thee.—P.

"where thou was¹ Borne, thou vagabond ?

240 where ? " he sayd, " & in what country ? "

says, " I was borne in fayre Scotland
that is soe far beyond the sea."

[page 77.]

" what is thy name, thou vagabond ?

244 haue done qu[i]cklie, & tell it to me."

" my name," he sayes, " is poore disaware ;
I tend sheep on the lonelie lee."

makes him
deny his
true name,

" thou art a theefe," the steward said,

248 " & soe in the end I will prooue thee."

then be-spake² the Ladie fayre,

" peace, Lord of learne ! I doe pray thee ;
ffor if noe loue you show this Child,

252 noe favor can you haue of mee."

" will you beleue me, Lady faire,

when the truth I doe tell yee ?

att Aberdonie beyond the sea

256 his father he robbed a 100 : 3."

and slanders
his father.

But then bespake the Duke of france

vnto the boy soe tenderlie,

saies, " boy, if thou loue harsses well,

260 my stable groomme I will make thee."

The Duke
appoints the
boy his
stable-
groom.

& thus *that that* did passe vppon

till the 12 monthes did draw to an ende ;

the boy applyed his office soe well,

264 euery man became his freind.

Thus a year
passes.

he went forth earlye one morning

to water a gelding at the water soe free ;

the gelding vp, & with his head

268 he hitt the Child about his eye :

Disaware
gets hurt by
one of the
horses,

¹ read *was thou*.—F.

² MS. he spake.—F.

and aloud
bewails his
fate.

"woe be to thee, thou gelding!" he sayd,

"& to the mare *that* foled thee!

thou hast striken the Lord of learne

272 a litle tinye aboute the knee.

"first night after I was borne, a Lord I was;

an earle after my father doth die;

my father is the worthy Lord of learne;

276 his child he hath noe more but mee;

he sent me over the sea with the false steward,

& thus that he hath beguiled mee."

The Duke's
daughter,
overhearing
him,
discovers
who he is.

the Lady [wa]s in her garden greene,

290 walking with her mayds, trulye,

& heard the boy this mourning make,

& went to weeping trulie:

She promises
to be true to
him.

"sing on thy song, thou stable groome!

284 I pray thee doe not Let for mee,

& as I am a true Ladie

I wilbe trew vnto thee."

He says he
must keep
his oath to
the steward.

"but Nay, now Nay, Madam!" he sayd,

288 "soe *that* it may not bee,

I am tane sworne vpon a booke,

& forsworne I will not bee."

"sing on thy song to thy gelding

292 & thou doest not sing to mee;

& as I am a true Ladie

I will euer¹ be true vnto thee."

He again
bewails
himself.

he sayd, "woe be to thy,² gelding,

296 & to the Mare *that* foled thee!

¹ either *euere* in MS. or the letter before *e* crossed out.—F.

² ? *for* thee.—F.

"for thou hast strucken the *Lord of Learne*
a litle aboue Mine eye.

first night I was borne, a lord I was ;
300 an Earle after my father doth dye ;

"my father is the good *Lord of Learne*,
& child he hath noe other but mee.

My father sent me over with the false steward,
304 & thus *that* he hath beguiled mee.

and tells the
lady how
the steward
has beguiled
him.

"woe be to thee steward, Lady," he sayd,
"woe be to him verrily !

he hath beene aboue this 12 months day
308 for to deceiue both thee & mee.

"if you doe not my Councell keepe
that I haue told you with good intent,
& if you doe it not well keepe,

312 farwell ! my life is at an ende."

"I wilbe true to thee, *Lord of Learne*,
or else christ be not soe¹ vnto me ;

And as I am a trew ladye,

316 He neuer marry none but thee ! "

The lady
swears she'll
marry him
alone,

[page 78.]

shee sent in for her father, the Duke,
in all the speed *that* ere might bee ;

"put of my wedding, father," shee said,
320 for the loue of god, this Monthes 3 :

gets her
wedding
with the
false Lord
put off,

"sicke I am," the ladye said,

"O sicke, & verry like to die !

put of my wedding, father Duke,

324 ffor the loue of god this Monthes 3."

¹ may be true. Half the line is pared away.—F.

the Duke of france put of this wedding
 of the steward & the lady, monthes 3 ;
 for the Ladie, sicke shee was,
 328 sicke, sicke, & like to die.

and writes
 to the old
 Lord of
 Learne in
 Scotland,

shee wrote a letter with her owne hand
 in all the speede *that* euer might bee ;
 shee sent over into scotland
 332 *that* is soe ffarr beyond the sea.

when the Messenger came beffore the old Lord
 of Learne,
 he kneeled low downe on his knee,
 & he deliuered the letter vnto him
 336 in all the speed *that* euer might bee.

who
 denounces
 the false
 steward,

first looke he looked the letter vpon,
 Lo ! he wept full bitterly,
 the second looke he looked it vpon,
 340 said, " false steward ! woe be to thee ! "

when the Ladye of learne these tydings heard,
 O Lord ! shee wept soe biterlye :
 " I told yon of this, now good my lord,
 344 when I sent my Child into that wild country. "

vows
 vengeance
 on him,

" peace, Lady of learne, " the Lord did say,
 " for Christ his loue I doe pray thee ;
 & as I am a christian man,
 348 wroken vpon him *that* I wilbe. "

he wrote a letter with his owne hand
 in all the speede *that* ere might bee ;
 he sent it into the Lords in Scotland
 352 *that* were borne of a great degree ;

he sent for lords, he sent for *knights*,
the best that were in the countrye,
 to goe with him into the land of france,
 356 to seeke his sonne in *that strange Country.*

calls
 together
 lords and
 knights,
 comes over
 to France,

the wind was good, & they did sayle,
 500 men into france Land,
 there to seeke *that Bonny boy*
 360 *that was the worthy Lord of Learne.*

they sought the country through & through,
 soe farr to the dukes place of ffrance Land :
 there they were ware of *that bonny boy*
 364 standing with a porters staffe in his hand.

and at last
 finds his son
 officiating as
 a porter in
 the Duke's
 palace.

then the worshippingfull, thē did bowe,
 the serving men fell on their knees,
 they cast their hatts vp into the ayre
 368 for Ioy *that boy that they had seene.*¹

the Lord of learne, then he light downe,
 & kist his Child both Cheeke & chinne,²
 & said, "god blesse thee, my sonne & my heire,
 372 the blisse of heauen *that thou may wiine*³!"

the false steward & the Duke of france
 were in a Castle topp trulie :
 "what fooles are yond," says the false steward,
 376 "to the porter makes soe Lowe curtesie ?"

The false
 steward, in a
 castle near,

Then bespake the duke of ffrance,
 calling my Lord of Learne trulie,
 he sayd, "I daubt the day be come
 380 *that either you or I must die.*"

¹ did see. qu.—P.

² MS. chime.—F.

³ winne.—P.

is besieged, thé sett the Castle round about,
 a swallow cold not haue fione away ;
 & there thé tooke the false steward
 384 That the Lord of Learne did betray. [page 79.]

seized, & when they had taken the false steward,
 he fell lowe downe vpon his knee,
 & craued mercy of the Lord of learne
 388 for the villanous dedd he had done, trulye.

 “ thou shalt haue mercy,” said the Lord of Learne,
 “ thou vile traitor ! I tell to thee ;
 as the Lawes of the realme they ¹ will thee beare,
 392 wether it bee for thee to liue or dye.”

tried, a quest of lords *that* there was chosen
 to goe vppon his death, trulie :
 there thé Iudged the false steward,
 396 whether he was guiltie, & for to dye.

condemned
to death, The forman of the Iury, he came in ;
 he spake his words full Lowd & hiye :
 said, “ make thee ready, thou false steward,
 400 for now thy death it drawes full nie ! ”

 sayd he, “ if my death it doth draw nie,
 god forgiue me all I haue done amisse !
 where is *that* Lady I haue loued soe longe,
 404 before my death to giue me a Kisse.”

 “ away, thou traitor ! ” the Lady said,
 “ auoyd out of my company !
 for thy vild treason thou hast wrought,
 408 thou had need to cry to god for mercye.”

¹ The *y* is in a modern hand.—F.

first they tooke him & h[a]ngd him halfe,
 & let him downe before he was dead,
 & quartered him in quarters Many,
 412 & sodde him in a boyling Lead¹;

half hanged,
 quartered,
 boiled,

& then they tooke him out againe,
 & cutten all his ioyns in sunder,
 & burnte him eke vpon a hyll²;
 416 I-wis³ thê did him curstlye cumber.⁴

cut to bits,
 and at last
 burnt.

a loud laughter the lady laught;
 O lord! she smiled merrylie;
 She sayd, "I may praise my heauenly King
 420 that euer I seene this vile traytor die."

then bespake the duke of france,
 vnto the right Lord of Learne sayd he there,
 says, "Lord of Learne, if thou wilt marry my
 daught[er]
 424 He mend thy lining 500 a yeere."

The Duke
 offers his
 daughter to
 the young
 Lord,

but then bespake *that* bonie boy,
 & answered the Duke quicklie,
 "I had rather marry your daughter with a ring of
 go[ld,]
 428 then all the gold *that* ere I blinket on with mine⁵
 eye."

who accepts

¹ Cauldron; H. Coleridge's Glossary, referring to "Al so beodh his eye puttes ase a bruthen *led*."—*Owl and Nightingale*, ed. Wright, p. 79. (The corresponding passage in MS. Jes. Coll. Oxon, 1 Arch. 1-29, fol. 184 back, is "Al so beop his eye puttes af a colput dup ant gret," as if *led* were for *lode*.) Chaucer, *Prolog. Cant. Tales* (ed. Morris, vol. ii. p. 7, l. 201-2), has:

His eyen steep, and rollyng in his heed,
 That stemed as a forneys of a *lead*.

Herbert Coleridge also refers to *Havelok the Dane*, l. 924.—F.

² kiln.—P. Why not *kill*?—F.

³ I think it should here be "I wis," i.e. I know.—T. Wright.

⁴ to cumber, *inter alia*, signifies to distress: Johnson.—P.

⁵ One stroke too few in the MS.—F.

But then bespake the old *Lord* of *Learne*,
 to the Duke of france thus he did say,
 “seeing our Children doe soe well agree,
 and marries her. • 432 they shalbe marryed ere wee goe away.”

they Lady of *learne*, shée was for sent
 throughout Scotland soe speedilie,
 to see these 2 Children sett vpp
 436 in their seats of gold full royallye.

ffins.

Scotish : ffeilde :¹

I. THIS piece is, with the exception of the imperfect copy lately printed by the Chetham Society, now for the first time printed. At last it comes forth to be admired; and admired we think it will be, for its metre, its vigour, its general curiousness. It is, in a word, a short alliterative chronicle in honour of the Stanleys—one of the many “laudationes” belonging to that much-balladed family. It sets forth the two great glories of the house—its achievements on Bosworth Field, and, with great fulness, at Flodden. It is then most valuable as a specimen of such poems as probably all the great houses, to a greater or less extent, had appertaining to them, to whose composition and preservation the domestic minstrel in the olden times would especially devote himself, and whose recitation would serve for a perpetual delight on all great occasions—poems full of local and personal feeling, and curious county detail. In such celebrations of itself the Stanley family seems to have been particularly rich. Two more are treasured up in the Folio, viz. “Flodden Field” and “Lady Bessie.” This one was written by no menial hand, but by “a gentleman by Iesu”!

Percy, in his “Reliques,” quotes a few lines from this piece—a handful from the beginning, and a handful from the end. The

¹ [An alliterative poem] In two fitts, containing a short History of the achievements of Henry the 7th & of Henry the 8th to the battle of Flodden Field, of w^{ch} there is a very particular Account; the Author seems to have been present at this Engagem^t (vid. fol. 86. [of MS.] top), who gives some account of himself, ver. 226, fitt 2^d. [of MS.]—P.

N.B. It is in the same measure as the Ballad of Liffe & Death, Pag. 384 [MS.],

which, from a similitude of style, seems to have been written by the same Author.—P.

Two of these verses are properly but one, being the same measure used in Peers Plowman's Visions.—P. The two lines are therefore printed as one (as written in nearly all MSS. and here at line 42), the break being denoted by a colon, which must not be treated as an ordinary stop.—F.

latter quotation occurs in his essay on Alliterative Metre, and is accompanied by some account of the poem. The Chetham Society copy (edited by Mr. Robson in 1855) is imperfect in three places—at the beginning, where twenty-four and a half distichs are gone; after v. 36, where ten distichs are wanting; and after v. 252, where the description of the vanguard of the English army (vv. 253–275) is missing. In other respects it is certainly an older and more valuable copy than the one here given. It again and again preserves the alliteration where it has been corrupted in the Folio copy. It is printed from a MS. found by Mr. Beamont among the muniments at Lyme, in a handwriting, according to Sir Frederick Madden, of Queen Elizabeth's time. The two copies mutually correct and elucidate each other. The differences between them are merely verbal; all worth noticing are mentioned in the notes.

II. The piece is, as we have said, a short alliterative chronicle. It begins with the landing of Henry, afterwards the Seventh, at Milford Haven, and conducts him, supported by “of Derby that deare Earle” and others, to Bosworth and the throne, and at last to the “celestiall blisse.” As this triumph of the Red Rose is dilated upon more fully in “Lady Bessie,” we will imitate our poet, and

. . . will meddle with this matter
 Noe more att this time—
 But he that is makeles of mercy
 Haue mind of his soule!

Then follows an account of Henry VIII.'s accession, and of his expedition into France in 1513, and the siege of Terouenne. Then we are told how the King of France, to effect a diversion, urged the King of Scotland to invade England in Henry's absence; and then comes the great interest of the poem, the battle of Flodden. At the end of the piece we return to Henry in France, to carry him the news of the victory and witness his

exultation. And so, with an announcement of the author and a prayer breathed, "Jesus, bring vs to blisse," the song is sung.

With regard to the expedition into France, the account here given is mainly correct, but the details are not so. The power of France was exciting great jealousy in Western Europe early in the sixteenth century. The first care of Julius II., after he had curbed the pride of Venice with its assistance, was to curb it too. He succeeded in forming a league against it. He was in the act of renewing that league, when death interrupted him for ever. Leo X. succeeded to his tiara and his schemes. In April, 1513, Germany, Spain, and England concluded with him the alliance that had been previously negotiated. In May the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby cross over to France with 25,000 men, followed presently by Lord Herbert with 25,000 more. In June, Terouenne is invested. On the thirtieth of that month the King follows his generals, leaving the Queen Regent and the Earl of Surrey Lord-lieutenant of the North, and on July 21 arrives at the besieged town. There Maximilian joins him, and serves under him. Then the Battle of the Spurs—"pugna calcaria" in Jovius—is fought, or run. At the same time a supply of provisions is intercepted, and a sally of the garrison defeated. On August 23 the place surrenders, and is severely punished for its two-months' obstinate resistance—is all destroyed except the cathedral and the monastic buildings. The messenger with the tidings of Flodden finds the walls "beaten downe" ("Flodden Field," v. 13), and the King gone on to Tournay. Maximilian, in his grandson's interest, was anxious to reduce the strong towns of the French frontier, and he led Henry whither he would.

And soe to that seege forth thé went
The Noble Shrewsbury & the Erle of Derby,
And thé laid seege vnto the walls.

("Flodden F.," vv. 419-21.)

Tournay, in spite of the proud boast engraved on one of its gates—"Jammes ton ne a perdu ton pucelage" (*sic* apud Hall)—and its confident pun "que Tournay n'avoit jamais tourné ni encore ne tournerait," and the prestige of its successful resistance to Edward III., capitulates at once. Late in October the King returns to England. Such was Henry's vain expedition of 1513. We need not stay to point out the little discrepancies between the above sketch of it and the narrations given in this poem, and below in "Flodden Field."

And now with regard to the grand theme of our poem—a most favourite theme with English ballad-writers, and, from a vastly different feeling, with the Scotch too—the battle of Flodden. An authentic summary of this memorable conflict is preserved in a MS. in the Herald's College, London—"the Gazette of the Battle of Flodden, Sept. 1513," printed in the Appendix to Pinkerton's "History of Scotland." The most minute account is given by Hall, who derived it no doubt from eye-witnesses. There is a third contemporary report in Jovius' "Historiæ sui Temporis;" a fourth in a letter from Dr. William Knight, the English minister at the court of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, to Cardinal Bainbridge at Rome, (Harl. MS. 3462, fol. 32. b., printed by Ellis in his "Original Letters"); a fifth in the shape of a pamphlet, published probably just after the battle, reprinted by Haslewood in 1809, with this heading: "Hereafter ensue the trewe encountre or Batayle lately don betwene Englāde and Scotland, in whiche batayle the Scottisshe Kynge was slayne. The maner of thaduaūcesynge of my lord of Surrey," &c.; a sixth, among the State Papers, corresponding almost exactly to the Gazette, entitled, "Articles of the Bataill betwix the Kinge of Scottes and therle of Surrey in Brankstone Feld, the 9 day of September." Between all these there is some slight diversity. Our poem agrees precisely with no one of them.

We may remind our readers how James IV., in violation of

a treaty then existing between him and England, in opposition to the advice of his counsellors, but in accordance no doubt with the popular feeling, at the instance of the French monarch, in July 1513 dispatched a letter of defiance to the English king in his camp at Turenne. Henry replied in a corresponding spirit; but, before his reply could reach its destination, all was over. James mustered his troops at Boroughmoor (Blackator in our ballad) close by Edinburgh. While they were assembling, he ordered Lord Home (not Lord Maxwell,¹ as the ballad says,) to make a previous raid across the borders. Lord Home ravaged and plundered the English marches at his pleasure, Lord Dacre, according to the ballad, "keeping him in Carlisle." That there prevailed some such report to the discredit of that nobleman, at this time Warden of the East and Middle Marches, appears possible from a letter of his to Wolsey, dated May 17, 1514 (Cott. MSS. Calig. B. II. 190, partly printed by Pinkerton, fully described in "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII." 1862), in which he defends himself with great pains against the charge of remissness in his duties, and insists that "the Scots love him worst of any Englishman living." He speaks of the part he performed on the "felde of Brankston;" and adds: "And where it is thought I make not so good espiall in Scotland as I might do, my Lords, I assure your Lordships that I maide the best espiall at all tymes hiddertoward, and shall maike in tyme to com, that I oder can or may, unfenydy, and neithre spare for cost ne charge." With whomsoever the fault lay, Lord Home's advance was unmolested. But on his return Sir William Bulmer, by a skilful ambush (not mentioned in the ballad; there the battle is a fair pitched one), punished him with great severity:

¹ Maxwell,—nominally superseded by James V.'s favourite, Oliver Sinclair, when the borders were crossed,—commanded the Scotch invasion which ter-

minated at Solway Moss, 1542. There was, however, a Lord Maxwell killed at Flodden, who may be meant by the ballad.

Thus were thé beaten att the first brayd
 All that brawling people ;
 And likewise in the latter end,
 As yee may here after.

King James now advanced in person with the largest army ever mustered in Scotland. He occupied himself with the reduction of several border castles—of Norham, and Wark, and Ford. These were all the successes that, with all his mighty host, he achieved. At the last-named castle, which stands on the right bank of the Till some four miles from its junction with the Tweed, he was enthralled by the charms of the beautiful Mistress Heron. He did not care then “to flee to war’s alarms.” He was not inspired to “chase another mistress”—“the first foe in the field.” He wasted the precious days in amorous dalliance. His nobles murmured. His host gradually melted away. The tide of his fortune turned. Meanwhile the Lieutenant of the North had been raising the Northern counties. He advanced to Newcastle, and from Newcastle to Alnwick, with constantly increasing forces. The eagle of the Stanleys and the crescent of the Percys were soon to be seen beneath the banner of St. Cuthbert. Lord Surrey would not wait for reinforcements from the Midland counties promised him by the Queen. He marched rapidly towards the invader’s Castle of Indolence. At his approach the invader leaves it, and posts himself on Flodden Hill, an extreme eminence of the Cheviot chain, just separated from Ford by the Till. He accepts Surrey’s challenge to fight :

A thousand thanks the Earl then
 Unto the royal King did yield,
 Whose princely heart did not forbear
 So simple a lord to meet in field. (Weber’s “Fl. F.”)

but he shows no inclination to forego the advantages of his position. His numbers at this time amount to some 30,000 at the most moderate computation ; Surrey’s to some 25,000. This

numerical disadvantage is of course liberally magnified in the English ballads. Says the Earl in "Flodden Field" *apud* Weber:

Put case our total English power
Were ready drest & made in meat
They at meals two would us devour;
The Scottish army is so great.

and

What though our foes be five to one,
For that let not our stomachs fail;
God gives the strok when all is done;
If it please him, we shall prevail.

Determined to bring about an engagement, Surrey, after having crossed to the right side of the Till near Wooler (some few miles south of Flodden), marches to Barmore (near Ford), and at last resolves on putting himself between the King and Scotland so as to cut off the enemy's supplies and his retreat. To this end he marches to the north-west, crosses the Till partly by Twizel bridge (close to the junction with the Tweed), partly by a ford to the south of that bridge, then turns southward, and is presently face to face with the enemy. All these movements Scotland, "sitting idle on dark Flodden's airy brow," permits him to perform undisturbed:

"Tharmy was devyded into 2 batalles, and to either bataill 2 wynges." (State Papers' account.) The vanward was commanded by Lord Howard the Admiral, supported on his right (our ballad wrongly says left, v. 264) by his brother Sir Edmund (our ballad calls him Eward) with Cheshire men, on his left by Sir Marmaduke Constable (our ballad says Lord Lumley) with Yorkshire and Northumberland men. The second division or rereward was commanded by the Earl himself, with Sir Edward Stanley (proleptically styled Lord Mounteagle in the ballad, v. 296) and Lancashire men on his left, on his right Lord Dacre (Lord Scroop with Sir John Stanley, according to the ballad). Such was the original arrangement. But, as they approached

the enemy, "the lord Howard caused his vaward to stale in a lytell valley, tyll the rerewarde were joyned to oon of the winges of his bataill, and then both wardes in oon fronte avaunced against the Scottes." Lord Dacre, it would seem, fell into the rear; Lord Howard's left wing coalesced with his father's centre, his right wing drew close up to him. And so, as Scott says in his 121st note to "Marmion," and as the common accounts say, "the English army advanced in four divisions." For the Scotch army, the King was supported on his extreme left by Huntley and Home, then by Crawford and Montrose, on his right by Lennox and Argyle, Bothwell commanding the reserve. About a mile and a half to the north-west of Flodden was a little village called Brankston, and near it a slight hill, the occupation of which would have proved a great advantage to the English. Amidst the smoke of his huts, which he set on fire before descending from his heights, and, as the wind blew from the south, his movements completely shrouded from the enemy, James hastened to secure it. The smoke suddenly clearing, the English, just arrived at the foot of it, found him posted on it and close at hand. Hence the battle is very commonly styled the battle of Brankston, or Brankiston, or Brampton, or Bramston, or Branzston, or Brinston (v. 401 of our ballad). Scotch writers prefer Floddon, or Flodden. (As to the orthography, the *hill* is often mentioned. V. 329 speaks of the *dale*.)

The gushing account of the weather on the day of the conflict given in vv. 307-322 is a mere poetical commonplace, like the old descriptions of—

. lucus et ara Dianæ,
Et properantis aquæ per amœnos ambitus
Aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius . . . arcus.

(Compare vv. 175, 176.) The account reprinted by Haslewood says: "In this batayle the Scottes hadde many great Auauntagies, that is to wytte the hyghe Hylles and mountaynes, a great wynde

with them, and sodayne rayne, all contrary to our bowes and Archers." The battle commenced about four o'clock in the afternoon, raged furiously for some three hours, and was stayed only by the coming on of night. It is not our business here to describe it at length. We must notice the fortune of the extreme right wing of the English, as vv. 329-350 of this ballad and a great part of "Flodden Field" are devoted to it. "The Chesshire and Lancasshire men never abode stroke, and fewe of the gentilmen of Yorkshire abode, but fled," says the State Papers' account. Our poet, himself a Cestrian, is sorely troubled by this behaviour. He makes what apology he can for it—that the men could'nt fight without a Stanley at their head (see vv. 265-269, and 333-336); and he speaks bitterly of Lord Dacre, and accuses him of having set them the example of flight (v. 332), whereas—perhaps, because—it was he who came to Sir Edmund Howard's rescue and saved the wing from utter destruction. "Maistre Gray," says the Gazette, "et Mes^r Humfrey demourant prisonniers, et Messire Richard Harbottel tué, et le d'Edmond Haward fut trois fois abatu; et vint a son relief le seigneur Dacres avec XV^e hommes; et tellement exploicter quil mist en fuyte les d'Escossois." The feud between the Howards and Stanleys was as old as the battle of Bosworth:

Sith King Richard feele, he never loved thee,
For thy unckle slew his father deere,
And deerlye deemed him to dye,

says Buckingham to Derby of Surrey in "Flodden Field" (vv. 141-143). So there may possibly have been a want of cordiality between the Stanleyites of Cheshire and their leaders, the Howards. But when the great advantage in respect of position enjoyed by the Earl of Home, and his natural eagerness to avenge his late discomfiture at Milfield are considered, nothing more is wanted to account for the temporary distress of the English right wing. The leaders did not fly with their men, but fought on unyield-

ingly. In another part of the field—on the left wing—other Lancashire and Cheshire men, under Sir Edward Stanley, greatly distinguished themselves by attacking in flank and utterly routing Lennox and Argyle.

Lancashire like Lyons
Laid them about.—(v. 383.)

This piece of good service is magnified in “Flodden Field” into the winning of the field¹:

“Lancashire & Cheshire,” said the Messenger,
“They have done the deed with their hand.”—(vv. 369, 370.)

They have woone the victorye.—(v. 384.)

To one other point in the battle we may allude—the death of the King of Scots. There can be no doubt he was killed on the field. On this fact all the English accounts are unanimous; and they adduce satisfactory evidence. According to our ballad he was “downe knocked and killed . . . under the banner of a Bishoppe that was the bold Standlye” (vv. 386, 387). “The King of Scottes,” according to the account amongst State Papers, “cam with a grete puyssance upon my Lord of Surrey, havyng on his lyfte hand my Lord Darcy son; whiche 2 bare all the brounte of the bataill; and then the King of Scottes was slayn within a spere length from the saide Erle of Surrey.” “The Kinge of Scotts,” runs a MS. note on the back of the return of a muster-roll of an officer in the camp at Terouenne (quoted by Galt in his *Life of Wolsey*), “was found slayn by my Lord Dakers in the fronte of his batayll . . . and the kynge of Scotts’ body is closed in lede, and be kept till the kinges

¹ Ascham’s *Troxophilus*, Works, ed. Giles, v. 2, p. 79. “The excellent prince Thomas Hawarde, nowe duke of North-folk, for whose good prosperity with al his noble familie al English hertes dayly doth pray, with bowmen of England slew King Jamie with many a noble

Scot, even brant agenst Flodon hil; in which battel y^e stoute archers of Cheshire & Lancashire, for one day bestowed to y^e death for their prince & country sake, hath gotten immortall name and prayse for euer.” fol. 40, ed. 1545.

pleasure is knowen in Barwicke." "They love me," says Lord Dacre in the letter above adverted to, "worst of any Englishe-man living, be reason that I fand the body of the king of Scotts, slayne in the felde, and thereof advertised my lord of Norfolke be my writing; and thereupon I brought the corps to Berwyke, and delivered it to my said lord." The body was presently removed to London.

". . . slaine is your brother-in-law King Jamie;
And att lovely London he shalbe found,
My comelye prince, in the presence of thee,"

says the Queen in her letter to Henry in France, in "Flodden Field" (vv. 362-364). And when Leo X. withdrew the sentence of excommunication incurred by James by his wanton breach of his ratified treaty with England, the corpse was conveyed to the monastery at Shene in Surrey, where Stow (see his "Survey of London," 4to, p. 539) saw it, after the dissolution of the house, "throwne into a waste-room amongst the old timber, lead, and other rubble."

We have not to speak here of the awful distress that the news of Flodden brought to Scotland—how that country wept "for her children, and would not be comforted because they were not." But we may be permitted to quote just one clause from the Proclamation made in Edinburgh the day after the battle, when a fearful rumour was already prevailing. It "chairges that all women and specialie vagabounds that thai pass to their labours, and be not sene upoun the gait clamourand and cryand, under the pane of banesing of thair persons but favors; and that the other women of gude pass to the kirk and pray, quhane time requires, for our soverane Lord and his army, and nycbouris being thairat, and hald thame at their privie labours off the gaitt within thair houses, as affeirs." (See Sir David Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Hailes', "Remarks on the History of Scotland.")

Such is the subject of this poem. It is handled with much vigour. "A gentleman by Iesu who this jest made" (v. 416) writes with fervent enthusiasm. His heart is warm towards his county and its brave gentlemen :

These frekes will never flee
For feare that might happen.
But they will sticke with their standards
In their steele weeds.

The eagle of the Stanleys is the king of birds—"the fayrest fowle that ever flew on winge"—in his eyes. He makes the Scotch herald admire it and tremble :

Soe how he batters & beates
The bird with her wings;
We are feare of yonder fowle
Soe fiercely he fareth.

He is not afraid to meet his enemy in the gate. He is full of ingenuous, simple-hearted, enthusiastic pride. That his version of the events portrayed is far from accurate in the details, has already been shown. He is often carried away by his Stanleyite ardour; he often errs from a sheer ignorance of the facts. Bishop Percy, from v. 253, supposes him to have been present at Flodden; but v. 91 gives as good ground for concluding him to have been at Terouenne. "The bearne that at Bagily his biding place had, and whose ancestors of old time had yerded there long" (vv. 418, 419), would never want for information, though not himself an eye-witness, about actions so closely associated with the honour of Cheshire.

The poem was probably composed some two or three years after the battle. Vv. 285-291 seem to speak of the death of the Bishop of Ely as a recent event, and he died in March 1515. But the present edition may be of much later date. The confusion of Maxwell with Home seems to place it after 1542.

With regard to the metre, see the Introduction to "Life and Death." We will just remark here that this is one of the latest

alliterative poems known. The reader will observe that it ends with a rhyming couplet.

III. A few words may be said of the other poems that celebrate the field of Flodden. That field can boast of a considerable poetic literature. Weber, in 1808, prompted by Scott, whose "Marmion" was then the rage, published a collection of pieces concerning it. The *pièce de resistance* of his volume is a poem to be found in No. 3526 of the Harl. MSS., composed probably about 1550—a poem of 575 four-lined rhyming and frequently alliterative stanzas, divided into nine fits, written by one who had already celebrated Henry's achievements in France, who was evidently a well-practised verse-writer—a steady-going pedestrian poem. Along with it are printed "The Lamentation of King James the Fourth" and "The Bataile of Brampton" from the 1587 edition of the "Mirour for Magistrates." Both these pieces are, however, older than that work, and appear in it in a perverted shape, "the Elizabethan editor" having "thought proper to make a complete alteration in the sense of every passage bearing a theological allusion—a thing that occurs in every stanza of the second, and in many parts of the first." They are printed in a purer form from a Harl. MS. in the "Gentleman's Magazine," (New Series, July–August, 1866). Weber gives next some Skeltonian doggrel about the famous fight; then "The lamentable Complaint of King James of Scotland" from Fulwell's "Flower of Fame," 1575; then the epitaph, in Flamborough church, of Sir Marmaduke Constable, who

. . . at Brankiston feld
Coragely avandid hymself among other ther & then ;

then a ballad, possibly, according to Ritson, "as ancient as anything we have on the subject," from Thomas Deloney's "Most pleasant and delectable History of John Winchcomb, otherwise called Jack of Newbury," and no doubt refurbished by Deloney; then the fragment about the Laird of Muirhead, and Miss Jane

Elliott's lines called "The Flowers of the Forest" (founded on an older piece), which are printed in the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border"; and lastly "Flodden Field," from Harl. MSS. 293 and 367, of which the Folio contains a copy (see below, p. 313).

"There is a MS. poem," says Ritson, "Ancient Songs," 1792, p. 117, "on the battle of Flowden Hill in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh; but of what nature or merit the editor had no opportunity to discover." Mr. Laing, however, assures the present Editors that Ritson was mistaken in this assertion.

God and
Mary help
me!

I sing of
noble kings.

Of Henry
VII.

[page 80.]

and his
prime
supporters,

Lord Derby,

gentle
Gilbert,

GRANT, gracious god : grant me this time
that I may say or I cease¹ : thy seluen to please,
& Mary his Mother : that Masked² all this world,
4 & all the seemlie Saints : that sitten in heaven.
I will carpe of Kings : that conquered full wide,
that dwelled in this land : that was alyes³ Noble ;
Henery the seauenth : that soveraigne Lord,
8 How he moued in at Milford : with men but a few.
there were lite⁴ Lords in this land : that to that Lord
longed,
but of derby that deare Earle : that doughty hath beene
euer,
& the Lord chamberlaine : that was his cheefe brother,
12 Sauage, his sisters sonne⁵ : a Sege⁶ that was able,
& Gylbert the gentle : with a lollye meanye,
all Lancashire, these ladds : thé ledden att their will,
& Cheshyre hath them chosen : for their cheefe Cap-
taine ;

¹ say or I cease, *i.e.* may assay before
I cease.—P. *Say* is *speake*, *writes*, what
may please God.—F.

² ? for maked.—F.

³ always.—Robson.

⁴ lite, *i.e.* few.—P.

⁵ MS. some.—F.

⁶ sege, segge, *Miles*. Sax. *secg*, id.
L(ye).—P.

- 16 Much worshipp haue thé woone¹ in warre : their was
of their names
in france & in few lands² : soe fayre them behappen
sith Brute heere abode : & first built vp houses.
Sir James Blunt, *that bold Knight* : he bowed to their Sir J. Blunt,
hands ;
- 20 Soe did Sir Edward Poynings : *that proued* was of Sir E.
deeds ; Poynings,
Sir John Biron was neuer afraid : for no burne³ Sir J. Biron.
liuinge,
a more manfull man : was not of this Mold maked :
thus with a royall retinewe : raked thé forwarde,
- 24 On this side Bosworth in a bancke : thé bred⁴ forth
their standards
with a dragon full dearfe : ⁵ *that* adread was thereafter,
rayled⁶ full of red roses : and riches enowe.
there he bickered⁷ with a bore⁸ : *that* doughtie was and
called, encountered
Richard,
- 28 Richard *that* rich Lord : in his bright armour,
he held⁹ himselfe no Coward : for he was a King
Noble,
he fought full freshlie¹⁰ : his formen¹¹ amonge
till all his bright armour : was all bloudye beronen.¹² whom they
conquered
- 32 then was he dungen to death : with many derfe¹³
strokes,¹⁴

¹ Onestroke of the *æ* left out in MS.—F.

² Perhaps corrupted for Scotland—perhaps foelands, i.e. hostile countries.—P. fer (far).—Child. ? fele (many).—Skeat.

³ barne, bearne.—P.

⁴ *braid*. O. N. *bregða*, to move a thing from its place, draw out (as a sword), brandish. H. Coleridge.—F. A.-S. *brædan* ; O. N. *breiða*, to spread out.—Child.

⁵ The first fragment of the Lyme MS. edited by Mr. Robson for the Chetham Society begins here with "that dred was sone after."—F.

⁶ ornamented. O. H. Germ. *kragil*, indumentum, *gikragilon*, ornare. Wedgwood. Or it may be from Norm. *raier*, to score, draw lines ; "rayle vynys,

retico." Promptorium. *Rail* is also to trickle, run. Wedg.—F.

⁷ bicker, *configere*, vid. Junius.—P.

⁸ lorde.—Lyme MS. —

⁹ kidde.—Lyme MS.

¹⁰ Ryght royall and fuerslye.—Lyme MS.

¹¹ foremen.—P. For *foemen* ; see note to line 167 below.—F.

¹² beronen, i.e. run down with blood.—P. ? MS. is *berouen*, riven, rent?—F.

¹³ derfe, hard, rough.—P. See l. 25.—F.

¹⁴ Compare Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* : "The corps of y^e dead king, being tugged and despitefully torne, was layd all naked upon an horse, and trussed like a hogge

and sent to
Newark.

Henry VII.'s
reign.

He made the
French pay
tribute,

[page 81.]
and went to
heaven.

Henry VIII.

cast him on a Capull¹ : & carried him to Liester,
& Naked into Newarke : I will mine² him noe more,
but let drough[t]en³ deale with all : as him deare liketh.
36 then said⁴ Richmond this realme : with all the royall
cuntrye,
& raigine⁵ with royaltie : & riches enoughe
full 24 yeeres : In this fayre Land.
he made french men afeard : of his fell deedes ;
40 they paid him tribute trulie : many told thousands,
that thé might liue in their land : & him their Lord
call.
but death at him droue *that* die must he needs⁶ ;
thus went he forth of this world : this worship[ful
wight⁷]
44 to the celestiall blisse : with Saints⁸ enowe.
I will meddle with this matter : noe more att this time,
but he *that* is makeles⁹ of mercy¹⁰ : haue mind of his
soule !
then succeeded his¹¹ sonne : a souerainge most noble,
48 *that* proued was a prince : most peerlesse of other,
that was Henery¹² the 8th : our most dread Lord.
when his father, *that* feirce freake¹³ : had finished his
dayes,
he made frenchmen¹⁴ afeard : & faire him besought
52 *that* he wold take their tribute : & traine¹⁵ them noe
further ;

behind a pursiuant at Armes and as
homely buried in y^e Graye Fr. within
Leicester, which being ruinated his grave
rests as obscure, overgrowne with nettles
and weedes."—H.

¹ capul, a horse.—P.

² i.e. mention.—P.

³ qu. Drighten, i.e. Dominus.—P.

⁴ qu. had or rather sway'd.—P. ? as-
sayed, tried, if not miswritten for seized.
—F.

⁵ raigned or raigine.—P. rayned.—
Lyme MS.

⁶ written as one line in the MS. The
break should be before *that*.—F.

⁷ lorde.—Lyme MS.

⁸ MS. S: "aints. ? for Sacrosaints.—F.
First written short, Sⁿ. for Saints, and
then written long, S^uaints.—Skeat.

⁹ makles or makeless of mercy (see
fitt 2. v. 102), i.e. matchless.—P.

¹⁰ myckle of myght.—Lyme MS.

¹¹ There is a short curl before the *h*
of *his*, which may mean *it*.—F.

¹² Harry.—Lyme MS.

¹³ A.-S. *freca*, a daring warrior, from
frec, *freca*, bold, daring.—F.

¹⁴ One stroke too many in MS.—F.

¹⁵ Fr. *trainer*, to throwe vp and downe.
—F. lem.—Lyme MS.

but he nickeed ¹ them with Nay : & none of it wold,
for he wold see vnder their seigniory : some of theire
fayre ² townes.

- thus he greathes ³ him godly : with a grat host,
56 full 15 ⁴ thousand : that feirce was in ⁵ armes,
for to fare into ffrance : att their free will.⁶
then left ⁷ hee in this land : a Leede *that* was noble,
of surrey *that* sure Earle : the saddest ⁸ of all other,
60 as Lord & Leinutenant ⁹ : to Looke this land over,
if any alyant ¹⁰ in his absence : durst aduenture him
seluen

invades
France,

leaving
Surrey as
Lord-
Lieutenant.

- to visitt or inuade : our most valiant realme.
then he dressed him to Dover : our most dread King,
64 with many Lords of this land : our Lord giue them Ioy!
of Buockingham, Duke bold : he was a [burn]e ¹¹ Noble,
& of Da[rby] the deere Earle : he hath beene doughtie
euer,

He sails
from Dover,

- & Shrewsbury, *that* sure ¹² Earle : the saddest of all
other,
68 as a warriour full wise : he wends with the vaward ; ¹³
the Nob[il]e Earle of Northumberlande : with others
full Many,¹⁴
thé wende att their will : & wrought as them
Liiked.

(Shrewsbury
goes with
the van)

- thus thé glenten ¹⁵ to Callice : with great shippes of
warre,
72 & many a sellicothe ¹⁶ saylor ¹⁷ : where ¹⁸ seene on their
Masts.

crosses to
Calais.

¹ Suio-Gothic *neka*, to refuse : Jamieson.—F.

² corruptly written for *there fayre*.—P.

³ *geradian*, to make ready, prepare.—F. graces.—Lyme MS.

⁴ forty.—Lyme MS.

⁵ carry his.—Lyme MS.

⁶ at his biddinge.—Lyme MS.

⁷ ? MS. lost.—F. arose.—Lyme MS.,
and Lorde for Leede.

⁸ most stable or steady.—F.

⁹ lieutenant.—P.

¹⁰ alyant, *i.e.* alien.—P.

¹¹ burne.—Lyme MS.

¹² the trewe.—Lyme MS.

¹³ As a worshippingfull and wise he
royndeth the cowarde.—Lyme MS.

¹⁴ of the same.—Lyme MS.

¹⁵ Scotch *glent*, to pass suddenly:
Jamieson.—F.

¹⁶ *i.e.* rare.—P. extraordinary.—T. W.

¹⁷ many small sailes.—Lyme MS.

¹⁸ were seen on.—P.

- when thé to Callice comen : all this seemly Meany,
our *Knight*¹ full [of] courage : carpeth these words,
calleth to his counsell : to witt their wills²
and calls a
council of
war there. 76 on what wise was best : his warre to begine.
some sett him to a Cittye : *that* was sure walled,
& told him of Turwine : a towne *that* was noble
& oft had beene assayd : with Emperour & other,
80 yet wold it neuer be woone in warr : for noe way on
liue³;
there was noe wight in this world : *that* win it nay⁴
might,
it was soe deepe deluen : with diches about.
then our *King* full of Courage : carped these words,
The King
vows to take
Turenne or
perish. 84 sayes, "I will seege it about : within this 7 dayes,
or win it or I hence win : with the leane of our Lord,
or leaue here my liffe : Lord, I you sett.⁵"
[page 82.] thus he promised to the prince : [That paradise
weldeth.⁶]
88 there were carryages with carts : & many keene
weapons.
then they waward ffull valiantlie : aduanced them
seluen;
The
vanguard
advances,
with trumpetts & tabretts : forward thé wenten;
beside the towne of turwin : our tents downe we
and all
besiege
Turenne. tilden,⁷
92 & seeged it surlye⁸ : on all sides about.
many a gaping gunn : was gurde to the walls,
where there fell of the first shott : manie a fell
flooder,⁹

¹ for King.—F.² Mr. Skeat says, "Observe, this is a line of debased type, each half-line being independent in its alliteration, as in l. 109, &c." While admitting this as to l. 109, I prefer to take the first half of l. 75 as the last of a triplet with the two halves of l. 74; and the second half of l. 75 as the first of a triplet with the two halves of l. 76.—F.³ on live, i.e. alive. A Saxonism.—P.⁴ né.—P.⁵ letees I you heete.—Lyme MS.⁶ Supplied by Percy, who says, "see fitt 2, lin. 13."—F.⁷ tild.—P. A.-S. *teld*, a tent; *toldian*, to spread or pitch a tent.—F.⁸ surelye.—P.⁹ i.e. many a cart-load, still called a *Fodder* in the North.—P.

that stoness that were new sturrd : for stoutley they
shotten.

- 96 now Leane wee our King : lying att this seege,
& carpe of the french King : care him be-happen.
when he heard how vnkindly : his townes they were
halched,¹

The French
King

- he hyed² him to paris : for things that might happen ;
100 there called he his counsell : for to know their minds,
or³ what wise was best to worke : his warres to begin
he durst not venter⁴ with our King : he was soe keene
Holden,

calls a
council at
Paris,

- for all the gloring gold⁵ : vnder the god of heauen.
104 then his counsell full Keenlye : carped on this wise,
says, "make forth a Messenge : to the Mightye King
of Scotta,

is advised to
incite the
Scots to
invade
England,

- & profer him a present : all of pure gold,
& bid him enter into England : & venter⁶ him seluen ;
108 he may win it in warre : & weld it as him liketh ;
there is noe leeds in tha[t] land⁷ : saue Millers &
Masse preists,⁸
all were faren into france : that fayre⁹ were in armes.

¹ i.e. saluted.—P. A-S. *healsian*, to clasp round the *hals* or neck.—F. Lines 98, 99, 111, 113, 119, 122, 127, 135, all bad in scanning.—Skeat.

² picked.—Lyme MS.

³ on, *qu*.—P.

⁴ counter.—Lyme MS.

⁵ N. *glora*, to shine (Wedgwood).—F. *glaring*.—Lyme MS.

⁶ awnter.—Lyme MS.

⁷ in the land.—P. For the next line and a half, the Lyme MS. has the better reading (except of *proved*, which spoils the alliteration, for *fayre* or *fierce*):—

to looke him against;
All be faren into Fraunce
that proved were in armes:
But mislners and masse preistes
there bene no men elles.—F.

⁸ Compare Weber's "Flodden Field," v. 186-196.

King Henry, you understand,
To France is past with all his peers ;

At home is left none in the land,
Butjoult-head monks & bursten fryers,

Or rugged rustics, without rules,
Or priests prating for pudding-shives,
Or millners, madder than their mules,
Or wanton clerks, waking their wives.

There's not a lord left in England,
But all are gone beyond the sea ;
Both knight & baron, with his band,
With ordnance or artillery.—H.

"How much good it [shooting with the bow] hath done, both old men and chronicles do tell, and also our enemies can bear us record. For if it be true as I have heard say, when the King of England hath been in France, the priests at home, because they were archers, have been able to overthrow all Scotland." Ascham, *Toxophilus*, ed. Giles, p. 24.—F.

⁹ ? MS.—F. it should be *fierce*, vid. lin. 121 [124].—P.

and dis-
patches Sir
Delamont on
this errand.

then the King called a Earle : *that wold* a lord Noble,
112 Sir Delamont,¹ *that deere Duke : that was doughtye*
euer ;
he had buske him & bowne him : to goe on his
Message ;
he wold² as wise of his words : as any way else.
then *that Knight* full courteouslye : kneeled to the
ground,

Sir
Delamont
finds the
King of
Scotland,

116 saies, "I am bound to goe : as ye me bidd wold ;"
& tooke his leaue of the King : & a letter³ he taketh,
shoggs⁴ into a sure shipp : & shoggs⁵ ore the water
into Scotland, I you to hett⁶ : & there the King
findeth,
120 & profered him a present : of pounds many a thou-
sand,

who
consents to
invade
England.

for to wend to *that warr* : & worke⁷ as him liketh,
& enter into England : & weld⁸ it for euer :
there is noe Lord⁹ in *that Land* : to looke him against,
124 all were faren into france : that feirce were in armes.
the King was glad of *that gold* : *that he gan*¹⁰ brought,
& promised him full peertly¹¹ : his part for to take,
that his cozen the french King : soone shold it know.

¹ The ambassador sent by the French king into Scotland was named M. La Motte.—P. He was La Mothe-Fénélon, whose despatches have been printed.—T. Wright. Delamote.—Lyme MS.

² was; and were for way.—Lyme MS.

³ MS. better.—F.

⁴ i.e. jogs.—P. shott.—Lyme MS.

⁵ query shapes or shope, vid. Pierce Plow. — P. shoggeth. — Lyme MS. "Schoggyn or roggyn, *Agito*. Roggyn or neyn (or schoggyn, rokkyn,) *Agito*. Schoggyn, schakyn, or waveryn, *Vacillo*." Promptorium. "I shake or shogge upon one, *je sache*."—Palsgrave. Forby gives the verb to *shug*, signifying to shake, in the Norfolk dialect.—Way. *schog*, to move backwards and forwards.—Jamieson. "And the boot in the myddil of the see was *schoggid* with waives."—Wiclif

in Wedgwood under *shog*.—F. Used by CROMWELL in his despatch from 'Warrington,' 20th August, 1648, on the Battle of Preston: "Colonel Dean's and Colonel Pride's, outwinging the Enemy, could not come to so much share of the action; the Enemy *shogging* down towards the Bridge; and keeping almost all in reserve, that so he might bring fresh hands often to fight."—Carlyle's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 373, 2nd ed. 1846.—Dr. Robson.

⁶ ? hett to you: promise you. There is no *tohatan* in Bosworth's A.-Saxon Dict.—F.

⁷ weld.—Lyme MS., and wynde for wend.

⁸ possess.—P.

⁹ lede.—Lyme MS.

¹⁰ the gome.—Lyme MS.

¹¹ i.e. pertly.—P.

- 123 then summons he his soeged¹ : in sundry places,
that they byde shold at blackator² : in ther best
weeds,³
 By *the* [8th day of August⁴] to know theire Kings
 mind. [page 83.]
 there came at his commandement : ketherinckes⁵ full of Ketherinckes
 many, from Orkney⁶ *that* He : there came a great Host,
 from Galloway a gay Lord : with a great Menie,
 all Scotland thither came : to know their Kings
 mind :
 many Scotts & Ketherickes : bowed to his Hand ; and Scots.
 136 such an host of *that* Nation : was neuer seene before ;
 their names were numbred : to 9 score thousand
 truly by their owne tounge⁷ : as it was told after.
 then thé light att a lott⁸ : the king and his lords,
 140 *that* the mighty Lord Maxwell⁹ : shold moue them Lord Maxwell is
 before sent forward
 with 10000 by tale : *that* were tryed of the best,
 to see wether any seege : durst sett¹⁰ him against : to explore,
 thus he rested in *that* realme : the riggs¹¹ altogether,
 144 till thé hard of *that* battell : how it with him
 hapened.
 then he bowneth him boldlye : ouer the broad waters,¹² and reach
 & manlye him Marcheth : to the Mill feelde¹³ ; the Millfield.

¹ lege *segges*, milites, vid. Jun.—P. sedges.—Lyme MS.

² Blackwater, a place in the Merse.—P. Blacabor.—Lyme MS.

³ On Boroughmoor James V.'s forces too were mustered in 1542.—H.

⁴ viiith daie of August.—Lyme MS. But the marks not cut off the folio—ill befall that binder!—require 8 and day.—F.

⁵ *rincke* est homo, vide. Jun. Ketherinckes are Highlanders.—P. Ketterickes.—Lyme MS.

⁶ a kenche.—Lyme MS.

⁷ towne.—Lyme MS.

⁸ A.-S. *leotan*, to cast lots ; *lot*, lot.—Child.

⁹ A mistake for Lord Hume, who made an inroad into England, & was defeated in the Millfield, a few weeks before the King of Scots left Scotland. Maxwell being a great Lord in the West-Border, would be uppermost in the mind of a Cheshire or Lancashire man.—P. Mackesfelde.—Lyme MS., and should meane *for* shold moue.

¹⁰ sitt, and sedge *for* seege.—Lyme MS.

¹¹ knightes.—Lyme MS. and then they *for* thus he.—Lyme MS. Riggs may be *for* rinckes, men.—F.

¹² i.e. over the Tweed.—P.

¹³ Millfield was close by Flodden to the south.—H.

- he robbeth like a rebell : the right him against ;
 148 but all Light on his leeds : att the latter ends,
 The English
 flee before
 him.
 for killed they were like Caytines¹ : as you shall here
 after.
 when the commons of the country : of this comen²
 wisten,
 then fled they for feare : soe crulye they fareden,
 152 & made aw[ay with messengers] : to tell my Lord
 dacles
 Lord Dacles
 keeps within
 Carlisle.
 what Mischeefe the fomen made : in the march ends ;
 " but he kee[peth] him in Carleile : & keire³ wold no
 further,
 he wold not Meddle whithose⁴ Men : for noemans will."
 156 then a knight of that countrie : that was knowne full
 wide,
 Sir Will.
 Bulmer
 advances
 against the
 enemy,
 one Sir william Baw-bener⁵ : that hath beene bold euer,
 he moneth towards these Menie : with men but a few,
 not fully 500 : that the freake followed ;
 160 then [mett⁶] he with a Man that had 400⁴ ;
 that was bold bastard hearne⁷ : that bastard⁸ was
 neuer,
 a warriour full wise : & wittye⁹ of deedes.
 when they were summoned & seene : these seeges
 together,
 900 English 164 thé were numbred 900^d : that was the highest
 Number
 against
 10,000
 Scotch.
 & thé were 10000 by tale : vpon the other partye ;
 ffull vnmeete be them mached : Marry them speede !
 thus they fared ouer the feild : their formen¹⁰ to seeke ;

¹ caytives.—P.² their comon.—Lyme MS.³ keire, *vertere*.—P.⁴ with this ma[ttter].—Lyme MS.⁵ A corruption. Lord Hume was defeated by Sir William Bulmer. It was probably written Bawmer or Bowmer. See fo. 86, ver. 84 (l. 274).—P. Bowmer.—Lyme MS.⁶ mett.—Lyme MS.⁷ hearne, *i.e.* Heron, qu. a bastard of the family of Ford ; called by Paulus Jovius *Heron nothus*.—P.⁸ forté, *dastard*.—P. [Would spoil the alliteration.—F.] bashed.—Lyme MS.⁹ wighty, qu.—P.¹⁰ perhaps foemen.—P. foe men.—Lyme MS.

- 168 *neuer* rest wold these rangers¹ : but alwaies raked
forward
till they had seene *that* seege : *that* they sought after.
all these scaclech² Scotts : *that* alwayes scath didnen.
then niiged³ they nighe⁴ : *that* abyde must thé needs
172 every ranke to his rest : Rudlie⁵ [him dressed]
not the mountenance of a Mile : from their most [page 84.]
enemies.
soone after Drayned⁶ the day : & the dew falleth, At daybreak
the sun shott vp full soone : & shone ouer the feilds,
176 birds bradd⁷ to the bowes : & boldly thé songen :
itt was a solace to see : for any seege liuinge.
then every bearne full boldlye : bowneth him to his
weapons,
full radlye in array : royally them dressed.
180 our english men full merrilye⁸ : attilde⁹ them to our English
shoote, archers
& shotten¹⁰ the cruell Scots : with their keene arrowes ; shot the
many horsse in *that* heape¹¹ : hurled downe his Scots
Master ;
then they fettled¹² them to flye¹³ : as false beene thé till they fled,
euer.
184 *that* serueth not forsoothe : who soe truly telleth,
our English men full eagerlie : fast followed after,
& tooke prisoners prest : & home againe wenten.
there were killed of the Scotts : more then 12 score, losing above
188 & as many more prisoners : were put to ther ransome : 240 killed,
and as many
taken.

¹ knyghtes.—Lyme MS.² scathlech, scathliche, hurtful : vid. Gl. ad Chan.—P. starlishe [? scarlishe, Su. G. skara, turba, cohors].—Lyme MS. and all the for always.³ niged, approached.—F.⁴ the night.—Lyme MS.⁵ a verse here is wanting.—P. radly him dressed.—Lyme MS.⁶ or Orayued, ? MS.—F. derayned, qu.—P. dayned.—Lyme MS.⁷ moved quickly : see *braid*, p. 213, note 4, to l. 24. brayed.—Lyme MS.⁸ eagerly.—Lyme MS.⁹ prepared, made ready ; see Wright's *Prov. Dict.* North-English, *ettle*, to intend, to attempt, to take aim.—Brockett. To make an attempt, to propose, to design ; Isl. *aella*, destinare. Jamieson.—F.¹⁰ Skochen.—Lyme MS.¹¹ MS. seape. The alliteration needs heape, and the Lyme MS. has it.—F.¹² To *fettle* to any work, to set about it keenly. Jamieson.—F.¹³ MS. slye.—F. flye.—Lyme MS.

thus were thé beaten att the first brayd : all that
brawling people,
& likewise in the latter end : as yee may here after.¹

2^d fitt.²

Lord
Maxwell
flees back to
the King,

Then the mightie Lord Maxwell³ : ouer the mountaines
flees,

and reports
his defeat.

192 & kered⁴ to his King : with careful tydings,
telleth him the truth⁵ : & tarryeth noe longer,
sayth, "I am beaten backe : for all my bigg meny,
and there beene killed of the Scotts : I know not how
many."

The Scotch
King

196 then the Scottish King : full nie his witt wanteth,
& sayd, "on who⁶ was thou mached : man, by the
sooth ?"

calls him
craven,

he promised him pertlye : thé passed not 1000.
"yee beene cravens," quoth the King : "care mote
yee happen !"

200 but He wend you to worke : wayes I you sett⁸
alonge⁹ within *that* Land : the length of 3 weekes,
& destroy all arright : *that* standeth me before :

and
advances
himself
against
Norham.

thus he *promised* to the prince : *that* paradise weldeth.
204 then hee summond his seeges : & sett them in order ;
the next way to Noram¹⁰ : anon then he taketh ;
he enclosed¹¹ *that* Castle : cleane round about,
& they deffended fast : the folke *that* were within.

208 without succour come soone : their sorrow is the
more !

Lord Surrey

the Earle of Surrey himselfe : att Pomferett abideth ;

¹ hear after.—P.

² On the left in the MS.—F.

³ Mackelsfeld.—Lyme MS.

⁴ returned. A.-S. *ceran*, to turn ;
Ger. *kehren*.—F.

⁵ MS. is broken away, but the Lyme
MS. reads as in the text.—F.

⁶ against whom.—F. perhaps 'how

wast,' or 'on who,' *i.e.* 'with whom.'—
P.

⁷ cowards.—Lyme MS.

⁸ wees, I you heets.—Lyme MS.

⁹ And lying.—Lyme MS.

¹⁰ Norham in Northumberland.—P.

¹¹ unclosed.—Lyme MS.

- he heard what vnhappiness¹ : these scarlotts² didden ;
 He made letters boldly : all the land over, [page 85.]
 212 into Lancashire beline : he caused a man ryde
 to the bishoppe of Ely³ : *that* bode⁴ in those parts,
 curteously commanded him in the Kings name
 to summon the shire : & sett them in order ;
 216 he was put in more power : then any prelate else.
 then the Bishopp boldly : bowneth forth his standards
 with a Captaine full keene : as it⁵ was knowne after ;
 he made away to wend⁶ : to warne his Deare Brother
 220 Edward, *that* Egar Knight : that epe⁷ was of deeds.
 a stalke of the Stanleys : stepe vpp⁸ him seluen,
 then full readilye he rayseth : *Knight*⁹ ten thousand ;
 to Scikpton¹⁰ in Crauen : then thé comen¹¹ belue ;
 224 there abydeh he the banner : of his deare Brother,
 till a Captaine with it came : *that* knowne was full
 wide,
 Sir John Stanley, *that* stout Knight : *that* sterne was
 of deeds,
 with 4000 feirce men : that followed him after,
 228 they were tenants to the booke¹² : *that* tended the
 bishoppe,
 & of his houshold, I you hett : hope you none other.
 enery bearne had on his brest : brodered full fayre¹³
 a foote of the fay[re] fowle¹⁴ : *that* euer flew on
 winges,

hears, and
preparas ;
summons

the Bishop
of Ely,

Stanley with
10,000
knights,

Sir John
Stanley with

4,000
tenants,

on each
one's breast

an eagle's
foot three-
crowned.

¹ unhapp.—Lyme MS.

² *forte* scathlocks: scathlich (apud Chaucerum) is hurtful.—P. all those harlottes [which the alliteration requires].—Lyme MS.

³ James Stanley was then Bp. of Ely.—P.

⁴ i.e. abode.—P.

⁵ he.—Lyme MS.

⁶ a wee to wynde.—Lyme MS.

⁷ quick, active, bold. Compare "so yong & so yepe as ye ar [at] his tyme," in *Gawayne and the Green Knight*, l. 1510, p. 48, ed. Morris; and in *P. Plowman*, Vis. v. 1, p. 203, l. 6606, (ed. Wright):

"Thow art yong and yeepe,
And hast yeres y-nowe."

In lines 340 and 371 here, the alliteration requires *yepe*. Bosworth gives A.-S. *gep*, *geap*, deceiving; and Madden *ȝep*, crafty, Gloss. to *Lajamon*.—F.

⁸ of.—Lyme MS.

⁹ rinckes.—Lyme MS.

¹⁰ Corrections have been made in the S and i, but I cannot make them out.—F.

¹¹ he come.—Lyme MS.

¹² i.e. Copy-holders.—P. that they tooke.—Lyme MS.

¹³ with gowld.—Lyme MS.

¹⁴ The Eagle's foot was the Badge of the Stanleys.—P.

- 232 with 3¹ crownes full cleare : all of pure gold :
 it was a seemly sight : to see them together,
 14000 Eagle foote : fettered² in a-ray.
 thus they cooasten³ thorow the countrie : to the
 New-castle.
- 236 proclamation in *that* place : was plainly declared,
that enery hattell⁴ shold him hie : in hast *that* hee
 might,
 to boulton in Glendower⁵ : all in goodlie haste.
 there mett thé a muster : then,⁶ many a thousand,
- The English
muster at
Boulton. 240 with *Knights* *that* were keene : well knowne in their
 contry,
 & many a louelye Lord : vpon *that* londe hight.⁷
 then they moued towards *the* Mountaine : these Meany
 to seeche,⁸
 these scattered⁹ Scotts : *that* all they scath didden ;
- Then
advance to
within sight
of the Scots, 244 they wold neuer rest : but alway raked¹⁰ forward
 till they had seene the seeges : *that* they had sought
 after ;
 but they had gotten them a ground : most vngracious
 of other,
 vpon the topp of a hie hill : I hett you forsoothe,
- who are en-
camped on
a high hill. 248 there was noe way¹¹ in this world : might wend them
 againe

¹ their.—Lyme MS.² feteled.—Lyme MS.

³ coasten (? MS).—P. "The Duke of York with all his power *costed* the countreys, and came to the same town" (St. Alban's). *Half's Chronicle*, p. 232.—Dr. Robson. "Costyn ouyr þe cuntre, coostyn on the countre, *Transpatric*." Promptorium. Mr. Way's note is, "Chaucer uses the verb to *costeis* in the sense of the French *costoyer*, to pass alongside; as in the Complaint of the Black Knight, line 36,

"And by a riuer forth I gan *costeis*."

Palsgrave gives the verb "to *coste* a countrey or place, ryde, go, or sayle about it, *costier* or *costoyer*. To hym that coulde *coste* the countrey there is a

nerer way by syxe myle." Cotgrave's sense is different: "*costoyer*, to accoast, side, abbord; to bee, or ly, by the side of; also, to coast along by, or goe by the coast of."—F.

⁴ battell, MS.—F. hattell.—Lyme MS. Hathell, a nobleman or knight.—Halliwell.

⁵ Forté Boulton in Glendale, not far from Alnwick in Northumberland; query.—P.

⁶ men.—Lyme MS.⁷ light.—Lyme MS.⁸ seeche, i. e. seek.—P.⁹ skatell.—Lyme MS.¹⁰ dayled.—Lyme MS.

¹¹ forté wye, homo, vid. Jun.—P. wee.—Lyme MS.

but he shold be killed [in the] close¹ : ere he climbed
the Mountaine.²

when they Lords had on them looked : as [long as
them liked³]

euery Captaine was commanded : their company to [page 86.]
order.

252 "tho wee are bashed with this bigg Meany⁴ : I blame
vs but litle,⁵

then wee tild downe ouer tents : *that* told were a 1000 ;
at the ffoot of a fine hill : they setteled them all night,
there they lyen & lodged : the length of 4 daies,

Encamp
near them.

256 till euery Captaine full Keenlie : callen to their lords,
bidd them settle them to fight : or they wold fare
homeward.

there company was clemmed⁶ : & much cold did suffer;
water was a worthy drinke⁷ : win it who might."

260 then the Lord leinetenant : looked him about,
& boldly vnto battell : busked he his meanye.

Are bent
on an
engagement.

the Lord Howard, the hende Knight : haue shold the
vanwarde

Lord
Howard
leads the
vanward,

with 14000 feirce men : *that* followed him after.

264 the left winge to *that* ward⁸ : was Sir Eward Howarde,
he chose to him Cheshire : their chance was the
worse ;

Sir Edward
Howard the
left wing of
it ;

because they knew not their Captaine : their care
was the more,

for they were wont att all warr : to wayte vppon the
stanleys ;

¹ in the closes.—Lyme MS. valleys, dells, *cleues*. See l. 391 here.—Robson.

² Mountaine in MS.—F.

³ from Lyme MS.—F.

⁴ of theis burnes.—Lyme MS.

⁵ The Lyme MS. omits from here to end of l. 275.—F.

⁶ clemmed, clammed.—P. "Welly clemmed," well nigh starved with cold or hunger: Lancashire. Skeat. *Clam*, to starve, to be parched with thirst:

Brockett, who cites from Massinger, *Rom. Actor*:

When my entrails
Were clam'd with keeping a perpetual
fast.

Dutch *klemmen* is to pinch.—F.

⁷ The English pi[t]ched their tents in the valley south of Woller, near the Bremish, which then might be muddy with the continual rain.—P.

⁸ i.e. towards that.—P.

- 268 much worshipp they woone : when they *that* way
serued,
but now lanke¹ is their losse : our lord itt amend !
the right wings, as I weene : was my lord lumley,
a captaine full keene : with Sir Cutberds banner² ;
- 272 my Lord Clifford with him came : all in cleare armour ;
Soe did Sir william Percy³ : *that* proued was of deeda,
& Sir william Bawmer : *that* bold hath beene euer,
with many Captaines full keene : who-soe knowes
their names.
- 276 & if I recon the rerward : I rest must to longe,⁴
but I shall tell you the best tokens⁵ : that therevppon
tended ;
the Earle of Surrey himselfe : surelye it guided ;
& the Lord Scroope full comlye : with knights full
may,
- 280 he wold witt⁶ the wing : *that* to *that* ward longed ;
it was a Bishoppe full bold : *that* borne was att
Latham,
of Ely *that* Elke⁷ Lord : *that* eke⁸ was of deeds,
& nere of blood to *that*⁹ Earle : *that* named was stanley,
- 284 neere of Nature to the Nevills¹⁰ : *that* Noble haue beene
euer ;
but now death with his dart : hath drinen him away ;
- Lord Lumley its
right.
- Lord Surrey
leads the
rearward ;
- Lord Scrope
its right
wing,
- (with the
Bishop
of Ely,
- now, alas !
dead.

¹ lacke.—P.

² St. Cuthbert's (Hall calls him Cutberde) banner had been borne to the battle at Neville's Cross. Soon after it a new one was made, of which a full account is given in "A description or breife declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites, and customes belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression—written in 1593" (printed for the Surtees Society). It was made away with at the Dissolution by Katherine, the wife of one Dean Whittingham, who "being a Freanche woman, as is most credably reported by those which weare eye-witnesses, did most injuriously burne and consume the same in hir fire,

in the notable contempt and disgrace of all annceyent and goodly reliques." St. Towder, in v. 368, seems to be a mistake. The Lyme MS. reads Tandere. The Scotch and English saints are apparently, as Mr. Robson suggests, confounded.—H.

³ 2^d son of the 4th earl of Northumberland.—P.

⁴ i.e. too long.—P.

⁵ frekes.—Lyme MS.

⁶ i.e. He that would wit or know.—P.

⁷ that *ilke*, i.e. that same. James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, who died March 22, 1614/5, vid. *Ath. Ox.*—P.

⁸ epe.—Lyme MS.

⁹ an egg of that bolde.—Lyme MS.

¹⁰ duke.—Lyme MS.

- it is a losse to this land : our Lord haue his sonse,¹
 for his witt & his wisdome : & his wate² deeds ; [page 87.]
- 288 he was a pillar of peace : the people amonge ;
 his servants they may sighe : & sorrow for his sake ;
 what for pittie & for paine : my pen doth me fayle ;
 He meddle with this matter : noe more att this time,
- 292 but he that is maklesse of mercy : haue mind on his
 soule ! God
remember
his soul !)
- then he sent with his company : a Knight that was
 noble,
 Sir John Stanley, the stout Knight : that sterne was of
 deeds ;
- there was neuer bearne borne : that day bare him
 better. Lord
Monteagle
lewis its left
wing.
- 296 the Left wing to the rereward³ : was my Lord
 Mounteagle,
 with many leeds of Lancashire : that to himselve longed,
 which foughten full freshly⁴ : while the feild lasted.
 thus the rere ward in array : raked euer after,
- 300 as long as the light day : lasted one⁵ the Lands.
 then the sun full soone : shott vnder the clouds,
 & it darkened full dimlie : & drew towards night.
 euery ring⁶ to his rest : full radlye he⁷ dressed,
- 304 beeten fires⁸ full fast : & fettlen⁹ them to sowpe
 besides Barwicke on a banke : within a broad woode. They camp
and light
their fires
 then dauned¹⁰ the [daye] : soe deere god ordayned ;¹¹
 Clowdes cast vp full cleerlye : like Castles full hie,
 308 then Phebus full faire : flourished out his beames

¹ ? sense, *anima*.—F. soule.—Lyme MS.

² A.-S. *hwæt*, quick or sharp in mind.
—F. wale.—Lyme MS.

³ to that Reward.—Lyme MS.

⁴ fuerslie.—Lyme MS.

⁵ qu. ouer.—F. on the ground.—
Lyme MS.

⁶ ryncke.—Lyme MS.

⁷ him.—Lyme MS.

⁸ beeten fires, i.e. strucke fires.—P.
A.-S. *bētan*, to light or make a fire.—F.

⁹ feteled.—Lyme MS.

¹⁰ MS. darned.—F. dawned.—P.
dayned.—Lyme MS.

¹¹ The night before the battle the
English encamped in the neighbourhood
of Baremoore Wood, not far from Ber-
wick, viz. about 6 miles.—P.

- with Leames ¹ full light : all the land ouer.
 all was damped with dew : the daysies about,
 flowers flourished in the feild : faire to behold ;
 312 birrds bradden to the boughes : & boldlye thé songen ;
 it was solace to heare : for any seege lining.
 then full boldlye on the broad hills : we busked ² our
 standards,
 & on a faugh ³ vs be-side : there we seene our enemyes
 were mouing ⁴ ouer the mountaines : to macth vs they
 thoughten,
 as boldly as any bearnes : that borne was of mothers,
 Soe ⁵ eagerly with Ire : attilld them to meete.
 they trunmpetts full truly : they tryden together,
 the trumpets ring out, 320 Many shames ⁶ in *that* showe : with theire shrill pipes ⁷ ;
 heauenly was theire Melody : their Mirth to heare,
 how thé songen with a showte : all the shawes ⁸ ouer !
 there was gurning ⁹ forth of gunns : with many great
 stones, [page 88.]
 archers shoot. 324 Archers vttered out their arrowes : and [egerlie they
 shotten,¹⁰]
 they proched ¹¹ vs with speares : & put many over
 that they blood out brast : at there broken harnish.
 theire was swinging out of swords : & swapping of
 headdis ;
 we stab with bills. 328 we blanked them with bills : through all their bright
 armor
 that all the dale dunned ¹² : of their derfe ¹³ strokes.

¹ A.-S. *leoma*, ray of light, beam, flame.
 —F. beames.—Lyme MS.

² bushed with.—Lyme MS.

³ Faugh—qu. perhaps the same as Haugh. Faugh is a word used in the North for fallow ground.—P. soughe.—Lyme MS.

⁴ maving or moving.—P.

⁵ and we.—Lyme MS.

⁶ shawmes.—P.

⁷ shawe, with their shrill notes.—Lyme MS.

⁸ shawes, shawc, *nemus*, *saltus*, *sylva*.

Jun.—P.

⁹ gurning or girding.—P. Gird, to strike, smite. H. Coleridge. To let fly. Jamieson.—F.

¹⁰ from Lyme MS.—F.

¹¹ proched, *i.e.* approached.—P. ? North-Country "*prog*, *proggie*, to prick, to prickle. Isl. *brydda*, *pungere*." Brockett. "*To prodge*, to push with a stick." Jamieson.—F.

¹² dynned.—Lyme MS.

¹³ ? MS. *derse*.—F.

- then betid a¹ checke : *that* the shire men fledden² ; Our shire-men flee
 in wing with those wayes³ : was with my Lord Dacres,
 332 he fledd att the first bredd⁴ : & thé followed after ;
 when their Captain was keered⁵ away : there comfort (their Stanley was away) ;
 was gone,
 they were wont in all warrs : to wayt on the Stanlyes,
 they neuer fayled at noe forward⁶ : *that* time *that* they
 were ;
 336 now lost in their loofe⁷ : our lord it amende !
 many squires full swiftly : were snapped⁸ to the death,
 Sir John boothe of barton : was brought from his life, but Sir J. Booth stans and dies ;
 a more bolder bearne : was neuer borne of woman ;
 340 & of yorkshire a yonge Knight : *that* epe⁹ was of deddes,
 Sir william werkoppe,¹⁰ as I weene : was the wyes¹¹ and Sir W. Werkoppe,
 name,
 of the same shire figh will¹² : *that* was soe feirce
 holden,
 besides rotheram *that* Knichte¹³ : his resting place hadd.
 344 the barne¹⁴ of Kinderton full keenly : was killed them the child of Kinderton,
 beside,
 soe was hanforde,¹⁵ I you hett : *that* was a hend sweere,¹⁶ Hanford,
 full-show¹⁷ full fell : was fallen to the ground ;
 Christopher Sauage was downe cast : *that* kere might Savage,
 he neuer ;

¹ ? MS. a word like *checke* crossed out.—F.

² Cheshire men felden.—Lyme MS.

³ wayes, wyes, men, see below 152 [of MS. t.i. l. 341 here]—P. *wees*.—Lyme MS., and it has no *with* after *was*.—F.

⁴ *braid*, onset.—F.

⁵ turned, A.-S. *cerran*, to turn.—F. was away.—Lyme MS.

⁶ A.-S. *foruord*, a point, jot ; Durham Gospels, in Bosworth : *foreword*, a bargain, *forweard*, an agreement.—F.

⁷ lofe, *laus*, Sax.—P. is their losse.—Lyme MS.

⁸ swapped.—Lyme MS., and *swyres* for squires.

⁹ bold.—F.

¹⁰ Warkehoppe.—Lyme MS.

¹¹ wye, *homo*, S. *wiga*, L.(ye).—P.

¹² so in MS. ; Sir William.—Lyme MS. " ? fitzwilliam. In the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is a portrait of two Fitzwilliams who were slain in doing duty against the Scots at Flodden."—Skeat.

¹³ rinck.—Lyme MS.

¹⁴ baron.—P.

¹⁵ perhaps Holford.—P. Houforde.—Lyme MS.

¹⁶ gentle squire : *suyerez*, squires, Allit. Poems, p. 40, l. 87.—F. *swyer*.—Lyme MS.

¹⁷ Fullsewise.—Lyme MS.

- Laurence, 348 & of Lancashire, John Laurence : god haue¹ mercy on
their soules !
- these flee
not, but these frokes wold neuer flee : for noe feare *that* cold
happen,
- are slain. but were killed lik Conquerors : in their *Kings* service.
when the Scotts & the Ketherickes² : seene our men
scatter,
- 352 they had great yoy of their ioyinge³ : & Iolly came
downwarde.
- The Scotch
King
determines
to attack in
person the
Stanleys,
the Scotts *King* keenlie : calleth to him a herrott,⁴
biddeth tell him the truth : & tarry noe longer,
who where⁵ the banners of the bearnes⁶ : *that* bode in
the valley.
- 356 "thé are standards of the stanleys : that stands by
them seluen ;
if he be faren into france : the frenchmen to feare,
yett is his standard in *that* stead : with a stiffe
Captaine,
Sir Henery Keeglye⁷ is called : *that* keene is of deeds.
- [† page 89.] 360 Sir Thomas Gerrard, that Iolly Knight : † Is ioyned
there vnder
with Sir willi[a]m M[olynex⁸] : with a manfull meany.
these frokes will neuer flee : for feare *that* might
happen,
- men who do
not flee, but they will strike with their standards : in their
but strike, Steele weeds,⁹
- 364 because thé busked¹⁰ them att Barwicke : *that* bolds
them the more.
loe how he batters & beates : the bird with her
wings,
we are feard of yonder fowle : soe feircly he fareth ;

¹ our Lord have.—Lyme MS.² *i.e.* Highlanders : that wing in which the Highlanders were, gained some advantage.—P.³ joy of their joyinge.—P. joyuing.
—Lyme MS., and jolily for jolly.⁴ herrott, heraut, *i.e.* herauld.—P.⁵ who (or whose) were.—P.⁶ Only half the *n* written in MS.—F.⁷ Kighley.—Lyme MS., and Jarred for Gerrard, l. 360.⁸ Molynex.—Lyme MS.⁹ feare of no weapon.—Lyme MS.¹⁰ bashed.—Lyme MS.

- & yonder streamer full straight : *that* standeth him
beside,
- 368 yonder is the standard of *Saint Towder*¹ : trow yee noe
other, with Sir
Towder,
- that* neuer beaten was in battell : for bearne vppon liue.² unbeaten in
battell.
- the 3^d standard in *that* steade : is my lord Mounteagle,
& of yorkshire ffull epe : my yonge Lord Dacerrs,
- 372 with much puissance & power : of *that* pure shire."
then the Scottish *King* : carped these words, The Scotch
King
- "I will fight with yonder frekes : *that* are soe feirce
holden ;
- & I beate those bearnes : the battle is ours."
- 376 then thé moned towards the Mountaine : & madly³ leaves the
heights.
came downwards ;
- wee mett him in the Midway : & mached him full euen ; We meet
him, and
then was there dealing of dints : that all the dales
rangen,
- many helmes with heads : were hewd all to peeces.
- 380 this layke⁴ lasted on the land : the length of 4 houres. fight for
four hours.
yorkshire like yearne⁵ men : eagerlye they foughten ;
soe did darbyshire *that* day : deered many Scotts ;
Lancashire like Lyons : Laid them about ;
- 384 All had beene lost, by our Lord : had not those leeds Lancashire
saves us.
beene ;
- but the race⁶ of the Scotts : increased full sore ; The Scotch
King is
but their *King* was downe knocked : & killed in there
sight
vnder the banner of a Bishoppe : *that* was the bold
standlye.
- 388 then they fettled them to flye⁷ : as fast as they might ;
but it serveth not forsooth : who-soe truth telleth ;

¹ St Tandere.—Lyme MS., and omits the rest of the line.

² upon live, i.e. alive.—P.

³ manly.—Lyme MS.

⁴ game, play. layke, leak, lake, *Lucus*.—P.

⁵ yearne, yerne, eager, diligent, quick,

nimble.—P. yorne.—Lyme MS.

⁶ rage, query.—P. ? rush, attack ; see *Merline*, l. 726, "of Harlotts a great race ;" though the "care" of the Lyme MS. suits the alliteration better.—F.

⁷ MS. slye ; fly.—Lyme MS. 'fettled them to flye.'—P.

- our englishman ¹ full egerlye : after them followed,
 & killed them like Caitiues : in Clowes ² all about.
- The Scots
are utterly
routed,
and lose
15,000 men.
- 392 there were killed of the Scotts : *that* told were by tale,
that were found in the feild : 15^{thous} thousand.
 loe what it is to be false : & the ffeende serve !
 they haue broken a bookothe ³ : to their blithe Kinge, ⁴
- 396 & the truce *that* was taken : the space of 2 yeeres.
 all the Scotts *that* were scaped : were scattered all ⁵
 assunder ;
 they remoued ouer the More ⁶ : vpon the other morning,
 And [their stooode like stakes ⁷] : & stirr durst noe
 further,
- [page 90.]
- 400 for all the lords of their lande : were left them behind.
 besids brinston ⁸ in a bryke ⁹ : breathelesse th^e lye,
 gaping against the moone : theire guests ¹⁰ were away.
 then the Earle of Surrey himselfe : calleth to him a
 herott,
- Lord Surrey
sends the
good
tidings to
the King in
France.
- 404 reade him farr ¹¹ into ffrance : with these fayre tydants ;
 “comende me to our kinge : these comfortable
 words ;
 tell him I haue restored ¹² his realme : soe right required ;
 the King of Scotts is killed : with all his cursd Lords.”
- 408 when the King of his kindnesse : hard these words,
 he saith, “I will sing him a sowle knell ¹³ : with the
 sound of my gunnes.”
- Henry
orders

¹ Englishmen.—Lyme MS.

² *i.e.* Cloughs. A Clough (*Scottish Cleugh*) is a broken hill: Mons præruptus.—P.

³ book-othe.—P.

⁴ our blithe kinge, *sc.* Hen. 8.—P.
 their blessed king.—Lyme MS.

⁵ far.—Lyme MS.

⁶ more, hill.—P.

⁷ from Lyme MS.

⁸ The Battle was fought near the village of Brankston, which stands at the foot of Flodden, towards Scotland.—P. brynmstone.—Lyme MS., altered to Brankstone in Mr. Robson's text.

⁹ A.-S. *byrg*, a bridge.—F. brinck. Lyme MS.

¹⁰ perhaps ghosts or ghaists.—P.
 ghosts.—Lyme MS.

¹¹ Bad him fare.—Lyme MS.

¹² rescued.—Lyme MS.

¹³ MS. fowle.—F. foul-knell.—P.
 soulkin.—Lyme MS.

Passing-bells were sometimes called Soul-bells. “We call them Soul-bells,” says Bishop Hall in his *Apology* against the Brownists *apud* Ellis's *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, “for that they signify the departure of the soul, not for that they help the passage of the soul.”

With regard to King Henry's reception of the good news, see Hall: “Nowe lett us returne too the kynge of

- such awise,¹ to my Name : was neuer hard before,
 for there was shott att a shoote : 1000 att once,
 412 *that* all rang with the rout : rocher² & other.
 Now is this ferle³ feild : foughten to an ende !
 many a wye⁴ wanted his horsse⁵ : & wandred home a
 floote ;
 all was long of the Marx men⁶ : a Mischeefe them
 happen !
 416 he was a gentleman by Iesu : *that* this iest made,
 which say but as he sayd⁷ : forsooth, & noe other.
 att Bagily⁸ *that* bearne ; his bidding place had,

a salute of
1,000 guns.

A gentleman
wrote this
who lived at
Bagily,

England lyenge before Tournaye, whyche the 25 dayes of September receyued the gauntelett & letters of the Earle of Surrey, & knewe all the dealynges of both parties. Then he thanked God & highly prayned the Earle & the Lorde Admyrall & his sonne & all the gentlemen & commons that were at that valiante entrepryse: howbeit the kyng had a secreete letter that the Cheshyre men fledde from Syr Edmond Hawarde, whyche letter caused greate harte burnynge & many woordes, but the kyng thankfully accepted al thyng & woulde no man to be dysprayed. So on the Mondaye at nyght the 26 daye of September the lord HAWARDE & the Earle of Shrewsburye made greate fyres in there armyes in token of vycторыe & triumph: & on Teus-daye the 27 day, the tente of cloth of gold was sett up, & the kynges Chapell sange masse, & after that Te Deum, & then the Byshoppe of Rochester made a sermond, & shewed the deathe of the kyng of Scottes, & much lamented the yll deathe & periury of him.—H.

¹ *Fr. avis*, information, intelligence, notice, advertisement, or inckling given of: Cotgrave.—F. a noyse.—Lyme MS.

² *Rocher*, a rocke : Cot.—F. roches.—Lyme MS.

³ *fuirse*.—Lyme MS.

⁴ *vid. verse 151*.—P.

⁵ The Border thieves hovered near, & stole their horses, & robbed their Camp. — P.

⁶ marchmen, *i.e.* the borderers, the inhabitants of the Marches.—P. March men.—Lyme MS. Compare Hall: "An thee nyghte after many men lost there horses and such stoffe as they left in there tentes and pavilyons by the robbers of Tyndale and Tivdale," and "the following passage scored out, not printed in *State Papers*: 'The Borders not only stale away as they lost 4 or 5000 horses; but also they took away the oxen that drew the ordnance, and came to the pavilions and took away all the stuff therein, and killed many that kept the same.'" *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII's Reign*. Compare also, for the general character of the Borderers, "Advertisements from Hexham" *apud* Scott's *Minstrelsy*, in the Introduction to "Jock o' the Side": "The same day the Liddesdale men stole the horses of the Countess of Northumberland and of her two women and ten others of their company; so as, the earls being gone, the lady of Northumberland was left there on foot," and the *Minstrelsy passim*.—H.

⁷ sayth but as he sawe: *sic legm*.—P. Which said but as ye see.—Lyme MS.

⁸ Baguleigh in Cheshire, the seat of the Leighs.—P. Baguley.—Lyme MS. "Baggily Hall is situated about three miles from Stockport in Cheshire, but on the borders of Lancashire. It is believed to be the most ancient of the timber houses of Lancashire and Cheshire, and the remains of it are in a very dilapidated state. The only part of the old

and his
ancestors
were there
before
William the
Conqueror.

& his Ancetors of old time : haue yearded¹ their longe,
420 Before william Conquerour : this cuntry did inhabitt.
Iesus bring vs to² blisse : *that* brought vs forth of bale,
that hath hearkned me heare : or heard³ my tale !

ffins.

house now remaining is the hall," of the interior of which (of the 14th century) a view is given in *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. opp. p. 236, whence the extract above is taken. On p. 237 it is stated that the village of Baggily, or Baguleigh, had belonged to

the ancient family of Legh for two centuries before the battle of Flodden.—F.

¹ A.-S. *cardian*, to dwell, inhabit, rest, settle in. Bosworth.—F.

² them to thy.—Lyme MS.

³ and heded well.—Lyme MS.

Old Robin of Portinga[le].¹

PRINTED from the Folio in the "Reliques," "judged to require considerable corrections." So was everything in the Bishop's eyes. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" was his supreme maxim. The most notable correction here is the importation of twenty good knights, to match, with Robin, the wife's twenty-four.

GOD! let neuer see old a man

Marry see yonge a wiffe

as did old Robin of portingale!

4 he may rue all the dayes of his liffe.

Old Robin of
Portingale

for the Maiors daughter of Lin, god wott,

he chose her to his wife,

& thought to haue liued in quietnesse

8 with her all the dayes of his liffe.²

marries the
younge
daughter of
the Mayor of
Linn.

they had not in their wed bed laid,

scarcely were both on sleepe,

but vpp shee rose, & forth shee goes

12 to Sir Gyles, & fast can weepe,³

The very
first night

she
intrigues

¹ A tragical old ballad. N.B. When I first set to examine this, I had not yet learnt to hold this old MS. in much regard.—P.

² And thôt with her to haue liv'd in love
All free from care & strife.—P.

³ Cf. Introduction to "Arthur King
of Cornwall."—H.

with Sir
Giles, his
steward,

Saies, "sleepe you, wake you, faire Sir Gyles,
or be not you within?"¹

"but I am waking, sweete," he said,
16 "Lady, what is your will?"
"I haue vnbethought² me of a wile,
how my wed Lord we shall³ spill.

to slay him. "24 knights,⁴" she sayes,
20 "that dwells about this towne,
cene 24 of my Next Cozens,⁵
will helpe to dinge him downe."

His page
overhears
her,
informs his
master,

with *that* beheard⁶ his litle foote page,
24 as he was watering⁷ his Masters steed,
Soe s⁸
his verry heart did bleed;

[page 91.]

and weeps
for him.

he mourned, sist,⁹ & wept full sore;
28 I sweare by the holy roode,
the teares he for his Master wept
were blend¹⁰ water & bloude.¹¹

Old Robin
asks the boy
why he
weeps,

with *that*¹² beheard his deare Master
32 as in his garden sate,¹³
says, "euer alacke my litle page!
what causes thee to weepe?"¹⁴

(All these readings are by Percy.)

¹ They scarce were in their wedbed laid,
And scarce he was asleep,
But up and to the head steward
Shee goes & gan to weep.
"Sleep you, wake you, dear Sir Gyles,
Arise & let me in."
² bethought, or now bethôt.
³ wee'll.
⁴ And 24 good kⁱⁿ.
⁵ kin.

⁶ All this beheard.

⁷ water'd.

⁸ And for the love of his d^r master,
or,

And for his master's sad peril.

⁹ sigh'd.

¹⁰ blent.

¹¹ [Cf. "Child of Elle," l. 18.—H.]

¹² All that.

¹³ Within his garden pale.

¹⁴ what makes thee thus to wail.

36 "hath any one done to thee wronge,
any of thy fellowes here,
or is any of thy good friends dead
 ¹ which makes thee shed such teares ? ²

40 "or if it be my head bookes man,
greined againe he shalbe, ³
nor noe man within ⁴ my howse
 shall doe wrong vnto thee."

44 "but it is ⁵ not your head bookes man,
nor none of his degree,
but or to morrow, ere it be Noone,
 you are deemed to die ; ⁶

The page
tells him

48 "& of that thanke your head Steward,
 & after your gay Ladie." ⁷

of his wife's
adultery.

⁸ "If it be true, my litle foote page,
 Ile make thee heyre of all my land." ⁹

52 "if it be not true, my deare Master,
 god let me neuer dye." ¹⁰
"if it be not true, thou litle foot page,
 a dead corse shalt thou be." ¹¹

56 he called downe his head kookes man,
 cooke in kitchen super to dresse: ¹²
"all & anon, my deare Master,
 anon att your request."

He orders
supper to
be got
ready.

(All these readings are by Percy.)

¹ that thou shed'st many a tear.

² this tear.

³ aggrieved he shall, &c.

⁴ For no man now. ⁵ O it is.

⁶ Now doom'd to die are ye.

⁷ And thank y^e Lady fair,

or,

And thank your gay Lady.

⁸ [Of. "Lord Barnard and Little Musgrave," *sub init.*—H.]

⁹ I will make thee mine heir,

or,

Mine heir I will make thee.

¹⁰ No good death let me dye.

¹¹ lie.

¹² And bade his supper be drest.

Old Robin
sends for his
wife to sup
with him,

60

" & call you downe my faire Lady,
this night to supp with mee." ¹

& downe then came *that* fayre Lady,
was cladd all in purple & palle,²
the rings *that* were vpon her fingers
cast light thorow the hall.

64

and pretends
to be sick.

" what is your will, my owne wed Lord,
what is your will with mee ? " ³
" I am sicke, fayre Lady,
Sore sicke, & like to dye." ⁴

68

She feigns
sorrow.

" but & you ⁵ be sicke, my owne wed Lord,
soe sore it greineth mee,
but my 5 maydens & my selfe
will goe & make your bedd," ⁶

72

" & at the wakening of your first sleepe,
you shall haue a hott drinke Made," ⁷
& at the wakening of your first sleepe
your sorrowes will haue a slake." ⁸

76

He arms
himself and
goes to bed.

he put a silke cote on his backe,
was 13 inches folde,⁹
& put a steele cap vpon his head,
was gilded with good red gold ;

80

(All these readings are by Percy.)

¹ O call now, &c.
O call her down to me,
And tell my Lady very sick
And like to die I be.

or,

And tell my Lady gay how sick
And like to die I bee.

² All clad in purple pall.

³ Heere at your will am I.

⁴ . . . sore sick my faire Lady
And like to dye I bee.

⁵ thou.

⁶ Will make thy bed for thee,

or,

Will make yo^r bed, quoth shee.

⁷ We will a hot drink make.

⁸ we will slake.

⁹ And mail of many a fold.

& he layd a bright browne sword by his side,
 & another att his ffeete,
 & full well knew old Robin then¹
 84 whether he shold wake or sleepe.

& about the Middle time of the Night
 came 24 good knights in,²
 Sir Gyles he was the formost man,
 88 soe well he knew *that* ginne.

About
midnight
the
assassins
enter his
chamber.

Old Robin³ with a⁴ bright browne sword⁵
 Sir Gyles head he did winne,
 Soe did he all those 24,
 92 neuer a one went quicke out [agen⁶ ;]

Old Robin
cuts them
all down.

none but⁷ one litle foot page⁸
 crept forth at a window of stone,
 & he had 2 armes when he came in
 96 And [when he went out he had none].⁹ [page 92.]

Vpp then came *that* Ladie bright¹⁰
 with torches burning light¹¹ ;
 shee thought to hane brought Sir Gyles a drinke,
 100 but shee found her owne wedd Knight,

His wife
comes to
look for her
paramour.

& the first thing *that* this Ladye stumbled vpon,¹²
 was of¹³ Sir Gyles his ffoote,
 sayes, " euer alacke, & woe is me,
 104 heere lyes my sweete hart roote ! "

(All these readings are by Percy.)

¹ the old K¹ then
 And 20 good K² he placed at hand
 To watch him in his sleep.

² 24 Traitors in.

³ the old K¹.

⁴ his.

⁵ [Cf. "Robin Hood's Death," l. 71.

—H.]

⁶ [agen added by Percy.—F.] Not one
 went quick agen.

⁷ save.

⁸ [Percy adds *there*.—F.]

⁹ But he went back with one.

¹⁰ faire.

¹¹ bright.

¹² The first thing that she stumbled on
 It was St. G. &c.

¹³ on or at.

& the 2^d thing *that* this Ladie stumbled on,¹
 was of² Sir Gyles his head,
 sayes, "euer alacke, & woe is me,
 108 heere lyes my true lone deade!"

Old Robin
 cuts off her
 paps and
 ears,

hee cutt the papps beside he[r]³ brest,⁴
 & bad her wish her will,⁵
 & he cutt the eares beside her heade,
 112 & bade her wish on still.⁶

"Mickle is the mans blood I haue spent
 to doe thee & and me some good,"
 sayes, "euer alacke, my fayre Lady,
 116 I thinke *that* I was woode!"

then
 assumes the
 cross, and
 goes to the
 Holy Land.

he calld then vp his litle foote page,
 & made him heyre of all his land,⁷
 & he shope the crosse in his right sholder
 120 of the white flesh & the redd
 & he sent him⁸ into the holy land
 wheras Christ was quicke & dead."

ffins.

(All these readings are by Percy.)

¹ The next thing that she stumbled on
 It was Sr, &c.

² on or at.

³ her.

⁴ [Cf. "Lord Barnard and Little Musgrave," *sub fin.*—H.]

⁵ And did her body spill.

⁶ And said now weep love thy fill.

⁷ And made him there his heir,
 And said happy my native land
 Henceforth I do forswear.
 He shope the cross on his right
 shoulder,

And he hath shorn his Head.
⁸ went him.

As it befell one Saturday.

THIS song is a specimen of a species once highly popular in England and in France—known in the one country as “Tom-à-Bedlama,” in the other “Coq-à-l’âne.” It consists of a number of disconnected phrases, of a similar form, and by this similarity exciting an expectation of sense and coherence that do not exist. The humour of the thing—such as it is—lies in the disappointment of this natural expectation and the bewilderment and distraction that ensue. The poem opens sensibly enough, and promises to have a corresponding middle and end. The path seems to lead somewhere; but it suddenly loses itself. Another path is followed, and another, and another, with the same result. At last the reader resembles a man standing at a point where ever so many roads meet—at a sort of Seven Dials—which roads lead nowhere. These songs seem to have been common in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ritson (“Ancient Songs,” 1792) gives one called “The Lancashire Song,” of eleven quite incongruous stanzas, with the common burden:

With hey the toe bent, & hei the toe bent
Sir Percy is under the Line;
God save the good Earl of Shrewsbury
For he is a good friend of mine.

The incoherence is sometimes carried still further—from sentences to words—e. g. in a “Fatrasie” printed by M. Jubinal in his “Nouv. Rec.” ii. 217 (see Mr. Wright’s “Essays on the Archæology and Literature of the Middle Ages”—On the Comic

Literature—and the same gentleman's "History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art").

Li ombres d'un oef
Portoit l'an renuef
Sus le fonz d'un pot
Deus viez pingne nuef
Firent un estuef
Pour courre le test
Quant vint au paier l'escot
Je qui omques ne me muef
M'escrai si ne dis mot
Prenéz le plume d'un buef
S'en vestez un sage sot.

The shadow of an egg
Carried the new year
Upon a pot bottom.
Two old new combs
Made a ball
To run the trot.
When it came to paying the Scot
I who never move myself
Cried out without saying a word.
Take the feather of an ox
And clothe with it a wise fool.

In the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ" may be seen a sermon written in the same mad style.

Such fun cannot be said to be of a very refined sort. It belongs to exuberant animal spirits and somewhat gross intellects. But a taste of it may now and then be welcome to a superior audience. *Dulce est desipere in loco*. There is a time to be orderly; there is a time to be disorderly. A little nonsense may make one's enjoyment of sense all the keener. At all events, such wild outrages on language—such triumphant defiances of reason—such noisy revellings in sheer nonsense and utter buffoonery as "Tom-à-Bedlams" were quite in accordance with other entertainments much prized by our ancestors.

In some cases these compositions were parodies of other more pretentious—not always more rational—works. "Great wits are sure to madness near allied." The writings of some great wits may have resembled—did resemble—the delirious utterances of a Bedlamite. A very slight change—the removing a very thin partition—converted such writings into "Tom-à-Bedlams." With little wits the resemblance was closer still. Men easily avenged themselves on the vapid preachers of the Middle Ages. They ridiculed without mercy their trashy discourses, and by a very few touches converted them into unmingled inanities. And in

the same way they laughed to scorn the romance-writers in the day of their decline, when the old stories had lost all their life, but were still repeated to increasingly listless ears.

"Tom-à-Bedlams" then were written sometimes for mere amusement, sometimes with a satirical purpose.

Percy, by some mistake, affixes his three asterisks to this poem.

AS it befell one Saturday att Noone [page 92.]

as I went vp Scotland gate,

I herd one to another say,

4 "Iohn a Bagilie hath lost his Mate."

Att Eaton watter I washe my hands—

for tickling¹ teares I cold scarce see—

I lifted vp my lillywhite hands,

8 "O Kattye whitworth, god be with thee !

"There is none but you & I, sweet hart,

noe lookers on we can allowe ;

your lippes, they be soe sugered sweete,

12 I must doe more then kisse you now ! "

"ffarwell, my loue, my leane I take !

though against my will, it must be soe :—

noe Marueill all this Mone I make,

16 whom I loue best I must for-goe ! "

"If *that* thou wilt Scotland forsake,

& come into fayre England with mee,

both kith & kinn I will for-sake,

20 bonny sweete wench, to goe with thee."

¹ trickling.—P.

There was 2 men, they loued a lasse,
 the one of them he was a Scott,
 the other was an Englishman,
 24 the name of him I haue quite forgott.

As I went vp Kelsall ¹ wood,
 & vp that banke *that* was soe staire,²
 I looked ouer my left sholder
 28 where I was wont to see my deere.

"There is sixteene in thy fathers house,
 fiteene of them against me bee,
 Not one of them to take my part,
 32 but only thou, pretty Katye."

The yonge Man walked home againe
 as time of night therto Moues ;
 the fayre Maid calld him backe againe,
 36 and gaue to him a sweet payre of glones :

"thy father hath siluer & gold enoughe,
 siluer and gold to Maintaine thee,
 but as ffor that, I doe not care
 40 soe that thou wilt my true loue be."

When I was younge & in my youth,
 then cold I haue louers 2 or 3 ;
 Now I am old & count the howers,
 44 & faine wold doe, but it. will not bee.

"Vpon your lipps my leaue I take,
 desiring you to be my freind,
 & grant me loue for loue againe ;
 48 for why, my life is att an end."

¹ Kelso, query.—P.

² steer, i. e. steep, still used in Northamptonshire.—P.

“ My mother, Kate, hath sent for mee,
 & needly her I must obey !
I way¹ not of thy constancy
52 when I am fled & gone away.”

“ I weepe, I waile, I wring my hands,
 I sobb, I sigh, I make heauy cheere !
Noe marueill all this moane I make,
56 for why, alas, I haue lost my deere ! ”
 ffins.

¹ weigh, i. e. depend not, lay no weight on.—P.

[The loose song “Walking in a meadow gren[e]” follows here.]

Glasgerion.¹

THIS ballad—not much “corrected”—is printed in the “Reliques,” and from the “Reliques” in many other collections. A traditional version under the name of “Glenkindie,” a various form of Glasgerion, is given in Jamieson’s “Popular Songs and Ballads,” and in Alex. Laing’s “Thistle of Scotland” (1823).

The hero is probably one and the same with “the gret Glascursion,” whom Chaucer places in the House of Fame side by side with Orpheus, and Arion (Orion, Chaucer calls him), and Chiron—one of the harpers on whom the

small harpers gonne . . upwarde to gape,
And countrefet him as an ape,
Or as craft countrefeteth kynde.

Gawain Douglas associates him with Orpheus in his “Palice of Honour”—a work which gives many signs of Chaucer’s great influence in Scotland in the fifteenth century. Kirion the Pale was indeed an effective harper, if the accounts given of him may be credited. Not more so was his compatriot Cadwallo, “that hushed the stormy main,” or Modred, “whose magic song made huge Plenlimmon bow his cloud-capped head.” The Scotch version describes his power more fully :

He’d harpit a fish out o’ saut water,
Or water out o’ a stane;
Or milk out o’ a maiden’s breast,
That bairn had never nane;

and represents him on the occasion of his performance in the palace as harping all his hearers to sleep—

Except it was the young countess,
That love did waukin keep.

¹ N.B. It was not necessary to correct this much for the Press.—P.

And first he has harpit a grave tunc,
 And syne he has harpit a gay;
 And mony a sich atween hands
 I wat the lady gae.

In other respects, as in this, the Scottish version is much more diffuse, mostly with disadvantage. There the vigour of the catastrophe is impaired by the lady's suspicious admonition to her lover:

"But look that ye tell na Gib your man,
 For naething that ye dee;
 For, an ye tell him, Gib your man,
 He'll beguile baith you and me."

Gib the man does not disguise himself so as to seem a gentleman, as does the Jack of the Folio ballad, but goes in his rags, and has to explain them as having, when he hurriedly left his couch and dressed to come to his lady-love, come first to hand. The last dying speech of the lady is much less forcible:

"Forbid it, forbid it," says that lady,
 "That ever sic shame betide;
 That I should first be a wild loon's lass,
 And than a young knight's bride."

In a word, the Scotch version is diluted and vulgar. Exactly the opposite of *vires acquirit eundo* is true of ballads.

It seems possible, however, that the Scotch version is more perfect in one point—in the test question put to the page before the assignation is disclosed to him:

"O mith I tell you, Gib, my man,
 Gin I a man had slain?"

Some such question perhaps would give more force to vv. 85–88 of our copy.

The picturesqueness and force of this ballad are admirable. The tale of love most grossly outraged—of clandestine love most rudely broken in upon—of a shame too great to be survived, is told with extreme vividness and intensity. "The

king's daughter of Normandy" stands out as a sort of feudal Lucretia. She too, in a wild time, prefers death to contamination. Perhaps there is no ballad that represents more keenly the great gulf fixed between churl and noble—a profounder horror at the crossing over of it. In a milder shape the same feeling—the same "respect of persons"—appears in the "Lord of Learn," when the false lord-personating steward is received by the Duke of France :

Then to supper that they were sett,
Lords & ladyes in their degree ;
The steward was sett next the duke of ffraunce,
An vnseemlie sight it was to see.

Glasgerion,
of royal
birth, a
skillful
harper,

GLASGERION was a kings owne sonne, [page 94.]

and a harper¹ he was good,
he harped in the kings Chamber
4 where cappe & candle yooded,²

praised by
the King's
daughter,

& soe did hee in the Queens chamber
till ladies waxed wood³ ;
And then bespake the Kings daughter,
8 & these words thus sayd shee,⁴

saide, "strike on, strike on, Glasgerion,
of thy striking doe not blinne,
theres neuer a stroke comes ouer this⁵ harpe
12 but it glads my hart within."

confesses to
her that he
loves her.

"faire might you fall,⁶ Lady !" quoth hee,
"who taught you now to speake ?
I haue loned you, Lady, 7 yeere ;
16 my hart I durst neere breake."

¹ harper.—P.

² cup and candle stood.—P. "As merry as cup and can" is a proverb. Bohn's Handbook, p. 190.—F.

³ all were well apay'd.—P.

⁴ she sayd.—P.

⁵ thy.—P.

⁶ he fall.—P.

"but come¹ to my bower, my Glasgerryon,
 when all men are att rest ;
 as I am a ladie true of my promise,
 20 thou shalt bee a welcome guest."

She appoints
him a
meeting.

but whom² then came Glasgerryon,
 a glad man, Lord, was hee,
 "and come thou hither, Iacke, my boy,
 24 Come hither vnto mee,

He tells his
page of the
appoint-
ment,

"for the *Kings* daughter of Normandye,
 her loue is granted mee,³
 & att her chamber must I bee
 28 beffore the cocke haue crowen.⁴"

"but come you hither *Master*," quoth hee,⁵
 "Lay your head downe on this stone,
 for I will waken you, *Master* deere,
 32 afore it be time to gone.⁶"

who
promises to
wake him
in time to
keep it,

but vpp then rose *that* *Lither*⁷ ladd,
 and did on hose & shoone,⁸
 A collar he cast vpon his necke,
 36 hee seemed a gentleman.⁹

then
disguises
himself as a
gentleman,

& when he came to *that* *Ladies* chamber,
 he thrild vpon a pinn.¹⁰
 the Lady was true of her promise,
 40 rose vp & lett him in.

and keeps it
himself,

¹ O come.—P.

² & home.—P.

³ Her love hath granted me now,
or,

Hath granted me my boon.—P.

⁴ doth crow.—P. Mr. Skeat would
read :

and I, beffore the cock haue crowen,
must att her chamber bee.—F.

⁵ O mast^r. M^r. then, qth hee.—P.

⁶ goen.—P.

⁷ *Lither*, iners, ignavus, desidiosus ;

A.-S. *liſer* est malus, sordidus, servilis.
Junius.—P.

⁸ and hose & shoone did on.—P.

⁹ mon.—P. The investiture by a
collar and a pair of spurs was the crea-
tion of an esquire in the middle ages.
Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 422.
—F.

¹⁰ One stroke of the *n* left out, as fre-
quently, in the MS. ? *thril* = Scotch
thirl, to thrill, cause to vibrate (Jamie-
son), and so to knock on a metal pin or
boss.—F.

- he did not take the lady gay
to boulster nor noe¹ bedd,
but downe vpon her chamber flore
44 full soone he hath her layd.
- not without
exciting
suspicion.
he did not kisse *that* Lady gay
when he came nor when he youd²;
& sore mistrusted that Lady gay³
48 he was of some churles blood.
- He goes
home and
wakes his
master;
but home then came *that* Lither ladd,
& did of his hose & shoone,
& cast *that* Coller from about his necke,—
52 he was but a churles sonne:—
“awaken,” quoth hee, “my *Master* deere,⁴
“I hold it time to be gone,⁵

“for I haue saddled your horsse, *Master*,
56 well bridled I haue your steed;
haue not I serued a good breakfast,
when times comes I haue need.⁶”
- who rises,
but vp then rose good Glasgerryon,
60 & did on both hose and shoone,
& cast a Coller about his necke,
he was a *Kinges* sonne.
- and goes to
the lady's
bower.
& when he came to *that* Ladies chamber
64 he thrild vpon a pinn;
the Lady was more then true of promise,
rose vp & let him in⁷:

¹ to.—P.² yode, went.—P.³ Nor when he came nor yode,
And sore *that* Lady did mistrust.—P.⁴ Awake, quoth he, my dear master,

The cock hath well nye crowne.—P.

⁵ goen.—P.⁶ You will, *Master*, oft in the time of
need.—P.⁷ MS. im.—F.

68 saies, "whether haue you¹ left with me
your bractlett or your glous,
Or you are returned backe againe
to know more of my loue?"

She wonders
at his
return.

[page 95.]

72 Glasgerryon swore a full great othe
by Oake & ashe & thorne,²
"Lady! I was neuer in your chamber
sith the time that I was borne."

He swears
he has not
been there
before.

76 "O then it was your litle foote page
falsly hath³ beguiled me:"
& then shee pulld forth a litle pen-kniffe
that hanged by her knee,
says, "there shall neuer noe churles blood
80 spring within my body.⁴"

She sees
that the
page has
deceived her,
and stabs
herself.

but home then went Glasgerryon,
a woe man good⁵ was hee,⁶
says, "come hither, thou Iacke my boy!
84 come thou hither to me!"⁷

Glasgerion
goes home,

"ffor if I had killed a man to-night,
Iacke, I wold tell it thee:

charges his
page with
killing three
persons,

¹ MS. you you.—F.

² In old heathen times they [the courts of justice] were held in consecrated groves, and in Scandinavia under the shade of the ash, in imitation of the *Asa* gods, who always sat in judgment under the ash Yggdrasill. . . . They [these holy shades] continued to be the usual seats of tribunals so long that in Germany going under the oaks or the linden trees, the favourite situation, became a phrase for going to law. "History of the Germanic Empire," in the *Cabinet Cyclop.* vol. iii. pp. 299, 300.—H.

Compare "Young Redin": when

Redin is missing, and his paramour is suspected of having disposed of him:

They've called on Lady Catherine,
But she sware by oak and thorn
That she saw him not, young Redin,
Since yesterday at morn.—H.

³ He hath.—P.

⁴ Within my body spring
Noe churles blood shall e'er defile
The dauter of a King.—P.

⁵ [add] Lord.—P.

⁶ A woe man, Lord! was hee,
He sayes.—P. *thou* is marked out
by Percy.—F.

⁷ come hither unto me.—P.

but if I haue not killed a man to-night,
 88 lacke, thou hast Killed 3 ! ”

and slays
 him,
 & he puld out his bright browne sword,
 & dryed it on his sleeue,
 & he smote off that lither ladds head,¹
 92 & asked noe man noe leaue.

and then
 slays
 himself.
 he sett the swords poynt till his brest,
 the pumill till a stone :
 thorow *that* falsenese of *that* lither ladd
 96 these 3 liues werne² all gone !³

ffins.

¹ There is a tag to the *d* as if for *s*.—
 F.

² werne, i. e. were.—P.

³ all were gone.—P.

[*The loose song “O Jolly Robin,” marked “wretched stuff” by Percy,*
follows here, on page 95 of the MS.]

Came you not from¹

THIS song, says Mr. Chappell in his "Popular Music of the Olden Time," p. 339, is of Queen Elizabeth's time, for "it is quoted in a little black-letter volume called 'The famous Historie of Fryer Bacon: containing the wonderfull things that he did in his life; also the manner of his death; with the lives and deaths of the two conjurers, Bungye and Vandermast. Very pleasant and delightfull to be read,' 4to. no date. 'Printed at London, by A. E., for Francis Grove, and are to be sold at his shop at the upper-end of Snow Hill, against the Sarazen's Head:'

"'The second time, Fryer Bungy and he went to sleepe, and Miles alone to watch the brazen head; Miles, to keepe him from sleeping, got a tabor and pipe, and being merry disposed, sung this song to a Northern tune of *Cam'st thou not from Newcastle.*'" The pamphlet was dramatised by Robert Greene, who died in 1592. (Chappell, ii. 779.)

CAME you not from Newcastle?
 Came² yee not there away?
 met yee not my true loue
 4 ryding on a bony bay?
 why shold not I loue my loue?
 why shold not my loue loue me?
 why shold not I loue my loue,
 8 gallant hound sedelee?

Saw you my
 love near
 Newcastle?

Why should
 not she and
 I love each
 other?

¹ imperfect.—P.

² came.—P. The *m* is *n* in the MS.—F.

Near
Newcastle
and Durham
I have land.

12

Why should
not we love ?

And I haue Land att Newcastle
will buy both hose & shoone,
and I haue Land att durham
will feitch my hart to boone ;
and why shold not I loue my loue ?
why shold not my loue loue me ?
why shold not I loue my loue,
gallant hound sedelee ?

ffins.

I haue a loue thats faire.

THIS ballad differs from, and is less complete than, that in the Roxburghe Collection, vol. 1, p. 322, which is printed in the note below,¹ for comparison's sake. Mr. Chappell says that "the tune is printed in J. Starter's 'Friesche Lust-Hof,' Amsterdam, 4to, 1634, p. 81, with a Dutch song written to it,

¹ PRETTY NANNIE,

or

A dainty delicate new Ditty, fit for the
Contry, Town, or Citty, which shewes
how constant she did prove unto her
heart's delight & onely Love.

To a dainty delicate new tune named
Northerne Nannie.

I have a Love so faire,
so constant, firme, & kind,
She is without compare,
whose fancies me doth blind.
She is the flower of Maids
that ever was or can be,
Faire nymphs lend me your ayds
to sing of my sweet Nannie;
Her golden hair, her face so fair,
her glancing eye hath wounded me,
Her cheekes like snow where Roses grow,

Pretty Nanny,

My mistris of true constancy,
I am thine owne & shall be.

If Venus would defend
and grant to grace my bed,
I would not wrong my friend
by no enticements led:
No not the fairest dame
shall win her faueur from me,
For in the mind I am
He honour none but Nannie,
For she may comãd my heart, my hand,

my body too for to ride or goe,
If she but say by night or day,

Pretty Nannie,

My mistris, &c.

My love I will not change
for Croesus gold & treasure,
Nor will I seem to range
from thee my joy & pleasure:
Though some do count our sex
to wauer in affection,
Yet doe not thou suspect
for I do hate that action:
My love is set, none shall me let,
nor me perswade, be not afraid
From thee to turne, Ile rather burne
with fire,
Thou plaine shalt see that I love thee,
and will yeeld to thy desire.

She is so rare & wise,
& prudent in her cariage,
That gallants did devise
to win her unto mariage;
But she denies all those
that doe aske such a question,
And to me she doth disclose
her constant true affection.
She will not lie, nor falsifie,
but true doth prove like the turtle dove,
As I doe find to me shee's kind.

Pretty Nannie,

My mistris, &c.

under its English name." Mr. C. sends us the following four lines of the Dutch song :—

Vrouvoedster van mijn jeughd,
Meerstersse van mijn sinnen,
Mijn hoop, mijn troost, mijn vreught,
Mijn suyuere Goddinne, &c.

Nancy, my
love, is of
peerless
beauty.

I HAUE a loue thats faire,
soe constant, firme, & kinde !
shee is without compare,

[page 96.]

- 4 whose favor doth me blind !
shee is the flower of Maids *that* hath beene, is, or can bee !
when beautyes garlands made, it shalbe borne by Nancye.¹
Her golden haire with a face soe fayre,
8 her cheekes like snow where roses grow ;
Pretty Nancy² lipps with a breath soe sweete,
a pretty³ chin with a dimple in,
hath woone my hart euen for her part ;
12 Pretty Nancy, my *Mistress* of true constancy !

Let her but
be mine ;
most true to
her will I
be.

- If venus will consent my vow⁴ to grace my bed,
I will not wronge my freinde by noe entisment led.
Nor the fairest dame⁵ on earth shall gaine me favor from,
16 If thou wilt but consent⁶ to be my true loue, Nanny !
for shee may command both hart & hand,
& my body too to ryde or goe
both night & day, if shee will but say⁷
20 " Good servant, do this ffor mee."
If I deny, then let me try
what it is to wronge soe fayre a one ;
denyall dew Ile neuer vew !
24 Pretty Nancy, I haue beene thine & wilbee !

¹ MS. manye. Nancye.—P.

² Nancy's.—P.

³ Her pretty.—P.

⁴ but send my love.—P.

⁵ dame that is.—P.

⁶ consent to this, or but grant me this.
—P.

⁷ MS. stay. Say.—P.

To seall this bargaine vp, receiue my hart in pawne ;
 I am that onely man, constant loue hath made me one ;
 then doe not thou disdaine my true loue for to bee¹ !

Grant love
for love,
pretty
Nancy.

- 28 grant loue for loue againe, my pretty sweet-hart Nany !
 Since the heauens aboue² record of loue,
 let vs agree most willinglie
 that the world may know it was only thou,
 32 Pretty Nany, My *Mistress* of true constancy !
 and with a kisse Ile seale thee this.
 to thee adew ! pretty,³ be trew
 from him⁴ whose hart shall neuer part !
 36 Pretty Nancy, I haue beene thine & wilbee !

ffins.

¹ fancy.—P.

² heaven above . . . our love.—P.

³ pretty one, or perhaps *prythee*.—P.

⁴ To him.—P.

[*The loose song "When Phebus addrest" follows here, MS. page 96 ; then "The Fryar and Boy," MS. p. 97 ; then what Percy terms "A loose but humorous song," "As I was ridinge by the way," MS. p. 104 ; and then "The Man that hath," MS. p. 104 ; all four printed in the Loose Songs.*]

Charles off Chester.¹

[IN 3 PARTS.—P.]

THIS poem has been printed before from a MS. copy in Cole's Collection in the British Museum (Addit. MSS. 5830, f. 100) by Mr. Halliwell in his "Palatine Anthology." The present copy is very much fuller than the Museum one. Vv. 49–56, 77–84, 109–116, 214–230, 300–364, do not occur in the Cole MS. It is perhaps of later date, as in v. 128 it speaks of one Peter Venables as then enjoying the estate of the family, whereas the Museum copy there reads Thomas. Both copies are posterior to 1586, as Camden's "Britannia," which appeared in that year, is referred to in them. A Thomas Venables possessed the Kinder-ton property from 1580 to 1602. He was succeeded by a Peter, who died in 1669. Cole ascribes the authorship of the poem to Richard Bostock. The "historical poem of considerable merit on the subject of the Saxon and Norman Earls of Chester" by Lawrence Bostock, mentioned by Ormerod (iii. 135), of which he had a transcript made by Alexander Moit of Arley in the eighteenth century (p. xvi.), may be a distinct poem from this; or perhaps this is the Norman part of it, and Cole's Richard should be Lawrence.

The poem is of no great poetic merit. It is but "a laboured composition," as Mr. Halliwell justly pronounces it, the work of an annalist or genealogist rather than of a poet. But, nevertheless, it is interesting for its strong local feeling, and local portraiture both of men and of events.

¹ This is a very curious & valuable Poem: but is posterior to the Time of *Camden* who is quoted in it.—P.

The account given of the Earls is in the main correct. The writer has evidently taken great pains with it. We shall not here criticise it minutely. The reader will find many corroborations and illustrations and corrections of it in the "History of Cheshire" by Ormerod (1819), who has incorporated with his work the results of Leycester's and of King's investigations with regard to the Earls, and in Dugdale's "Baronage," and in his "Monasticon Anglicanum." The most eminent of the Earls were Randle II. and Randle III:

This Randle, [says our poem of the former,] both in peace and war,
Past all the English nobles far.

On the subject of Randle III. it is still more laudatory. It calls him

The Paragon of all that ile:
Bold, beautiful,¹ religious, wise,
And soundly learned, liberal,
In all things dealing with advice
Of naughty mind, yet wise withal.

And without doubt these Earls were among the greatest nobles of their time. For this reason they deserve our attention. But there is another fact that calls it to them, especially in a work like the present, viz. that one of them was a most popular ballad-hero of Old England. Quoth Sloth, in the "Vision of William concerning Piers the Ploughman":

I kan noght parfitly my pater-noster
As the priest it syngeth,
But I kan rymes of Robyn Hood
And *Randolph Erl of Chestre.*

But while the rhymes that celebrate Robin Hood have retained and extended their popularity so that they are still to be heard or read, the songs in honour of the great sharer of his fame in the fourteenth century have perished altogether. There remains not one stone upon another of the temple reared in this Earl's

¹ The Cole MS. reads "bountiful"—no doubt rightly.

honour. But for the mention of him in the great allegory he is in respect of poetical celebration amongst those who

illacrymabiles
Urgentur ignotique longæ
Nocte,—

not, it seems, because he had no "sacred bard" to hymn his praises, but because the very hymns have perished. Not a fragment of them, so far as we know, survives. But who was this Randolph? We have very little doubt that he was, as Ritson believed, our Randle III. Still we propose giving a short account both of the Second and the Third.

Randle II., as our poem rightly informs us, lived in King Stephen's time; and amongst the chief leaders of those tempestuous days he was greatly conspicuous. Ordericus Vitalis, Brompton, Simon of Durham, Gervase, Knyghton, Roger of Wendover, the author of "*Gesta Stephani*," Hemingford, William of Malmesbury, all describe the eminent part he played in the turbulent history of the middle of the twelfth century. He was Earl of Chester from 1128 to 1153. Very shortly after the accession of King Stephen he seems to have conceived bitter animosity against him "*propter Karlel et Cumberland quam jure patrimonii sibi reposcebat*" (Sim. Dur.), but which the King was granting to Scotland. He married the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester.¹ This alliance, with his wrongs, led him vigorously to espouse the cause of the Empress, the late King's daughter, Gloucester's half sister, when she determined to assert her right to the throne:

Syre Rauf Erl of Chestre hadde yspoused ywis
The Robertas douter of Gloucestre, of wan we tolde are this,
So that he huld with the Emperesse (vor el yt were amys)
And ladde ost gret ynou age the Kyng and hys.—(Rob. Glos.)

He suddenly, by a happy device (detailed by Ord. Vit.), secured the castle and fortifications of Lincoln. As to this fraudulent

¹ Brom. wrongly calls Comes Glovernise, *gener suus*.

seizure, as the chroniclers very generally characterise it, our poem is judiciously silent. Stephen at once advanced and besieged him in his ill-won city. He succeeded himself in escaping and reaching his father-in-law, whom he found most ready to support him. The two Earls at once marched to besiege the besieger—

The Earl came down the town to aid
With all his power the siege to raise."

The King, in spite of the advice of his counsellors, in spite of forbidding omens that disturbed the celebration of the Mass, resolved on fighting. Then ensued the battle of Lincoln, described by old monkish chroniclers with a zest and vigour which show that the flesh was not altogether dead in them. On the very day of the Purification the armies stood front to front. "Gratias persolvo vobis," said Randle to his side, "jugiter exorans ut qui vobis causa sum periculi, primus omnium periculum subeam." (Brom. Gerv. gives the same substance at greater length.) Then Gloucester spoke. Baldwin, speaking for the King, who "festivâ caruit voce," encouraged the others. Then—

The battle joined courageously.
There many a knight was beaten down
Ere either got the victory.

There was furious fighting that winter's day beneath the walls of Lincoln. But presently of the royal army only the King's own line held its ground. The King himself fought manfully. He wielded a battle-axe with terrible effect. But at last "it was smashed (confracta est) in his hands. Then one William of Kahames rushed on him, and, clutching him by the helmet, cried with a loud voice, 'Here, fellows, here! I have got hold of the King!' Immediately every body flew to him, and the King was taken, all the men of his own division being either slain or taken." (Brom. &c.) This victory was the great exploit of Randle II.'s life. Perhaps the King, or his barons, never forgave him for it. Probably his subsequent conduct showed that

he did not deserve forgiveness. In a parliament assembled at Northampton, according to Knyghton, he was treacherously seized, and only liberated on condition of his surrendering Lincoln Castle. His power seems to have been enormous. He had got, says the author of "*Gesta Stephani*," almost a third part of the kingdom by the sword. The friendship that was arranged between him and the King soon came to nothing. He made an attempt to recover Lincoln. He was foiled. Then, suspected, and more than suspected of an intention "*quiddam priscarum insidiarum renovare*," or as another chronicle runs, "*ad callidam consuetæ proditiōis tecnam se totum convertens*," he is again closely imprisoned. During this second captivity (which, as also the first, our panegyrist of him omits to mention) Pulton Abbey (v. 230) was founded, that there prayers might be made for his health and safety. The "*Gesta Stephani*" gives a fearful account of his conduct after his release. "*In omnem ætatem*," it says, "*in omnem sexum Herodianam tyrannidem, Neronianam truculentiam exercebat*."

Such was his relation to King Stephen. He was a sharp thorn in that monarch's side, much vituperated by the chroniclers, who for the most part laud and magnify the King, and represent the Earl as a busy sower of those—to use the expressive language of one of them—"plurima dissensionis semina quæ ubique locorum per Angliam pullularunt." Our poem (vv. 204–211) mentions a triumph achieved by him over the Welsh. No doubt he had many a fierce skirmish with those unquiet neighbours. Knyghton mentions an invasion made by them during Randle's first captivity. "*In the meantime*," he writes, "*the Welsh laid waste the Cestrian province; but they were intercepted at the town of Malba (Nantwich)*." At a later period the Earl (perhaps with a treacherous intent, as the King's barons suspected) implores the King to come in person and suppress the enemy. He speaks of "*terras suas lacrymabili deprædatione*

spoliatus." He himself received a severe defeat at Consylht when invading North Wales in concert with Madoc ap Meridith, Prince of Powys.

One other act of his is referred to by our poem—the founding or helping to found the Abbey of Combermere. The immediate founder was Hugh Malbank, in 1133 (five years after Randle's accession to the earldom, see v. 212 of our poem). But Randle was recognised as "the principal founder and protector." The striking ceremony (vv. 220–2) performed in connection with its endowment, is, so far as we know, mentioned here only.

This famous Earl died in the year 1153,—not by a natural death, as our poem (v. 232) would seem to say, but by poison. In the same year, says Roger de Wendover, writing of 1155, Henry disinherited William Peveril "*causa veneficii quod Ranulfo comiti Cestriæ fuerat propinatum. In hujus pestis consortio plures conscii exstitisse dicuntur.*" Thus was the Earl cut off just on the eve of the accession of that great Plantagenet whose battles he had fought so vigorously.

Randle II. then was a man of wide fame, good or evil, in King Stephen's reign, and was perhaps at one time the most powerful man in England. With accounts of him that are evidently so violently prejudiced it is difficult to fairly estimate him. We cannot certainly chime in with the enthusiasm of our poet:

. . . Though thy body turn to dust
Religious, valiant, just, and wise,
Great Earl, thy honour never dies!

(the Cole MS. reads "Great Cheshire honour never dies"); nor yet with the furious bitterness of Baldwin, in his speech before the battle of Lincoln: "*Deinde stat comes Cestriæ Ranulphus, vir quidem audaciæ irrationabilis, promptus ad conspirandum, inconstans ad perficiendum, animo impetuosus, periculo improvidus, altiora machinans, impossibilia temptans; quod incipit avide, effeminate deserit, ubique infortunatus, aut vinci aut*

effugari assuetus;" or in the loose paraphrase of Robert of Gloucester:

Al so of the Erl of Chestre ye ne dorre abbe non care
 Fol hardy he ys ynou, ac al wythoute rede
 Hastyf wythoute porueance other wysdom in dede—
 Work he wole, as hym thyneth ac myd lute manhede.
 Hys brayn & wyt ys so feble that ther nys of hym non drede.
 Vor wat he ath manlyche bygonne, he yt ath byleuede
 Wommanlyche, as vor defeaute of wyt of hys heuede.

We must now turn to the greater hero of our poem—to Randle III., the Second's grandson, whom, as we have said, we believe to be the Randolph of the "Piers Ploughman," rhymes about whom Sloth knew better than his prayers. He too covered himself with glory at a battle of Lincoln. He won still higher renown on the banks of the Nile. He reached the acmé of his greatness in the beginning of the reign of Henry III. At that time there was no more famous name in England.

He was born at Album Monasterium (now Oswestry) in Powis, and hence was surnamed Blandeville or Blondenville. He became Earl in 1181. He married, with Henry II.'s full approval, the widow of Geoffrey, the famous Constance, Shakespeare's Constance; whose possessions (her father Conan, it will be remembered, was Duke of Little Britain and Earl of Richmond), added to his own, made him, territorially, one of the greatest subjects of the English crown. Our poem recounts his estates with much satisfaction, and adds Huntingdon to them on no sufficient authority. In King John's reign the Earl divorced Constance. "He forsook his lawful wife," to quote Dugdale's "Baronage," "by reason that the king haunted her company." Knyghton says he was perhaps induced to forsake her, by the King's example. He married another Constance, the daughter of Radulph de Feugere; but he died childless, a judgment on him for his desertion of his first Constance, as it was thought.

In 1214 he translated the monks of Pulton, which was much infested by Welsh marauders, to Dieulacres in Staffordshire (see v. 478 of the ballad). He had been instructed in a vision by his grandfather to found an abbey at the latter place.¹ "Go to Cholpesdale, which is in the territory of Leeke," said the apparition with great geographical precision, "and in that place wherein of old was built a chapel in honour of the Blessed Mary, Virgin, thou shalt found an abbey of the White Order of Monks, and thou shalt furnish it with buildings, and enlarge it with estates, and it shall be a joy for thee and many others who shall be saved through that place. For on that same site must be erected a ladder, whereby the prayers of angels ascend and descend; and the vows of men shall be offered to God; and let them give thanks; and over that place shall the name of the Lord be invoked with constant prayers &c." He stood faithfully by his prince through all the troubles that gathered around him, though he seems to have plainly rebuked him for his evil practices. Henry III. speaks of him in a letter to the Pope as one who was said to have laboured loyally in John's reign for the maintenance of the royal rights. He was about to set forth for Holy Land when the last great storm burst on the head of his master. In the midst of its fury, John died, and the voyage was postponed. There was need of Randle at home.

But before we leave King John's reign we must mention a celebrated adventure that befell the Earl in his own country, and secondly we must point out the error committed by our poem in connecting him with the Third King Richard's crusade.

Of the adventure the reader will find an account in Dugdale's "Baronage," and quoted from it, in Bishop Percy's essay, in the "Reliques," on the Ancient Minstrels. Randle, having

¹ See Dugdale's *Mon. Anglic.* v. 627, 1825, where this story and others are quoted "Ex Hist. Angl. MS. contexta ab Henr. Archdiac. ad Alex. Linc. Episc.

an. 1145." Some continuation of Henry's work is meant, we suppose, for that ends with the accession of Henry II.—H.

marched into Wales with but a slender retinue, was compelled to flee for refuge into his castle of Rothelan (*i.e.* Rhuddlan). The Welsh beset him. He sent to the Constable of Chester for help, "who, making use of the Minstrells of all sorts, then met at Chester Fair, by the allurement of their musick got together a vast number of such loose people as by reason of the before specified privilege [that Chester should have the right of sanctuary during its fair] were then in the city; whom he forthwith sent under the conduct of Dutton (his Steward), a gallant youth, who was also his son-in-law. The Welsh alarmed at the approach of this rabble, supposing them to be a regular body of armed and disciplined veterans, instantly raised the siege and retired." Randle for this good service conferred on the Constable the patronage of the Minstrels and others who joined them in the expedition. There cannot be a doubt but that he would by feast, or largess, reward the immediate instruments of his deliverance. Without enquiring too nicely into the province of the Minstrels, we may be sure that whatever there was in the shape of ballad-mongers in the England of that time would be represented at Chester Fair, and therefore in the motley host which scared away the Welsh beleaguers of Earl Randle; and if so, many a "ryme" would be composed that Fair time in praise or on the subject of "Randolph Erle of Chestre." The adventure would naturally be a favourite subject then, and thenceforward, with the haunters of Chester Fair. The songs that commemorated it may have formed the basis of that perished cycle alluded to in the "Piers Ploughman." They would of course soon be carried beyond the confines of their birth-place. They would multiply with the increasing renown, domestic and transmarine, of the great Earl. Other tales concerning him—one has been mentioned already, others will be mentioned presently—have come down to us which would evidently serve as excellent themes for ballads. Indeed, the versions

of these given us by the chroniclers may be founded on such ballads: just as some of the chronicles describing the Saxon times are perceptibly based on old poems.

Our poem's error in conducting Earl Randle to the third crusade along with Richard Cœur de Leon arises, we are inclined to think, from a confusion of him with Randle Glanville, who did indeed take part in that crusade, dying under the walls of Acre. Bale, in his "*De Scrip. Brit.*" and Pits, following Bale, are guilty of the same confusion. (See Ormerod I. 35). Bale imputes a work "*De legibus Angliæ*" to Earl Randle, who, however great his merits, certainly does not appear to have been of a book-making turn. The ascription to him of "sound learning" (v. 253) by the author of our poem shows, we think, that our author's mistake is simply an echo of that made by Bale. He follows Bale, and errs accordingly. The account given of the crusade (vv. 276-347) is only moderately correct. After many delays the Christian princes—Philip Augustus and the English Richard—met at Messene in Sept. 1190. But the Emperor did not join them there, nor anywhere else; for though he was "*cruce signatus*," he managed to elude his vow. Philip sailed directly for Acre. Richard spent some time in revenging the ill treatment by the Cypriots of two of his ships that had been driven on their shore by a violent storm. He completely reduced and committed to perpetual imprisonment Isaac, a prince of the Comnenian family, who, appointed viceroy, had taken to himself the title of Emperor of Cyprus (he is called in our poem "*the Turkish King*"). Then he celebrated his marriage with Berengaria. At last he sailed to Acre, where he found Philip impatient and chafing. The town was not stormed, but surrendered. The Saracens went all to wrack, with a vengeance, as everybody will agree who remembers the hideous massacre that took place of the hostages. Five hundred Christian prisoners were set free. Then Philip, amidst many execrations, went home. Richard

fought on, marching and countermarching, once almost sighting Jerusalem, for another year; then concluded a treaty for three years and eight months with Saladin; and then he too set off towards home, not soon to reach it.

But to return from the result of the confusion of Blonville and Glanville. The reader will notice many inaccuracies in the narrative of the events that preceded the death of King John. After that event Earl Randle is represented as the great champion of the young prince. It is he, and Pembroke at his instance, who uphold his cause, crown him, overthrow the French at Lincoln, and rid the country of them. "*Ranulphus comes Cestrie,*" says Knyghton, "*mox capit Lyncolnian contra Lodowycum, occisis in eo plurimis Francigenis: unde Lodowycus videns partem suam debilitari, accepta pecuniâ pro resignatione munitionum quas tenuit, absolutione a legato papæ accepta, Franciam rediit.*" His eminent services at this crisis are rated by Walter de Wittlesey of Peterborough (see Dugdale's "*Baronage*") as highly as by our poet. And now at last, King John's son firmly seated on the throne, he was at liberty to fulfil his crusader's vow, 1218. In company with the earls of Arundel and Salisbury he set out for the East. The Christians, a few years before much distressed in Palestine, the kingdom founded there reduced within very narrow limits, weary of acting on the defensive, had determined on offensive operations. They had invaded Egypt, and formed the siege of Damietta. That city (a little to the north of the present one of the name), standing on the right bank of the Nile, was protected on its three land-sides by a strong triple wall, on the river side by a tower built in the middle of the river and connected with the wall by chains. The crusaders were encamped opposite it on the other side of the Nile. They first addressed themselves to the capture of the tower. By means of a wooden castle built on two floating hulls they got close up to it; and after a terrible struggle, and

imminent perils from the enemy's Greek fire, which, however, as an old chronicler tells us, "the tears of the Faithful put out" (*extinxerunt fidelium lachrymæ*), they stormed. Shortly after this brilliant exploit the Earl of Chester arrived. The river still rolled between the besiegers and the besieged; its rising greatly discomforted the former; the courage of the latter was unabated. After some enforced delay, a dissension amongst the Infidels permitted the Faithful to cross the river and occupy the camp of the succours sent to the city by the Sultan of Egypt. The siege was now renewed with the utmost vigour. Amongst the leaders most eminent in it was Randle of Chester. He is mentioned amongst those who, when the garrison made a furious sortie and drove back the assaulters, "*impetum sustinuerunt paganorum, et pro muro fuerunt fugientibus quoties illis suas facies ostenderunt*"—"withstood the onset of the heathen, and were as good as a wall to the fliers as often as they showed the enemy their faces." (Wend.) "*Ranulfus comes*," says Henry of Huntingdon, speaking of this famous siege, "*dux Christianæ cohortis præstitit gloriosa*." The departure of the Duke of Austria would augment his importance. The enemy trembled. Negotiations were opened, but broken off by the insolence of Pelagius, the Papal Legate. At last, in November, 1219, after a siege of some eighteen months, "*Damietta fut prise par la grâce de Dieu*." The Sultan once more offered the same terms as he had offered before—the piece of the true cross, the city of Jerusalem, and all the prisoners in Syria and Egypt in exchange for the precious capture (see vv. 464–7 of our ballad); but, unhappily, (our ballad errs on this point) the influence of the legate was strong enough to procure their rejection. But the Earl of Chester did not stay to witness the disastrous consequences of the legate's policy—the more than undoing all that the Earl and his fellows had done. After the fall of Damietta, "that noble man Ranulph, Earl of Chester, after having warred

in God's service for well nigh two years, with the legate's leave and benediction, and the goodwill of the whole army, returned home" (Knyghton). One of the stories preserved about him relates to his voyage home. "In returning from Holy Land, when one night the ship wherein he was was imperilled by a sudden sea-storm, he said to the sailors, 'How long is it to midnight?' who answered, 'A space of about two hours.' He said to all of them, 'Labour meanwhile up till midnight, and I hope in God that ye shall have aid, and the storm shall cease.' And when midnight was a drawing near, the master of the ship said to the Earl, 'My lord, commend yourself to God, for the storm waxes, and our labour fails, and we are in peril of life.' Then Ranulph straightway went forth from his cabin (*de conclavi suo*), and began to help lustily amongst the cables and yard-arms and other ship's-gear; and not long after all [the tumult] of the deep lulled, and all the storm ceased. And on the following day, when they were now ploughing the waters and their safety was growing manifest, the master of the ship says to the Earl, 'My lord Earl, would ye tell us, an it please you, wherefore you would [not] help us till midnight, and then helped us more with your single hands than all the men who were on board?' To whom said he: 'Because at midnight, and afterwards my monks and other religious men whom my forefathers and I have founded in divers places, rose to sing divine service, and then I trusted in their prayers, and I hope that God, by reason of their prayers and support (*suffragia*), gave me a courage I had not before, and made the storm cease as I foretold.'"

He survived the fifth crusade some twelve years, being to the end "a great prince in Israel" employed in the highest services (for instance, as one of the continental viceroys when Henry returned to England in 1229), opposing at the same time all excesses of the royal prerogative and papal exactions, a most mighty baron whether as a friend or a foe. He closed his

illustrious life in 1232, at Wallingford, and "was buried in the chapter-house of the monks at Chester with his forefathers" (Knyghton); "of whose decease," writes Matthew of Westminster, "when the rumour was announced to Hubert de Burgh [the Earl was one of those "*qui cum justiciario nostro contenderant*"—see Henry's Letter to Honorius], and 'twas said that one of his greatest enemies was dead, heaving a sigh (*assumpto suspirio*) he says with a deep groan: 'May God be propitious to his soul.' And calling for a psalter, he, standing in front of the cross, without pausing, went right through it, fasting, for the soul of the said Earl." So did a bitter enemy pray for the peace of the departed Earl. That his soul found peace, in answer to prayer, another old story informs us. "Whilst he lay dying, a troop as it were of men (*latitudo quasi hominum*), with some powerful being, was hurriedly passing by close to the cell of a certain solitary who abode nigh Walingford. He asked one of them who they were, and whither they made haste; and he: 'We are Demons, and we hasten to the death of Ranulph, that we may accuse him of his sins.' The demon was then adjured to return within thirty days, and state what had been done touching Earl Ranulph. Returning, he said: 'We brought it about that Earl Ranulph, for his ill deeds, was adjudged to the pains of infernal fire; but the mastiffs (*Molossi*) of Dieulacres and many others with them, without stinting barked so that they filled our habitation with a loud clamour whilst he was with us; wherefore our prince, disgusted (*gravatus*), ordered to be expelled from our territories him who now proved so grievous an adversary to us; for the support which they (the mastiffs) had obtained in his behoof, as well as for others, had so delivered many souls from the penal region.'

Such are the facts and the tales relating to Randle III. that have been handed down to us. They, combined with a consideration of the age in which he lived, induce us to identify

him, as we have said, rather than Randle II., with the Randolph of the "Piers Ploughman." They contain many a good subject for "rymes." He lived at an age when popular "rymes" in the English tongue were just springing up. There are yet extant such compositions belonging to the reign of Henry III. We know that Simon de Montfort was a most popular rhyme-hero some thirty years after Randle III.'s death. We have seen that Randle was brought by a strange adventure into a close and suggestive connection with the minstrels of his day, who certainly included among their many accomplishments the art of song-singing, if not of song-composing. His character was of a kind to endear him to popular taste and fancy. He withstood the King to his face (though not with the same sanguinary result) as the Earl of Leicester withstood him afterwards. He resisted the rapacity of Rome. He had fought in the Holy War at a time when it excited the utmost poetic enthusiasm. (See Raynouard's "*Choix des Poes. Orig. des Troub.*" ii. 73.) He had most stoutly maintained the nationality of England by his vigorous opposition of the attempts made to place a foreign prince on its throne.

But a name once so often on men's lips has now been long forgotten. We can only discover by investigation to whom it belonged. We can only conjecture what were the themes with which it was associated. More than a century after Randle's death it enjoyed great popularity. Shortly afterwards it sank into oblivion. With the passing away of the baronial age the memory of this one of its greatest names passed away. A race arose that knew not Randolph,—a race with interests and heroes of its own, indifferent to the old feudal Earl with all his greatness, careless of the religion on which he had bestowed his benefactions and whose ministers had celebrated him, scorning the sacred war in which he had played so splendid a part, not discerning in him what should satisfy their own ideal—what they could adopt for their hero. This they found in him who was

the Earl's ballad-rival in Edward III.'s reign. Robin Hood won wider and wider acceptance and popularity. "Randolph Earl of Chestre" fell into complete obscurity.

- WHEN Saxons Harold, Godwins sonne,
 who had beene *King* without all right,
 att Hastings feilde to death was done,
 4 & all his army put to flight,
 to william who had woone the feilde
 the English peeres the crowne did yeeld;
 by herlott,¹ bastard sonne was hee
 8 to Robert duke of Normandye.

How
 William the
 Conqueror
 became
 king,

- he, once established in his seate,
 amongst his men devides his lande,
 & now his power is growne soe great
 12 the english cold not him withstand;
 he entring as a Conquerour,
 liues, lands, & goods, were in his power;
 to his owne vse he ceased² the best,
 16 amongst his soliders parts the rest.

distributed
 his land,

- Hugh His sisters sonne, Hugh Lupus called,
 Lupus whome then the rest hee held more deere,
 1 Earle the Earle of Chester was installde
 20 with many rites *that* royall were,

and
 appointed
 Hugh Lupus,
 his nephew,
 Earle of
 Chester.

¹ *Arlotta*.—Robson. The vulgar story makes his [William's] mother the daughter of Fulbert le Croy, a tanner or skinner of Falaise, whom Robert first saw and became enamoured of, as she was dancing with some of her female companions; her name, it is said, was Arlette or Harlotta. According to the contemporary historian, William of Jumieges (*Gemeticensis*), the Conqueror's mother was Herleva, the daughter of Fulbert, an officer of Duke Robert's

household. After Robert's death she married a Norman knight (*miles*) named Herluin, by whom she had two sons, both of whom made a great figure in their time: Robert, who was created earl of Montagne in Normandy, and Odo who became bishop of Bayeux; besides a daughter, who was married to Odo, earl of Albemarle. *Penny Cyclopædia*.—F.

² seized, took seizin of, possession of.—F.

The Earl
appointed
eight
barons :

cheerfully by sword to hold the same
as hee by crowne did hold the realme;
who made 8th Barons of his owne,
24 the names of whom full well are knowne :

1. Nigel,

Negell of Halton was the first,
whose heyres did beare the Lacyes name;
thé ¹ earles of Lincolne haue beene erst,
28 in Ireland likewise of great fame.

**Halton
the i
Baron**

Thomas the Earle of Lancaster
had Allice to wiffe, who was their heyre;
he, Ishulese, ² did loose his head,
32 & shee did neuer after wedde,

whose lands
secheated to
Henry IV.

but to his brother Henery shee
assured her lands; since when they were
by Earles & Dukes vndoubtedlye
36 held by the house of Lancaster
till BULLENBROOKE attaind the crowne
by putting second Richard downe,
since when the castle & the fee ³
40 are in the crowne continuallye.

2. Robert
Fitz-
Norman,

Robert fitz Norman next was made
of Mountrealt ⁴ BARON; in whose heyre[s]
that Barronry ⁵ succession had
44 226: yeeres.
the last, who was a worthy Knight,
to Isabell gaue all his right;
the second Edwards wiffe was shee;
48 tho there did end *that* barronry.

**Harding
2:**

¹ They.—P.

² issueless.—Cole's MS.

³ of Halton.—Robson.

⁴ Montalt.—Robson.

⁵ Hawardin.—Robson.

yet all or most of Mountrealts Lands

whose lands
came to
Lord Derby.

And signioryes *that* were soe fayre,
to stanly the Earle of Darbys hands

52 in latter times conuayde weere,
not only Harding,¹ Hope, & moulde,
but alsoe many a goodlye hold
which, in reward of service good,
56 were bestowed on stanlyes blood.

[page 106.]

**Nant-
wich 3.**

The 3. was WILLIAM MALBEDDINGE,²
of Nantwiche BARON, from whose name
his grandchilde daughter did it bringe :

3. William
Malbed-
dinge,

60 Vernon & Bassett had the same
by Marriage, *which* did come to passe
after the first created was
about of yeeres some 73,
64 were *parted* by coparsonarye.³

but sithence then, *that* Barronrye
mongst Coheyres many soe did rest,
that some of them but of *that* fee
68 a 36 *part* possesst.⁴

whose lands
became
divided into
36ths.

**Shib-
brooke 4:**

Then Guarren Vernon after him
of Shibbrooke next created hee,
the heyres of whom haue Barrons [bin ⁵]
72 for 5 descents continuallye.
the last deceased; then it came
to litle-bury, & Wilbraham,
& stafford by his sisters 3,
76 who vnto these 3 married bee.

4. Guarren
Vernon,
whose
barony

¹ *i. e.* Hawardin; these three castles
are in Flint.—Robson.

² Maldebeng or Malbanc.—Robson.

³ copersonarye, the same as coparceny;
in Law, an equal share of coparceners,

which are such as have an equal share
in y^e Inheritance of an ancestor. John-
son.—P.

⁴ Four lines seem wanting.—Robson.

⁵ supplied by Percy.—F.

- ultimately
vested in
Sir John
Savage.
- 80 & after this it scattered was
amongst the heyres full many a day ;
till att the lenght it came to passe,
the gratest part therof doth stay
with Sir John Savage, to whose name
by marriage & descent it came
from Bostockes daughter, maiden bright,
84 whose father was a worthye Knight.
- S. Robert
Fitzhugh,
- 88 ROBERT FITZHUGHE, the next in place,
of Malpus Barron was created,¹ **Malpus**
6.
which he enioyed but litle space
before his dayes grew out of date,
leaving noe heyres. he being dead,
the Earle created in his stead
Eginion ap² David, vnto whome
92 succeeded Raphe, his onlye sonne.
- whose
heritage was
divided
into
moieties.
- 96 2 daughters, but noe sonne at all,
that Raphe hee had ; who, being dead,
the Heritage forthwith did fall
to those that did his daughters wedde :
first, david Clarke, he had the one,
he was the william Belwards sonne ;
the other, Robert Patricke had ;
100 they twixt them selues paretition made.
- From the
owner of one
came the
Egertons.
- 104 from Phillip, who was younger sonne
to David Clarke assuredlye,
the ancient house of Egerton
doth truly draw their Pedigree.
long after this, full many yeeres,
hy marriage made amongst their heyres,
the gratest part of all the same
108 to Sutton the Lord DUDLEY came,

¹ create.—P.² Eynion ap.—P.

from whom, by purchase after made,
that part Sir William BRUEITONS¹ is,
 to whom by Marryage alsoe had
 112 with Egertons daughter, as I gesse,
 another part of all that fee
 descended to him Lineallye ;
 - soe he 7 parts of 8 possest,
 116 Sir Randle Bruirton had the rest.

Dunham Vpon Hughe Massey he did bestow
 6. the Dunham Massey barronrye,
 to whom there did succeed in row
 120 8 heyres of his successiue ;
 from thence-forthe mongst the femall heyres
 it scattered was for many yeeres,
 yet most part after ages past
 124 to Boothe of Du[n]ham came at last.

6. Hugh
 Massey,

Kinder- The next was Gylbert Venables,
 ton 7: the baron made of Kinderton,
 from whome the same to these our dayes
 128 in downe-right Line did still hold on
 To Peeter, who now holds the same, [page 107.]
 eniowing title, Lands & name.
 few howses shall you find beside,
 132 *that* in one name soe long abide.

7. Gilbert
 Venables,
 whose
 barony
 Peter now
 holds.

Stopport Nicholas of Stopport was the Last
 8: to whome *that* title he did giue;
 but after many ages past,
 136 in which his heyres did Barons liue,
 Warreyn of Poynton gott the same
 by Marryage: which warreyn came
 of Earle Warreyn of Surrey, soothe,
 140 as Camden doth affirme for truth.

8. Nicholas.

¹ Breretons.—Robson.

these Barons all were councellors
 vnto the Earle in his affaires,
 & some were household officers,
 & left their places to their heyres.
 the yeere 1093
 he built westchaster monasterrye,
 & 45¹ yeeres compleate
 he did enioye *that* famous seate.

Earl Lupus
 in 1093 A.D.
 built
 Westchester
 Monastery.

144

148

[The Second Part.]

Lupus is
 succeeded by
 his son,

2 Part

Richard his sonne, but 7 yeers old, **Richard**
 succeeded in his fathers place;
 he did this famous erldome hold **2^d Earle**
 for 19 yeeres & 3 monthes space, **of Ches-**
 & sayling then from Normandye— **ter**
 ffirst Henerys sonnes to accompanye—
 Neer Barffleete being run on ground,
 them selues & all there traine were drown[d].

156

who is
 succeeded by
 his cousin,

Then Randulphe Gurnon,² next earle was he³;
 he was Hugh Lupus sisters sonne, **Randle**
 who but 8 yeeres in[i]oyed *that* place **&: 3 erle**
 ere his liues glasse were ffully runn.
 Randulph Meshieffes,⁴ Gernons heyre, **Randle:**
 was next *that* did enioye *that* Chayre. **4 Earle**
 This Randle both in peace & warr
 past all the english nobles ffarr ;

160

and he by
 his son.

164

¹ read 'five and forty.'—F.

² This is Gernon in Ormerod's *Cheshire*. There is an oval line round the *n* in the MS.—F.

³ *he*, delend.—P.

⁴ Spelt *Mescheues*, l. 238; it should be *Meschines*.—Robson. The *d* of Gordon following has been altered to *n* in the MS.—F. The ballad here is wrong: the third earl was Randulph 1^o Meschin

(spelt in various ways: Low Latin *Meschinus* = juvenis) de Briquesart, very frequently called de *Meschines*. His son and heir was Randulph de Gernons. The lines ought to be:

Then Randulph Meschin, next earl was he;
 Randulph de Gernons, *Meschines* heir,
 was next, &c.—Robson.

- in his time Steven ruled this land,
 to ¹ Maude the Empresse, dew of right,
 first Henerys heyre: him to withstand,
 168 shee labored all the freinds shee might.
 the Earle, to avoyd ² him, rayسد his power,
 woone many a citye, towne, & tower;
 & of all those he did obtaine,
 172 he had the honor, shee the gaine.

who in
 Maude's
 cause
 against
 Stephen

- The *King*, to Lincolne, seeige had layd,
 & layne before it many dayes;
 the Earle came downe the towne to aydo,
 176 with all his power the seeige to rayse.
 Some thought the *King* durst not abide
 with him the battell to haue tryde;
 but though his coming he did know,
 180 yet from the seeige he wold not goe.

helps to
 raise the
 siege of
 Lincoln,

- Vpon the plaine before the towne,
 thé ³ battell Ioyned couragiouslye;
 there many a *Knight* was beaten downo
 184 ere either gott the victorye;
 att length the Earle did win the day,
 the *Kings* power broke & run awaye,
 the Kinge in Chace himselfe [was] tane,⁴
 188 & most part of all his soliders ⁵ slaine.

wins the
 battle there,

- to the Empresse Maude att Glocester
 he did deliuer vp the Kinge,
 who kept him as a prisoner
 192 from Midsummer vnto the springe;
 then for the erle of Gloster
 who taken was att winchester,
 her bastard brother to sett free,
 196 she gaue the *King* his lybertye.

and delivers
 up Stephen
 to Maude.

¹ *i. e.* this land due of right to Maude.
 —Robson.

² to avoyd, *i. e.* to oust him, to make
 him void, vacate the Throne.—P.

³ They.—P.

⁴ was tane.—P.

⁵ Spelt thus afterwards, l. 314, &c.—
 F.

- & after manye a bloodye feeld
 where countles numbers had beene slaine,
 the *King* did to condicions¹ yeeld,
 200 soe during life himselfe might rayne,
 The Empresse soone at his deccase [page 108.]
 shold haue the crowne to her in peace,
 & enery one that tooke his² part
 204 he pardoned freelye from his hart.

 the we[l]chmen³ did incursions make
 on Randulphes countye Palatine,
 whilest he such endles paines did take
 208 in peace those princes to conioyne.
 but heering itt, such speed he made
 with *that* small power then he hadd,
 whilest neere Nantwiche they sought their prey,
 212 he slew all those went not awaye.

 the first yeere of his dignitee,
 an abbey there he helpet⁴ to founde,—
 where-to Hugh Malbancke devoutlye
 216 gaue all the site & other grounde,—
 called the Abbey of Cumbermeare,
 indowed with Liuings good & fayre,
 wherto 2 *Lordshipps* of great worth
 220 the sayd Hugh Malbancke did tread⁵ forth,

 his wiffe & children being there,
 barfooted⁶ & bareheaded with-all
 did walke about from Mere to Mere.
 224 these *Lordshipps* 'wilkslye' men doe call,
 & 'dodcott' eke, the *which* doe lye
 & Ioyne together certainlye;
 of ancient rent, as I doe heare,
 228 noe lesse then 80^{li} a yeere.

Randle also
defeats an
invasion of
Welshmen,

and helps
to found
Cumbermeare
Abbey

¹ conditions.—P.

² her, qu.—P.

³ Welchmen.—P.

⁴ helpd.—P.

⁵ ? add.—F.

⁶ barefoot.—P.

beginning thus, as wee may see,
 abbeys to build with godlye feare,
 the last yeere Poolton fownded hee.

and Poulton.

232 he gouerned 25¹ yeere,
 then died, as enery other must ;
 " but though thy body turne to dust,
 religious, valliant, Iust, & wise
 236 great Earle ! thy honor neuer² dyes ! "

Randle dies ;

but his
 honour
 never dies !

**Hugh
 Keve-
 lock 2 :
 5 Erie.**

When great Meschenes was deceased,
 his sonne Hugh Keuelocke did enioye
 his honour, & the same encreased

Randle is
 succeeded
 by his son,
 who invades
 Wales.

240 by valor & by industrie.
 he with his power did wales inuade,—
 for inrodes which themselues had made
 vpon his lands,—& conquered all
 244 Broome feild, & greatest part of yalle.³

beloued both of *King* & peeres,

& greatlye feared of his foes,

he gouerned 29⁴ yeeres,

248 & then the way of all flesh goes,

& left to gouerne in his place

the cheefest man of all that race,

His sonne, called Randle Blondvile,

the parragon⁵ of all that Ile,

Hugh is
 succeeded by
 his son,
 Randle, the
 Paragon of
 England,

**Randle
 3^a 6^a
 Earle :**

252

bold, bewtifull, religious, wise,

profoundlye learned, liberall,

in all things dealing with advice,

256 of haughtye mind, yet milde with all,

¹ read 'five and twenty.'—F.

² never.—Robson.

³ yale, in Robson.—F.

⁴ read 'nine and twenty.'—F.

⁵ Paragon : m. A paragon, or peere-
 lesse one ; the perfection, or flower of ;

the most complete, most absolute, most
 excellent peeces, in any kind whatsoever ;
 hence also, a Patterne or Touchstone
 whereby the goodnesse of things is tryed.
 Cotgrave.—F.

who marries
Geoffrey's
(Henry II.'s
son) widow,

260

this younge Erle: which soe did moue
the 2^d Henery him to loue,
that, his sonne Jefferey being dead,
he did to him his widow wedd;

and gets
new
earldoms
and lands
with her.

264

of Britaine & of Richmond shee
in her owne wright a Countesse was,
which added to his dignitye
of mightye Earledomes made in ¹ a soe.²
of Chester, lincolne, Huntinton,
his father Earle was; but the sonne,
flint, Denbye, & the Powesse lands ³
268 besides, had gott with-in his hands;

5 earldomes & 3 barronryes

272

he now enioyes, with Mannours fayre,
& many wealthy royalties
in Nottingham & in Stafordshire;
But his great honors altered not
his mind nor manners neuer a lot,
for full of Princelye ⁴ curtesie
euen to the last continued hee.

[page 109.]

Earl Randle
takes part in
the third
crusade,

280

when 2^d Henery was deceaset,⁵
& CUERDELYON wore the crowne,
his fame in forraine land increasc[t; ⁶]
for *that* great King of high renowne,
the french King, & the Emperour,
& AUSTRICH DUKE, a man of power,
did Ioyne together to redeeme
284 the Citye of Ierusalem;

¹ ? add many.—F.

² ? *see*.—Robson. of Earldoms made
a mighty mass.—Cole's MS.

³ Flint, Denbigh, Branfeild, Powis-

land.—Cole's MS.

⁴ MS. princelye.—F. princelye.—P.

⁵ deceast.—P.

⁶ increast.—P.

for *that* great Souldan, Saladine,
 in open feild not long before
 tooke prisoners Guy of Lusignon
 288 & many valliant christians more ;
 after *which* feild the Sarazen
 gott Ioppa & Ierusalem,
 Tyre, Sidon, Acon & Trypolis,
 292 & many cityes more then these.

which was
 caused by
 Saladin's
 great
 successes.

the[n] ¹ before Messene in Cicilee
 the Christen princes poynt to meete
 with all their warlicke companye,
 296 & their together Ioynes their flecte.
 but man doth purpose, god dispose,
 for att the sea such tempests rose,
 the Emperour Lands on Syryan shore,
 300 the french King att Tyrrana Bore,

King Richard Cuerdelyon lands
 vpon the fruitfull Cypresse Ile,
 & there he Marshalld all his bands,—
 304 the vanguard Randle Blondvile,
 himselfe the battell as their head,
 the rereguard the Erle of Pembroke Lcdd ;—
 he heard how by a Sarazen
 308 *that* land had neuer conquered beene.

Randle com-
 mands the
 vanguard of
 Richard's
 army in
 Cyprus.

The turkish *King* on the other side,
 thinking his power made weake by sea,
 the battell boldlye did abyde ;
 312 but the English *King* did win the day,
 the Turkish *King* was slaine in feild ;
 his soliders *that* escapet did yeeld,
 & to *King* Richard thé ² did restore
 316 all the holds they had gott before.

The Turks
 are beaten
 there.

¹ the or then.—P.

² they (delend).—P.

The
crusaders
reach
Palestine.

- he garrisons in all did place,
 & then forthwith mand out his fleete;
 att lenght came where the french *King* was,
 320 whose hart reioced when thé¹ meete;
 and being mett, thé² sayled amaine,
 the holy Land for to attaine,
 And after landed in short time³
 324 vpon the cost of Palestine.³

[The Third Part.]

Randle is
the first to
mount the
walls of

- 3 Part { to Acon walls thé⁴ seege did lay,
 & compassed it by sea & land;
 & after battery many a day,
 328 to assualte, eche one prepared his bande.
 the Erle of Chester first of all
 by force did mount the Citye wall,
 And there in signe of victorye
 332 pight *Richards* coulors vpon hee.

The French
king goes
home.
The English
wars on,

- thé sett the Christian prisoners free;
 the Sarazens went all to wracke
 saue such as wold baptized bee;
 336 the Citye all was put to sacke;
 which done, the french *King* home returned;
 & valliant *Richard* still soiuorned;
 & after, he & *saladine*
 340 in battell did together Ioyne.

and wins a
great
victory.

- King Richard* gott the victorye;
 for after countlese numbers slaine,
 great *Saladine* away did flee,
 344 & being saue,⁵ sent backe againe

¹ they.—P.

² they.—P.

³ These two lines are marked in the

MS. as belonging to Part III.—F.

⁴ they.—P.

⁵ safe.

a messenger to offer peace,
that for 3 yeeres all warres might cease ;
 which offer *Richard* did accept ;
 348 th^e ¹ prisoners changed, & couenants kept.

[page 110.]

how *Richard* in returne, by fraude
 was by the Archduke prisoner tane,
 how long he there did make abode,
 352 how he was ransomed home againe,
 how afterwards he did advance
 his standards gainst the *King* of france,
 what forts and cityes he did gaine,
 356 & how by chance he there was slaine,

Then
 returning
 home, is
 kept a
 prisoner
 by the
 Archduke ; is
 set free, and
 makes war
 on France.

& how in all his bloodye warr
 Earle Randle presence neuer fayld,
 how when his foes had passed farr
 360 in count, his courage neuer failde,
 I ouer-passe : to show I come
 in *King* Iohns raigne what deeds were done
 by this great Erle, what ayd he gaue,
 364 the crowne and Kingdome both to saue.

Randle never
 falls him.

the sea of Canteburye voyd,
 the Monkes by their authoritye
 which many yeeres they had enioyed,
 368 chose Steven Langton to *that* sea,²
 but him the *King* wold not admitt ;
 wherfore the Bishoppe did him gett
 vnto the Pope, & such meanes made
 372 *that* conformation³ there he had ;

When in
 King John's
 reign,
 Stephen
 Langton
 appeals
 from the
 King to the
 Pope,

but *that* the *King* did more incense,
 as breach of his prerogatiue,

the King
 banishes
 him.

¹ they.—P.² see.—Robson.³ confirmation.—P.

wherfor the Monkes he banished hence,
 376 & did warning to Langton gine
 'on paine of death for to refraine,
 & neuer come in this land againe.'
 which heard, he straight returned home
 380 fo[r] excommunication

The Pope, at
 Stephen's
 instance,
 excom-
 municates
 the King
 and the
 country,
 and
 perswades
 France to
 invade him
 and it.

against the King & all the Land;
 wherto the pope did gine consent,
 for such as did the church with-stand,
 384 they were accurst incontinent.
 the Neighbouring Kings he did perswade
 King Iohns dominions to Inuade,
 & cut¹ the subiects of his realme
 388 from duty & obedyence cleane,

The King is
 forced to
 give in.

& by this means such warr to rise
 against the King both here & hence,
 by out & inward enemyes,
 392 that to procure the popes dispençe,²
 to his legatt he surrender made
 of crowne & all the power he had,
 & then did backe receiue his crowne,
 396 &³ tribute to the church of Rome.

So doing
 scandalizes
 his peers,
 who ask the
 French King
 for his son
 to reign
 over them.

but this did soe his peeres offend
 as scandall was⁴ to the estate,
 & they forthwith to france did send
 400 to the french King, for to intreate
 that he vnto them⁵ presentlye
 wold send his sonne, their King to bee;
 &⁶ hostages⁷ he was content,
 404 & with a power his sonne he sent.

¹ quitta.—Cole's MS.

² i. e. dispensation.—P.

³ on.—Cole's MS.

⁴ as scandalous.—Cole's MS.

⁵ MS. then.

⁶ on.—Cole's MS.

⁷ with Hostages, qu.—P.

Noe sooner was he come of ¹ shore,
 but the english barrons Ioynd with him ;
 winchester first, & winsor then ²

The Dauphin
 advances
 into the
 country.

408 he gott, & did the seege begin
 about DOUER : but with inward greefe
 or surfett, Iohn *departs* this life,
 & left a sonne but 9 yeers old,
 412 the *which* of right succeed him shold.

King John
 dies.

the infants low ³ distressed state,—

Being voyd of meanes himselfe to ayde,—[page 111.]
 Erle Randle did comiserate,

Randle
 supports his
 youthful
 son,

416 & likewise valliant Pembroke prayd
 to ioyne with him, young Henerye
 to london to accompanye
 from Newarke, where his father dyed,
 420 & crownd ⁴ him spite of french mens pryde ;

which they accordinglye performed,

& there with dew solemnitye

the infant with the crowne adorned,

424 & swore his subiects to be true ⁵ ;

& then the next insuing day

thé towards Lincolne marcht away,

& by assault the Citye woone,

428 where many french to death were done.

crowns him
 at Newark,
 beate the
 French at
 Lincoln.

But when french Lewis once did heare
 what numbers of his men were slaine,
 & of what force the 2 earles was, ⁶

The Dauphin
 is faine to
 get out of
 the country.

432 without delay himselfe was faine,—
 money being payd for his expence,—
 noe claime to make, but *part* from hence,

¹ on.—P.

² and then Windsor.—P.

³ loan.—Cole's MS.

⁴ crowne. — P. Like *drownd* for
drown.—F.

⁵ true to be.—P.

⁶ were.—P.

- & all such places to restore
 436 wherof he conquest made before.
- Erl Randle
 prepares for
 another
 crusade,
 440 thus hauing placed in peace & rest
 young Henery in his fathers throne,
 by all good subiects hylie blest,
 [the] Erle returned backe home,¹
 & valliant Pembroke² to³ abyde,
 the infant King to rule & guide.
 Erle Randle did entend againe
 444 a iourney to Ierusalem,
- with the
 Erl of
 Winchester, 448 & hauing gathered such a power
 as fitting was for his intent,
 with Quinsay, Erle of winchester,
 who Ioynd with him, to sea he went ;
 & by the way he vnderstoode
 how christian bands by Nilus flood
 beseege the citey damyatte,
 452 & long with losse had lyen theratt.
- assists in the
 siege of
 Damietta,
 456 wherfore he thither bent his course,
 & came in time to giue them ayde,
 for rayse their seege thé must of force
 through extreame want, but he them stayd,
 & with the great applause of all
 he chosen was Lord Generall ;
 nor gaue thé him *that* name in vaine,
 460 for they by his meanes the citey gaine.⁴
- exchanges
 the captured
 city for
 Jerusalem,
 inestimable⁵ was the store
 of gold & welthy Merchandize

¹ The Erle, he back returned home.
 —P.

² MS. Penbrooke.—F.

³ ? did.—F.

⁴ MS. *gainde, with thed crossed through.*
 —F.

⁵ cf. Fr. *estimable*, esteemable, valuable, priseable: Cotgrave.—F.

that there they gott : but he did more
 464 esteeme gods [glory] then ¹ the prize.
 the ægyptian Souldan Saladine
 did offer him Ierusalem
 & all those holds he gott of Late
 468 in Iury, backe pro ² DAMIATTE,

which he accepted in the name
 of Iohn, who was then Iuries King.
 him leaving to receive the same,
 472 he into England backe did bring,
 without great lose, his famous bands
 renowned and feared in heathen Lands,
 & soe enriched, there was not one
 476 but had enough to line vpon.

& instantlye on his returne
 resolving now to liue in peace,
 the great strong castle of Beeston
 480 he built, with the abbey of Delacreese,³
 & Chortley castle :—in 2 yeeres
 those 2 great castles finished were ;
 in 1220?
 484 they both were finished perfectlye ;—

and after liued for 12 yeeres space,
 Loden with honour, welth, & yeeres, [page 112.]
 both hielie in his princes grace,⁴
 488 & r[e]uerenced of all the peeres,
 & equall with all those aboue,
 most deeplye in the commons loue ;
 But at the last, att wallingford,
 492 his Erldomes Lost their honored Lord.

returns to
England,

builds
Beeston and
Chortley
castles,

A.D. 1220 ;

dies at
Wallingford,
A.D. 1232,

¹ God's glory than.—P. God's house
esteeme.—Cole's MS.

² pro, i. e. for.—P.

³ Deulacres, or Dieulacres ; spelt both
ways in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. 1.

p. 890, where there are many curious
details about the foundation of the abbey.
—Robson.

⁴ There is a tag at the end of e as if
for s.—F.

having held
his earlshipp
for half a
century.

He leaves
four sisters.

Randle is
succeeded by
his nephew,

at whose
death the
King seizes
his earldom,

for 50 yeeres in 4 *Kings* rayne,
Some-times in peace, somtimes in striffe,
his Earldomes in his hands remains ;
496 then I-shule-se¹ he left his life.
he had 4 sisters, vnto whom
his Land successiueye shold come :
all in his life time marryed were ;
500 the Eldest of whom Iohn Scott did beare

by DAVID of the royall line
of Scottish *Kings*, one of whose heyres
[enjoyed the²] Scottish crowne in time,
504 as by the Cronickle appeares.
Erle Arrundell the 2^d had ;
& darby of the 3^d choice made ;
& Quinsey, the erle of winchester,
508 had to his wife the youngest of 4.

in Chester Abbey was interr'd
Erle Randles body : to whose place
Iohn Scott, his nephew, was preferred,
512 who likewise Erle of Anguish³ was.
he after 5 yeeres, I-shules⁴
att darnall dyed : the king did ceaze
his erldomes all into his hands,
516 giuing his sisters other lands ;

for he 4 sisters left alieue,
& Allen, Lord of Galloway,
the eldest of them had to wiffe ;
520 She Derngill bore, *that Lady gay*,
who by Iohn Balyoll forth did bring
Iohn Balyoll, who was Scottish *King*.
the next was mached to Robert Bruise,
524 a Scottish Lord of ancient house.

Iohn Sc-
ott : 7th
Erle.

¹ issueless.—Cole's MS.

² enjoyed the.—Cole's MS.

³ Angus.—Cole's MS.

⁴ issueless.—Cole's MS.

EARLES OFF CHESTER.

the 3 noe Ishue had ; the 4th
 & last did Henery Hastings wedd,
 & to him Iseue store brought forth,
 528 of whom are famous houses bredd.
 King Henery, after 16 yeeres,
 vnto prince Edward & his heyres,
 Kings of this lande, did it convey
 532 by patent ; soe vntill this day

and
 presently
 bestows it
 on Prince
 Edward.

all princes ¹ of this Land did hold
 the same with as great royaltie
 as Lupus had the same of old,
 536 & his succeeding progenie.
 soe Chester euer hath had since
 an Erle when England had a Prince ;
 & when as princes there had beene none,
 540 the profitts to the crowne hane gone.
 fins.

¹ MS. princer.—F.

Carle of Westmorlande.¹

[This is a sequel to the Rising in the North. Page 255 [of MS.].—P.]

[IN TWO PARTS.—P.]

THE only copy known of this ballad is that here printed for the first time.

Two other ballads dealing with the subject of it—the Northern Rebellion—are well known. They are “The Rising in the North,” and “Northumberland betrayed by Douglas,” both preserved in the Folio, and printed from it by Percy with more or less corruption. Wordsworth’s “White Doe of Rylstone” is the greatest poem that deals with it.

This rebellion was one of many signs given by the North of its attachment to the old faith. Signs of that adherence had been shown more than once in Henry VIII.’s reign. The re-establishment of the Reformation shortly after Elizabeth’s accession excited much dissatisfaction. The old order of things seemed passing away irrevocably. Some nine years afterwards the arrival in England of Mary Queen of Scots gave discontent a definite aim and purpose. This was to secure her succession to the throne, and with it the permanent restoration of Romanism. The wife of the Duke of Norfolk had died in 1567. In 1569 a scheme was formed for effecting a marriage between that nobleman, the great champion of Romanism, and the exiled Romanist Queen. It meditated no immediate treason against Queen Elizabeth, at least so far as the Duke himself understood it. But it seems to have been concealed from her

¹ Charles Neville.—P.

with a suspicious studiousness, while both the French and the Spanish courts were informed of it and warmly encouraged it. However, with such dexterous ministers at her service as Cecil and Walsingham, and such effective means for penetrating the secrets of any policy as the ideas of that time allowed and those ministers frequently employed, the Queen was soon aware of it. Norfolk, who when the Queen alluded to it essayed to pacify her by a sneer glancing at the fate of Mary's last husband, was presently committed to the Tower. Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland (whose father had taken part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and paid the penalty), and Charles Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland—the Blandamour and Paridal of "The Fairy Queen"—who also were concerned in the plot, were summoned to make their appearance in London. They returned excuses. A second summons came. Northumberland wavered. He was deceived into believing that the time for wavering was past. Westmoreland and he arose in arms. They muster their troops at Brancepeth, and declare their object to be "to restore the religion of their forefathers, remove evil counsellors from the Queen, and cause justice to be done to the Duke of Norfolk and the other lords then in prison or disgrace. They seize Durham, burn the Bible and celebrate mass once more in the cathedral there; then march southwards by Darlington and Richmond and Ripon and Boroughbridge, reinstating the old religious rites as they go, to Bramham Moor (the Bramaball more of v. 8 of our ballad). There their ill-starred expedition halts. On that moor, fatal to another Percy (the Northumberland of Shakespeare's "Henry IV.") some century and a half before, hearing that Sussex is advancing against them and Warwick levying troops and Mary of Scotland transferred from Tutbury to Coventry, a strongly fortified town and distant, and in the midst of an unfriendly population, they resolve to retreat. Accordingly they retrace their steps to Barnard Castle, which, after a brave resistance by Sir George Bowes, they at last

take. During the siege they secure Hartlepool, in order that they may have a harbour in which to receive the Spanish succours they look for. Sussex advancing in pursuit, they retire to Naworth Castle, and on his nearer approach they disperse. *Plectuntur Achivi*. Sixty-six rebels are executed at Durham, many others at York and London. Meanwhile the leaders fled for refuge to the Scotch marches, first into Liddesdale ["Therles, rebells, and their principall confederates," writes Sir Ralph Sadler to the Secretary Cecil, "do lurk and hide themselves in the woodds and deserts of Lyddesdale; but if they tarry on the borders, there is good hope to have some of them ere it be long. Therles have changed their names and apparell, and ryde like the outlawes of Lyddesdale, and we have to presume and suspect grately that they shall receyve some helpe and comfort of the lord Hume, and of the Carres in Tividale"], and then, when the Elliots (who had "given pledges to the regent of Scotland"—see "Cabala," p. 160, "Advertisements from Hexham," December 22, 1569) raise their forces against them, into the Bateable. The Earls parted company. Northumberland entrusted himself to an Armstrong, Hector of Harlaw, who made his name a proverb of infamy by betraying him to Murray, whose successor Morton drew on himself the curses of his country by delivering him up to England. Of his fate something more may be said in the Introduction to the ballad which bewails it. Westmoreland's movements seem to be in our ballad confounded with those of Northumberland. Indeed the first three stanzas, with slight variations, are assigned to Northumberland in that Earl's ballad; and to him they properly belong. Westmoreland sought an asylum at Fernihurst (near Jedburgh) with Sir Thomas Ker. In that wild sanctuary Constable, Cecil's spy, found him, sadly crestfallen. "Then I praid my lord to consider that miserable estat that he had lewdly brought himself to, and to seke out the best way howe to recover

himself again ; he looked at me and tooke all patiently that I spoke, the teares overhauled his cheks abundantly. I could not forbear weping to see him sodenly fall to repentance ; neither of us could speak to another of a long time ; at last he wyped his chekes, and praid me to follow him ; he went to his chamber in the tower and commaunded his men furth, and lockt to the dore himself, and thus he began : Cosen Robert, you are my kinsmann nere comed furth of my house, and one whome I derely love and trust. I must confess I have as lewdly overshott myself as any man could do ; not the les, I pray you let me have your counsell what way you think were liklyest for me to obtaine my pardon and favor of the queen's majestie." The counsel given by this false kinsman, happily for the trusting Earl, came to nought. His companions in misfortune were hiding near him. In the autumn of 1570 he was seen by another spy, setting sail from Aberdeen to seek the protection of Spain. (Compare vv. 49-56).

So much for the first passage in his career described in our ballad. As we have said, the ballad seems to confuse him with Northumberland. With regard to v. 41, Lord Hunston, the governor of Berwick, displayed great vigour in pursuing the fugitives. The Captain Read mentioned in connection with the Berwick garrison, at one time suspected of sympathising with the rebels, afterwards greatly distinguished himself on the royal side in the fight with Leonard Dacre on the banks of the Chelt. "Capteine Reade," says Holinshed, "and the other capteins and soldiers of Berwike bare themselves right valiantlie and shewed prooffe of their skill and hardie manhood in this skirmish." We may just mention that the Scotch borderers paid a heavy penalty for the hospitality shown to the Earls and their followers. Lord Sussex overran the district with fire and sword.

With regard to the second passage in Westmoreland's career

here described—his fortunes in the Spanish service—the account given has, so far as we know, no historical basis whatever. The ascertained facts are that he escaped to the Netherlands and became a pensioner of Spain. There are extant several letters written by him from Brussels and other places in the Low Countries to Burleigh, and one to his wife. In 1576—the year of Don John of Austria's appointment to the Governor-generalship of the Netherlands—Dr. Thomas Wilson informs Cecil that the English malcontents “swarm about Don John—the lewdee Erele, Stewkley the romanist, and Jenny that was at Milan;” and again, in the same year, “The Earl of Westmerland, Stewkly, and Jenny are come with the other rabble of rebels and fugityves to Don Jon, and use themselves very insolently agaynst our sovereign.” The great dream of Spain was the invasion of England. One of Don John's many dreams was a marriage with the Scottish Mary. So the refugee Earl found some favour with the Spanish government. In 1583 a writer—no doubt a hearty Protestant—“on the execution of justice in England” speaks of him in a way to justify the above quoted epithet of “lewd.” He remarks that many “notable traitors and rebels,” when driven into exile, have made religion the pretext of their sufferings; yet, “divers of them before their rebellion lived so notoriously, the most part of their lives, out of all good rule either for honest manners or for any sense in religion, as they might have been rather familiar with Catalyn or favourers of Sardanapalus, then accompted good subjects under any Christian princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, a person utterly wasted by looseness of life and by God's punishment, even in the time of his rebellion bereaved of his children that should have succeeded him in the earldome and his bodie nowe eaten with ulcers of lewde causes (as his companions do saye) that no enemye he

hath can wish him a viler punishment, a pitiful losse to the realme of so noble a house, never before in any age attainted for disloyaltie." Camden says, "within the compass of" 1584 "Charles Nevil, that traitorous rebel against his prince and country, the last Earl of Westmoreland of this house, ended his life obscurely in a miserable exile." But in fact he died in 1601. (See Sir Cuthbert Sharpe's "Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569.") His wife Anne (daughter of the Earl of Surrey, the poet, and so sister of the Duke of Norfolk mentioned above), "though deeply implicated in the rebellion, did not follow her lord into Scotland, but repaired to Howard House, and after some hesitation was received at Court." (Lingard. See v. 314 of our ballad.) She died in 1593.

In our text the Earl is represented as boldly turning sailor when he finds Scotland too hot for him, and, as he cruises, meeting Don John of Austria, who patronises him on the strength of something he has read in "the booke of Mable"—that a Briton, Charles Nevil, with a child's voice, should come over the sea—and conducts him to the Queen of Seville, who presently gives him a captain's commission, and, when he slays in single combat a very formidable enemy of hers, offers him her hand in marriage, and, when he declines that honour on the satisfactory ground that he is married already, bestows on him a pension of 100*l.* per diem. Perhaps this remarkable story was invented to explain and palliate the reception of a pension by an English Earl from a foreign court. The facts were that he was drawing a wretchedly meagre pension, and drawing it from sheer destitution. There can be no doubt that the English refugees in the Netherlands were miserably pinched and starved. The ballad glorifies a paltry pittance into a splendid largess, and confers it not to keep off starvation but for illustrious service done. Northern England, we have said, was fondly attached to the old religion; it was most fondly attached to its great sons, the Percies and the

Nevila. It cherished therefore, fondly, the memory of its champions in 1569. A letter of the time speaks of the "olde good will" of the people "deep grafted in their harts to their nobles and gentlemen of this country which fled." This goodwill delighted to throw a glamour over the miserable fortunes of those distressed exiles. It could not entertain the graceless reality. It zealously maintained the dignity of the author of a most futile rebellion—(How well the Earl explains his homelessness :

" When we were att home in England fayre,
Our prince and wee cold not agree "—

and established him as the mighty and successful supporter of a foreign throne. Says noble Nevil to the grateful Queen :

" If ever your grace doe stande in neede
Champion to your highnesse againe I'll be."

" *Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*" When the ballad was written, the fame of Lepanto would be still ringing throughout Europe. Naturally then Don John, the hero of that signal victory, would be selected as the Spanish Admiral to meet and greet the Earl on his watery way.

Barbary was at this time a terrible name in Europe. The Corsairs of Tripoli and Tunis "scoured the seas," and were said to practise fearful cruelties on their Christian prisoners. Spain had suffered severe blows from them, (as, for instance, at Gelves in 1560). In 1569 the Moriscos, hoping for succours from these dreaded kinsmen, revolted. Don John was appointed to suppress them. The war lingered on for some two years, and was therefore going on when Westmoreland fled from England. It is possible that he may have served in it, and that the rumour of some exploit—some encounter with a Moorish chieftain in it, or in connection with it—may have furnished a hint for the terrible duel so fully portrayed in our ballad.

The King of Spain (Philip II.) is ignored or forgotten, that

the Queen may be in a position to "propose" to the Sultan's vanquisher. This incident of the proposal may, perhaps, have been borrowed from "The Spanish Lady's Love." There, similarly, the gentleman replies:

"I in England have already
A sweet woman to my wife:
I will not falsifie my vow for gold or gain,
Nor yet for all the fairest dames that live in Spain."

And now let us speak briefly of Charles Nevil's companions—that is, the companions specified in the text, for many others shared his fortunes—his *dura navis, dura fugæ mala, dura belli*. Thomas Markenfield (the "Martinfeild" of our ballad, called elsewhere, variously, Merkenfeyld, Markenfeld, Markanfeld) of Markenfield, Yorkshire, returned from exile to take part in the rising, and took a very active part in it. His brother John narrowly escaped execution for what connection he had with it. No doubt Thomas's enthusiasm was intense, his experience wide, his influence very great. Our ballad endows him with a wonderful heraldic knowledge, and knowledge of men and of languages, and even with prophetic power. Both in the Borders and in the Netherlands he seems to have accompanied Westmoreland. He and four Nortons (the father and three sons) and Edward Dacre are all amongst the fugitives demanded of the Regent by Lord Sussex. But neither he nor any one of the others is mentioned by the spy as sailing from Aberdeen with the Earl. He and three Nortons and Edward Dacre are mentioned amongst the English pensioners of Spain. There is extant a letter addressed to him in Madrid in 1593 (Harl. MSS. No. 286). "*Your wife*," it says, (she was one Isabel, daughter of Sir William Ingleby,) "*is powre, but prayeth hard for you . . . I fear she is in great lack of worldly comforts.*" With regard to the Nortons, the father, Sir Richard, "an old gentleman with a reverend gray head, bearing a cross with a

stremer," as Camden describes him, was seventy-one years of age when he joined the insurrection. The "Rising in the North" errs in stating that he was put to death for his share in it. Constable saw him during his retirement in the Borders, eager to hear of his sons, and much cheered to know that they were not all taken. William, Marmaduke, and Christopher were so, with their uncle Thomas. Francis, Sampson, and George had escaped across the Borders. With Francis and Sampson the old man got over the water and partook of Spanish bounty. The Dacre mentioned amongst the Earl's men may be Edward Dacre, a son of Lord Dacre of Gilsland, or his elder brother Leonard, who attempted an insurrection in the beginning of 1570, then fled to Scotland, and then to Flanders. Edward is heard of at Namur in Dec. 1574. He was dead in 1585.

Such are the ascertained facts transmuted and exaggerated, with additions, into the present ballad. The result is extremely curious and extremely obscure. We must now leave it, with all its singularity, to our readers.

¹ HOW long shall fortune faile me now,
 and keepe me heare in deadlye feare ² ?
 how long shall I in bale abide,
 4 in misery my life to leade ?

Lord
 Westmore-
 land rebels
 against
 Elizabeth.

to ffall from my rose, it was my chance,
 such was the Queene of England ³ fayre ;
 I tooke a lake, ⁴ & turned my backe,
 8 on Bramaball more shee caused my flye.

¹ These lines are given in one of my old copies to Lord Northumberland: they seem here corrupted.—P.

² fear and dread.—P.

³ Queen Elizabeth.—P.

⁴ play, sport.—P. thence, fight.—F.

- one gentle Armstrong *that* I doe ken, Armstrong
 alas with thee I dare not mocke,
 Thou dwellest soe far on the west border, [page 113.]
 12 thy name is called the *Lord* Locke.
- Now hath Armstrong taken Noble Nevill, takes
 & as one Martin-feild did *profecye*,¹ Neville,
 he hath taken the *Lord* Dakers, Dakers,
 16 a lords sonne of great degree ;
- he hath taken old *Master* Nortton, Norton,
 & sonnes 4 in his companye ;
 hee hath taken another gentleman
 20 called Iohn of Carnakie. and John of
 Carnakie.
- then bespake him Charles Nevill ; Lord West-
 to all his men I wott, sayd hee, moreland
 sayes, " I must into Scotland fare ² ; and his men
 24 soe nie the borders is noe biding for me."
- when he came to Humes Castle, see to Hume
 & all his noble companye, Castle.
 the *Lord* Hume halched ³ them right soone,
 28 saying, " banished men, welcome to mee ! "
- they had not beene in Humes Castle The Regent
 not a month & dayes 3, of Scotland
 but the regent of Scotland he & god witt ⁴ hears of his
 32 *that* banished men there shold be. being there,
- " He write a letter," sayd the regent then, and
 " & send to Humes Castle hastilye deliberates
 to see whether *Lord* Humes wilbe soe good how to get
 36 to bring the banished men vnto mee. at them.

¹ See l. 154, l. 61, &c. —F.² *i.e.* go, pass.—P.³ *Halsing*, apud Scotos est salutatio,
 ab *Hail*, salve, ave. Gloss to Gawin
 Douglas (rather from Halse, the neck :to Halse, is to fall on the neck, embrace,
i.e. salute).—P.⁴ *Lege*, got witt, got intelligence, know-
 ledge, &c.; see below, Stanza 12 [l. 45].
 —P.

"that Lord & I haue beene att deadlye fuyde,
 & hee & I cold neuer agree :
 writting a letter, *that* will not serue ;
 40 the banished men must not speake with me ;

but I will send for the garrison of Barwicke,
that they will come all with speede,
 & with them will come a Noble Captaine
 44 *which* is called Captain Reade."

Lord Hume
 transfers
 them to
 Camely
 Castle.

then the Lord Hume he got witt
 they wold seeke vnto Nevill, where he did lye ;
 he tooke them out of the castle of Hume,
 48 & brought them into the castle of Camelye.

Westmore-
 land resolves
 to turn
 sailer.

then bespake him Charles Nevill,
 to all his men, I wott, spoke hee,
 sayes, "I must goe take a Noble Shippe,
 52 & wee be Marriners vpon the sea.

"He seeke out fortune ¹ where it doth Lye ;
 in Scottland there is noe byding for mee."
 then thé tooke leaue with fayre Scottland,
 56 for they are sealing vpon the sea.

As he and
 his men sail,
 they sight a
 tall ship.

they had not sayled vpon the sea
 not one day & monthes 3,
 but they were ware of a Noble shippe
 60 *that* 5 topps² bare all soe hye.

He calls
 Markenfield
 to him,

then Nevill called to Martin-feeld,
 sayd, "Martin-feeld, come hither to mee !
 some good counsell, Martin-feeld,
 64 I pray thee giue it vnto mee ;

¹ fortune in MS.—F.

² Among Sea-men, *Topps* are taken for those round Frames of Board that lye upon the Cross-trees, near the Heads of

the Masts, where they get up to furl or loose the Top-sails. (Phillips.) *Top Castles*, ledgings surrounding the mast-head. (Halliwell.)—F.

"thou told me when I was in England fayre,
before *that* I did take the sea,
thou neuer sawst noe banner borne

68 but thou wold ken it with thine eye,

a man
famous
for his
knowledge
of heraldry

"thou neuer saw noe man in the face,
iff thou had seene before with thine eye,
thou coldest haue kend thy freind ¹ by thy foe,

72 & then haue told it vnto mee ;

and memory
of men

"thou neuer heard noe speeche spoken,
neither in greeke nor Hebrewewe,
thou coldest haue answered them in any language,

76 & then haue told it vnto mee.²"

and
understand-
ing of
languages.

"Master, Master, see you yonder faire ancyent ³ ?
yonder is the serpent & the serpents head,
the mould-warpe ⁴ in the midst fitt,⁵

80 & itt all shines with gold soe redde ;

He discovers
from the
ensign that

¹ friend.—P.

² me unto ; so the Rhyme requires.—P.

³ An *Ancient* or *Anshent*, a Flag or Streamer, set up in the Stern of a Ship. Phillips.—F.

⁴ *Taupe* : f. The little beast called a Mole or Moldewarp. Cotgrave. In Yorkshire *moldywarpe* still. Two drawings of the arms of Don John are given in *Examples of the Ornamental Heraldry of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 34, just published (or printed privately) by Sir W. Stirling Maxwell, M.P. The arms are the shields of Castile, Leon, and Aragon, either quartering the arms of Austria, or bearing them upon an escutcheon of pretence. The only animals that he bore were lions and eagles. Mr. J. R. Planché, *Rouge Croix*, says, "The arms were only on the banner, the badge and crest on the standard, pennon &c. The arms of Don John of Austria were the same as those borne by his father, without any abatement to mark his illegitimacy. His crest was a plume of peacock's feathers, and therefore I am as much at a loss as

ever to know what is meant by 'the serpent and the serpent's head, the moldwarpe &c.' There is nothing in either his coat, crest, or badge, that by any ingenuity can be twisted into such a bearing." Mr. Holmes suggests that the serpent and mole may have been a device of Don John's, as about his time people were fond of adopting devices. Whether Don John chose his own flag or not, I cannot say ; he certainly brushed his own hair as he liked, and set the fashion that way. "Don John, because the haire on the left side of his temples grew upright, used with his hand to put away all the haire from his fore-head ; and because that baring of the Fore-head looked handsome in him, thence came the Fashion of combing and keeping the haire up, in-somuch as that kind of Foretop is in some places called an *Austrian*." ed. 1650. St^r R^t Stapylton, *T^r of Strada's Low-Country Warres*, bk. x. p. 21. (See his portrait, facing p. 26, bk. ix.)—F.

⁵ i. e. in the middle part ; see page 361, st. 57 ; see also page 84 [of MS.].—P.

the ship
belongs to
John, Duke
of Austria,

yonder is Duke Iohn of Austria,
a Noble warryour on the sea,
Whose dwelling is in Ciuill Land,¹
84 & many men, god wot, hath hee."

[page 114.]

and urges
flight.

then bespake him Martin-feelde,
to all his fellowes, I wot, said hee,
"turne our noble shipp about,
88 & *thats* a token *that* wee will flee."

Neville
declines to
fly.

"thy counsell is not good, Martin-feeld;
itt falleth not out fitting for mee;
I rue the Last time I turnd my backe,
92 I did displease my prince & the Countrey."

then bespake him Noble Nevill,
to all his men, I wott, sayd hee,
"sett me vp my faire Dun Bull,²
96 with gilden hornes hee beares all soo hye,

"& I will passe yonder Noble Duke
by the leane of Mild Marye;
for yonder is the Duke of Austria
100 *that* trauels now vpon the sea."

The Duke
of Austria
sends a
herald to ask
who Neville
is.

& then bespake this Noble Duke,
vnto his men then sayd hee,
"yonder is sure some Nobleman,
104 or else some youth *that* will not flee;

"I will put out a pinace fayre,
a Harold of armes vpon the sea,
& goe thy way to yonder noble shippe,
108 & bring the *Masters* Name to mee."

¹ Cecil land, i.e. Sicily.—P.

² This is the Neville crest to this day.
—J. R. Planché.

When the Herald of armes came before Noble Nevill,
 he fell downe low vpon his knee,

“you must tell me true what is your name,
 112 & in what cuntrye your dwelling may bee.”

“*that* will I not doe,” sayd Noble Nevill,

“by Mary Mild, *that* Mayden free,
 except I first know thy *Masters* name,

116 & in what country his dwelling may bee.”

Neville will
 first be told
 who the
 Duke is.

then bespake the Herald of armes—

O *that* he spoke soe curteously,—

“Duke Iohn of Austria is my *Masters* name,

120 he will neuer Lene¹ it vpon the sea ;

The herald
 tells him.

“he hath beene in the citye of Rome,
 his dwelling is in Ciuillee.²”

“then wee are poore Brittons,” the Nevill can say,

124 “where wee trauell vpon the sea,

“& Charles Nevill, itt is my name,

I will neuer lene it vpon the sea.

when I was att home in England faire,

128 I was the Erle of westmoreland,” sayd hee.

The Neville
 declares
 himself.

then backe is gone this herald of armes

whereas this Noble Duke did lye,

“loe, yonder are poore Brittons,”—can he say—

132 “where thé trauell vpon the sea,

The herald
 reports what
 he has
 learnt.

“& Charles Nevill is their *Masters* name,

he will neuer lene it vpon the sea ;

when he was at home in England fayre,

136 he was the Erle of westmoreland, said hee.”

¹ Lene, *i. e.* conceal.—P. Old Norse, *leyna*, to hide.—F.

² Ciillee, *i. e.* Sicily.—P.

[The Second Part.]

The Duke,
remember-
ing some old
prophecy,
asks for an
interview
with the
Earl,

2 Part

Then bespake this Noble Duke,
& euer he spake soe hastilye,
& said, "goe backe to yonder Noble Man,
140 & bid him come & speake with me,
"for I haue read in the booke of Mable,
there shold a brittaine come ouer the sea,
Charles Nevill with a Childs voice :
144 I pray god *that* it may be hee."

When these 2 nobles they didden meete,
they halched eche other right curteouslye ;
yett Nevill halched Iohn the sooner
148 because a banished man, alas, was hee.

and wishes
to see his
men.

"call in your men," sayd this Noble Duke,
"faine your men *that* I wold see."
"euer alas!" said Noble Nevill,
152 "they are but a litle small companye."

The Earl
calls them
in.

first he called in Martin-field,
that Martin-ffeeld *that* cold prophecye ;
he call[ed] in then Lord Dakers,
156 A lords sonne of high degree ;

[page 113.]

then called he in old Master Nortton,
& sonnes 4 in his companye ;
he called in one other gentleman
160 Called Iohn of Carnabye :

He confesses
that he and
his sovereign
could not
agree.

"Loe! these be all my men," said noble Nevill,
"& all *thats* in my companye ;
when we were att home in England fayre,
164 our prince & wee cold not agreee."

- then bespake this Noble Duke,
 "to try *your* manhood on the sea,
 old *Master* Nortton shall goe ouer into france,
 168 & his sonnes 4 in his companye ;
- "& my *Lord* Dakers shall goe over into ffrance,
 there a Captaine ffor to bee ;
 & those 2 other gentlemen wold goe with him,
 172 & for to fare in his companye ;
- "& you your-selfe shall goe into Ciuill ¹ Land,
 & Martin-fieild *that* can prophecye."
 "that will I not doe," sayd Noble Nevill,
 176 "by Mary Mild, *that* Mayden free,
- "for thé haue knowen me in wele and woe,
 in neede, scar[s]nesse ² & pouertye :
 before He part with the worst of them,
 180 He rather part with my liffe," sayd hee.
- & then bespake this Noble Duke,
 & euer he spake soe curteouslye,
 sayes, "you shall part with none of them !
 184 there is soe much manhood in *your* bodye."
- then these 2 Noblemen labored together
 pleasantly vpon the sea ;
 their Landing was in Ciuill ³ land,
 188 in Ciuilee ⁴ that ffaire Citye.
- 3 nights att this Dukes, Nevill did lye,
 & serued like a nobleman was hee ;
 then the Duke made a supplication
 192 & sent it to the Queene of Ciuilee, ⁵

The Duke
proposes to
send the
Nortons into
France,

with Lord
Dacres,

and to take
the Earl and
Markenfield
to Sicily
with him.

The Earl
will not
be parted
from his
followers.

So they all
sail together
to Sicily.

¹ Ciil.—P.

² scarceness.—P.

³ Ciil.—P.

⁴ Ciileee.—P.

⁵ In this and the like names following,

th u has only one stroke in the MS., as often happens. The letter is not meant for c, clearly, as it has not the accent or beak of a c.—F.

The Duke
introduces
Westmore-
land to the
Queen,

saying, "such a man is your citye within,
I mett him pleasantly vpon the sea,
he seemes to be a Noble Man,
196 & Captaine to your grace he faine wold bee."

then the Queene sent for [these] Noble Men
for to come into her companye.
when Nevill came before the Queene,
200 hee kneeled downe vpon his knee;

who
welcomes
him,

shee tooke him vp by the lilly white hand,
said, "welcome, my Lord, hither to me!
you must first tell me your name,
204 & in what countrye thy dwelling may bee."

he said, "Charles Nevill is my name;
I will neuer lene it in noe countrye;
when I was att home in England fayre,
208 I was the Erle of westmorland trulye."

and makes
him a
captain.

the Queene made him Captaine ouer 40000,
watch & ward within Ciuill land to keepe,
& for to warr against the heathen Soldan,
212 & for to helpe her in her needs.

When the
Sultan of
Barbary
hears of
him,

when tho heathen soldan he gott witt—
in barbary where he did lye—
sainge, "such a man is in yonder Citye within,
216 & a bold venturer by sea is hee,"

he writes to
the Queen,

then the heathen Soldan made a letter,
& sent it to the Queene instantlye,—
& all that heard this letter reade
220 where it was rehersed in Ciuillce,—

saying, "haue you any man your Land within,
Man to Man dare fight with mee ?

and
proposes
a single
combat.

& both our lands shalbe ioyned in one,

224 & cristenen lands they both shalbe."

shee said, "I haue noe man my land within,
man to man dare fight with thee ;

The Queen
says she has
no one to
meet him.

but euery day thou shalt haue a battell,

228 if it be for these weekes 3."

All beheard him Charles Nevill

[page 116.]

in his bedd where he did lye ;

& when he came the Queene before,

232 he fell downe low vpon his knee,

"grant me a boone, my Noble Dame,
for christes loue *that* dyed on tree !

Neville
offers to
meet him.

for I will goe fight with yond heathen soldan

236 if you will bestowe the manhood on mee."

then bespake this curteous Queene,

& euer shee spoke soe curteouslye,

The Queen
hesitates.

"though you be a banished man out of your realme,

240 it is great pitye *that* thou shold dye."

then bespake this Noble Duke

as hee stood hard by the Queenes knee,

The Duke
persuades
her to
consent.

"as I haue read in the Booke of Mable,

244 there shall a Brittone come ouer the sea,

"& Charles Nevill shold be his name,

but a childes voyce, I wott, hath hee ;

& if he ben in Christendome,

248 for hart & hand this man hath hee."

then the Queenes counsell cast their heads together
that Nevill shold fight with the heathen soldan
that dwelt in the Citey of barbarye.

All the
 arrange-
 ments are
 made.

252 the battell & place appointed was
 in a fayre greene, hard by the sea,
 & they shood ¹ meete att the headless crosse,²
 & there to fight right Manfullye.

Neville asks
 to see the
 Queen's flag.

256 then Nevill cald for the Queenes ancient,
 & faine *that* ancient he wold see.
 thé brought him forth the broken sword
 with bloodye hands therin trulye ;

260 thé brought him forth the headless crosse,
 in *that* ancyent it was seene :
 " O this is a token," sayd Martin-feeld,
 " *that* sore ouerthrowen this prince hath beene."

Neville
 orders
 his own
 standard to
 be raised ;

264 " O sett me vp my fayre Dun Bull ;
 & trumpetts blow me farr & nee,
 vntill I come within a mile of the headlesse crosse,
that the headlesse crosse I may see."

appoints
 Markenfield
 his lieu-
 tenant ;

268 then lighted downe Noble Nevill,
 & sayd, " Marttin-ffeeld, come hither to me !
 heere I make thee Choice Captain over my host
 vntill againe I may thee see."

and rides to
 meet the
 Sultan,

272 then Nevill rode to the headless crosse
 which stands soe fayre vpon the sea :
 there was he ware of the heathen soldan,
 both fowle and vglye for to see.

¹ MS. stood, *for* should.—F.

² . . . Barouns gunne with hym ryde
 Unto the *brokene cros* of ston.

Thedyr com the kyng ful soone anon,
 And there he gan abyde.
Rom. of Athelston, in *Reliq. Antiq.* ii. 97.
 —F.

- 276 then the soldan began for to call ;
 2^o he called lowd & hye,
 & sayd, " what is this ? some kitchin boy
 that comes hither to fight with mee ? "
- 280 then bespake him Charles Nevill,—
 but a child's voice, I wott, had hee,—
 " thou spekest soe litle of gods might!
 much more lesse I doe care for thee."
- 284 att the first meeting *that* these 2 mett,
 the heathen Soldan & the Christen man,
 thé broke their speares quite in sunder,
 & after *that* on foote did stand.
- 288 the next meeting *that* these 2 mett,
 thé swapt¹ together with swords soe fine ;
 thé fought together till they both swett,
 of blowes *that* were both derfe² & dire.
- 292 they fought an houre in battell strong ;
 the soldan marke Nevill with his eye,
 " there shall neuer man me ouercome
 except it be Charles Nevill," sayd hee.
- 296 Then Nevill he waxed bold,
 & cunning in fight, I wott, was hee,
 euen att the gorgett of the Soldans lacke³
 he stroke his head of presentlye.

who scoffs
at him.

They fight
with spears,

with swords.

[page 117.] Neville
prevails.

¹ to *swappe*, to strike, to cut off suddenly, &c.; Urry's Gl. Isl. *swipan*, motus subitus; *ab ad swipa*, cito agere. Lye.—P.

² *derfe*, active, strong, robust. Gloss. to Gawn. Douglass, who has render'd *Durum* a stirpe genus, Æ. 9, 603, 'of nature derfe & doure' (N.B. *doure* is the Latin *durum*.) *Derfe*, in y^e gloss. is deriv'd from *deorfan*, S. A. laborare; it is used in many places, & seems to be in the sense of hard, hardy, rough. See pag. 388, lin. 324; Pag. 389, lin. 379 [of MS.].—P.

³ Meyrick says the military *jack* originated with the English, and quotes the *Chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin* (temp. Richard II.), to show its use:—

"Each had a jack above his hauberk."

He engraves a figure of Eudo de Arsic, 1260, who wears one of leather, exactly like the tunic without sleeves; it is buttoned down the front to the waist, and secured round it by a girdle. *Fairholt's Costume in England*, p. 514.—F.

Neville
thanks God
for his
victory.

300 then kneeled downe Noble Nevill,
& thanked god for his great grace,
that he shold come soe farr into a strang Land
to ouercome the soldan in place.

304 hee tooke the head vpon his sword poynt,
& carryed it amongst his host soe fayre.
when *thé* saw the Soldans head,
they thanked god on their knees there.

The Queen
wishes to
make him
king,

308 7 miles from the Citye the Queene him mett,
with procession *that* was soe fayre :
shee tooke the crowne beside her heade,
& wold haue crowned him *King* there.

but he is
married
already,
he says.

312 "Now Nay ! Now nay ! my noble dame !
for soe, I wott, itt cannott bee ;
I haue a ladye in England fayre,
& wedded againe I wold not bee."

So she gives
him 100*l.* a
day.

316 the Queene shee called for her penman,
I wot shee called him lowd & hye,
saying, "write him downe a 100*l.* a day,
to keepe his men more merrylye."

320 "I thanke your grace," sayd Noble Nevill,
"for this worthy gift you haue giuen to me ;
if euer your grace doe stand in neede,
Champion to your highnesse againe Ile bee."
ffins.

Flodden : ffeilde : ¹

[*or, Lancashire & Cheshire have done the Deed.*]

[In Two Parts.—P.]

OF the first 422 and the last six lines of this very curious ballad there are two other manuscript copies—in Harl. MSS. Nos. 293 and 367. These scarcely differ from each other and from the copy in the Folio, except in points of orthography. The version preserved in them has been twice printed—by Weber in his “Flodden Field” (see our Introduction to “Scottish Field,” p. 199), and by Evans in his “Old Ballads.” The last line but one of it—reading “prynces”—connects it with Queen Mary’s or with Elizabeth’s reign,—more probably with the latter. The verses that follow v. 422, up to v. 507 in the version here given, do not appear elsewhere, and are here printed for the first time. They were certainly written after 1544, as they confuse the expedition made that year into France with the one of 1513. They would seem to have been added by some poetic member, or dependent, or admirer of the Egertons of Ridley, perhaps in the time of Sir Thomas, towards the end of his life Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of James I.

The author of the poem is evidently a thorough Stanleyite. His object is to show how the house of his affection triumphed over the malice of the Howards—how its fame, obscured for a

¹ Fought Sep. 9th 1513. This is evidently the production of a common minstrel.—P.

Collated with the Harl. MSS. 293 and 367, marked in these notes A & B re-

spectively. MS. 367 (B) has been corrected by another hand. Variations of spelling are seldom marked in this collation.—H.

while by lying reports, shone out all the brighter when the true statement of the facts arrived. In carrying out this object he gives us a quaint curious picture of his time. The scene in the royal camp before Tournay is especially interesting. It is painted unpretentiously, but with great force. The King stands out in a lifelike way, rough, impulsive, thoroughly appreciating the spirit that will not submit to insult on any terms, overflowing generous when recalled by good news to a good humour. There is something quaint, not without pathos, in the picture of the Earl of Derby as he stands between his two noble friends bidding farewell to all the brave men, who he knows well could never have fled—they must be slain,—Stanley, and Molineux, and Booth, and Savage,—and the old familiar places, which he can never visit again now that disgrace has fallen on them and him,—Lancaster, that little town, and the bright bower Latham with all its towers, and the richly wooded Knowsley, and Birkenhead, his birth-place.

The story of the ballad is that the Earl of Surrey, when sending to Henry in France the news of Flodden, improved the opportunity which the misconduct of the Cheshire men on his extreme right wing in the battle had unhappily given him.

“Lancashire & Cheshire,” says the [Surrey’s] Messenger,

“Cleane they be fled & gone;

There was nere a man that long to the Erle of Darby

That durst looke his enemyes upon.”

The King is highly indignant with the Earl, then in his camp with him, whose followers have so grievously betrayed his cause. The Earl is himself sadly downcast, and will not be comforted, though his noble friends Shrewsbury and Buckingham do what they can to cheer him. Then occurs a curious episode. A yeoman of the guard, a foster-brother of the Earl, flees to him for protection from the consequences of an assault which he has committed on certain of his comrades who, on the strength of the report sent by Surrey, have called him—a Stanleyite—coward.

The matter is brought before the King, who on hearing the yeoman's account of the fray pardons him, and at his instance orders that the men of Lancashire and Cheshire shall not be taunted for their reported cowardice. Just when this affair is settled, comes a messenger from the Queen, who completely subverts the previous report.

"Lancashire & Cheshire," said the Messenger,
 "They have done the deed with their hand;
 Had not the Erle of Derby beene to thee true,
 In great adventure had beene all England."

Then the horn of Derby is exalted. The King showers honours on him and other Cestrian gentlemen.

Such is the plot of this poem. What foundation there was for it Hall mentions. "The Kynge," he says, "had a secrete letter that the Cheshire men fledde from Sir Edmond Hawarde, whyche letter caused grate harteburning and manye woordes; but the Kyng," he adds, "thankefully accepted al thyng, and woulde no man to be disprayed." There is not the slightest reason in the world for supposing that the "secrete letter" was written by Surrey. Probably enough, in the dispatch he sent he mentioned the Cheshire men's flight; and that mention may have been exaggerated by Cestrian jealousy into some such evil report as that which causes so much trouble in our ballad.

Surrey's dispatch is not extant. "Eo modo," says Jovius, after describing the battle, "quum ad Tylum ad internitionem Scotiæ nobilitatis pugnatum esset, Surreius speculatoria navi quanta maxima potuit celeritate literas rei feliciter gestæ et occisi regis paludamentum multo cruore conspersum Henrico transmisit." But Jovius is incorrect here. The letter and the cloak or coat seem to have been sent to the Queen, who sent on to Henry the letter at once, and on September 16, immediately afterwards, the garment, with a second letter from Surrey and one from herself. "Sir," she writes to the King on the 16th, "My Lord Howard hath sent me a Lettre open to your

Grace, within oon of myn, by the whiche ye shal see at length the grete Victorye that our Lord hath sent your Subgetts in your absence; and for this cause it is noo nede herin to trouble your Grace with long writing, but, to my thinking, this batell hath bee to your Grace and al your reaine the grettest honor that coude bee, and more than ye shuld wyn at the crown of Fraunce; thankend bee God of it: and I am suer your Grace forgetteth not to doo this, which shal be cause to send you many moo suche grete victoryes, as I trust he shal doo. My husband, for hasty-nesse, w^t Ragecrosse I coude not sende your Grace the pece of the King of Scotts cote whiche John Glyn now bringeth. In this your grace shal see how I can kepe my premys, sending you for your baners a kings cote. I thought to sende hymself unto you, but our Englishmens herts wold not suffre it. It shuld have been better for hym to have been in peax than have this rewarde. Al that God sendeth is for the best. My Lord of Surrey, my Henry, wold fayne knowe your pleasur in the burying of the King of Scotts body, for he hath written to me soo. With the next messanger your grace pleasure may bee herin knowen. And with this I make an ende; prayng God to sende you home shortly, for without this noo joye here can be accomplished; and for the same I pray, and now goo to our Lady at Walsyngham that I promised soo long agoo to see. At Woborne the xvj day of Septembre. I sende your grace herin a bille founde in a Scottisshemans purse of suche things as the Frenshe King sent to the said King of Scotts to make warre against you, beseching your¹ to sende Mathewe hider assone this messanger commeth to bringe me tydings from your Grace. Your humble wif and true servant, Katherine." (Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. iii. fol. 15, printed in Ellis's "Original Letters" and elsewhere.) On the same day she wrote to Wolsey: "Maister Almoner, whan the last messanger went I wrote not to you, bicause I had not the

¹ you.

suerte of every thing that was doon in the bataill against the Scotts. Now syns that tyme came a Post from my lord Howard with a writing at length of every thing as it was, whiche I now sende to the King—for to me it is thought the grettest honor that ever Prince had; his Subgetts in his absence not oonly to have the Victorye but also to slee the King and many of his noblemen. This matier is soo marvelous that it semeth to bee of Godds doing aloone. I trust the King shal remembre to thanke hym for it; for soo al the Reame her hath doon; and bicause ye shal knowe by my Lord Howards Lettre every thing better than I can write, it is noo nede herin to saye any mor of it." (Cott. MSS. Calig. B. vi. fol. 35.) The King received Surrey's dispatch, so forwarded to him, on the 25th, according to Hall. "Then he thanked God and highly praised the Earle and the Lorde Admyrall and his sonne and all the gentlemen and commons that were at that valiant entrepryse. Howbeit," and then follow the words we have quoted above.

We have given in the Introduction to "Scottish Field" such an account of Henry's expedition to France in 1513, and of the battle of Flodden, fought during his absence, as may serve to illustrate that and this ballad. The French expedition of 1513 is in this ballad, in the additional verses, confounded, as we have said, with that made in 1544. In this latter expedition too Henry took part in person. In 1543 he had concluded an alliance with the Emperor, who in accordance with it proceeded himself at once to overrun Cleves, and by proxy to lay siege to Landreci, and shortly afterwards to occupy Luxemburg and Ligny. In June, 1544, the English force landed at Calais, and proceeded to form the sieges of Boulogne and Montreuil. In July Henry himself crossed the Channel, and joined the besiegers of Boulogne. Rymer gives (from Cotton MSS. Calig. E. 4, f. 91) "*Diarium super viagio Regis, obsidione et captione Boloniæ.*" The lower town was taken on July 21. On September 8 the

King writes to his "moost derely and moost entierly biloved wief" of the progress the siege is making. The upper town surrendered on September 14. This was the one event of the expedition. It was returned thanks for by "devoute and general processions in all the townes and villages" (see the Council's letter to Lord Shrewsbury). A few days after it the Emperor, disgusted at Henry's refusal to advance and carry out the original scheme of the alliance—the occupation of Paris—concluded a peace with France at Crespy. Henry, thus deserted, does not proceed to any further operations. In October he returns to England—and so ends his second expedition into France.

The Earl of
Surrey

NOW let vs talke of¹ Mount of flodden,
forsooth such is our chance,
& let vs tell what tydings² the Ear[l]e of Surrey
4 sent to our King into france.

sends a
letter to the
King in
France.

the Earle he hath a writting made,
• &³ sealed it with his owne hand;
from the Newcastle vpon tine
8 the Herald⁴ passed from the land,

& after to callice⁵ hee arriued,
like a noble Leed⁶ of high degree,
& then to Turwin soone he hyed,
12 there he thought to haue found King Henery⁷;

But there the walls were beaten downe
& our English soliders therin Laine⁸;

¹ B, of the.

² B, tythandes.

³ A, surly, B, surlye.

⁴ B, herott.

⁵ B, Calyce.

⁶ A.-Sax. *ledd*, man, prince.—F. A, lorde.

⁷ A, Henry our Kynge.

⁸ A, tayne, B, layne.

sith to Turnay the way hee nume,¹

- 16 wheras lay the Emperour of Almaine,²
& there he found the King³ of England :
blessed Iesus, preserve *that* name !

The herald
finds the
King at
Tournay,

when the Herald⁴ came before our King,

- 20 lowlye he fell downe⁵ on his knee,
& said, " Christ, christen King, *that* on the crosse dyed !
Noble King Henery ! this day thy speed may bee ! "

the first word *that* the prince did minge,⁶

- 24 said, " welcome, Herald out of England, to me !
how fares my Leeds,⁷ how fares my Lords,
My knights, my Esquiers in their degree ? "

" heere greeteth you well your owne Leaatenant,⁸

- 28 the Honorable Erle of Surrey ;
he bids⁹ you in ffrance to venter your chance,
for slaine is your brother King Iamye,
& att louelie London you shall him finde,¹⁰
32 my comelye prince, in the presence of thee."

and informs
him that
King James
is slain.

then bespake our Comlye King,

- said, " who did fight & who did flee ?
& who bore him best of¹¹ the mount of fflodden,
36 & who was false, & who was true to me ? "

The King
asks for
details of
the battle.

" Lancashire & Cheshire," sayd the Messenger,

" cleane they be¹² fled and gone ;

There was nere a man that Longd¹³ to the [page 118.]

Erle of darby

- 40 *that* durst looke his enemyes vpon."

The herald
tells him
that all
Lord Derby's
men fled
headlong.

¹ A, nome, B, nome.—runne or *nume*, *fares* &c. is the old Northern plural *s*.—F.
i. e. took, from *nym*, take.—P.

² Maximilian.

³ A, Prince, B, Prynce.

⁴ B, herott.

⁵ A, kneeled uppon.

⁶ minge, *i. e.* mention.—P.

⁷ *i. e.* men, S. *leod*, homo.—P. The *s* of

⁸ Lieutenant.—P.

⁹ A, biddethe.

¹⁰ See Introduction to "Scottish Field,"
p. 209.—H.

¹¹ A, uppon.

¹² B, bene bothe.

¹³ A, belonged.

The King
reads the
letter;

S[t]ill in a study ¹ stood our Noble King,
& tooke the writting in his hand ² ;
shortlye the seale he did vnclose,
44 & readlye he read as he found.³

then calls
for Lord
Derby.

then bespake our comlye ⁴ King,
& called vpon his chiualree,
& said, "who will feitch me the King of Man,
48 the Honnorable Thomas Erle of Darbye ?

"he may take Lancashire & Cheshire ⁵
that he hath called the cheefe of chiualree ;
Now falsely are they fled & gone,
52 neuer ⁶ a one of them is true to mee !"

Sir Ralph
Egerton
says,

then bespake Sir Raphe ⁷ Egerton the Knight,
& lowlye kneeled vpon his knee,
& said, "my soueraigne Lord ⁸ King Henery !
56 if it like your grace to pardon mee,

if Lancashire
and Cheshire
did fly, it was
for want of
Lord Derby.

"if Lancashire and Cheshire be fled & gone,
of those tydings ⁹ wee may be vnfaine,¹⁰
but I dare lay my life & lande
60 it was for want of their Captaine.¹¹

"for if the Erle of Derby our Captaine had beene,
& vs to lead in our arraye,
then noe Lancashire man nor Cheshire ¹²
64 that euer wold haue fled awaye !"

¹ A, stand.

² hond, qu.—P.

³ fond, found, qu.—P. A, coulede.

⁴ A, noble, B, nowble.

⁵ A, *transposes* Cheshire and Lancashire and *adds* bothe.

⁶ A, not.

⁷ A, Ralfe, B, Rauphe.

⁸ A, you, my soveraigne lord.

⁹ B, tythandes.

¹⁰ unfaine, sorry.—P.

¹¹ captaine.—P. The Cheshire men who fled were under the command of Sir Edmund Howard.—H.

¹² A, Lanc nor Cheshire mene wold ever have fled.

"soe it prooued well," said our Noble King ;

"by him *that* deerlye dyed vpon a tree !

now¹ when wee had the most² neede,

68 falslye they serued them to mee !"

then spake *william* Brewerton,³ *Knight*,

& lowlye kneeled his prince before,

& sayd, "my Soueraigne King Henery the 8th,

72 if⁴ your grace sett by vs soe little store,

Str William
Brereton
asks for
another
chance,

"where-soeuer you come in any feild to fight,

set the Earle of Darby & vs before,

then shall you see wether⁵ wee fight or flee,

76 trew or false whether we be borne !"

with Lord
Derby at
their head.

Compton rowned⁶ with our King,⁷

& said,⁸ "goe wee & leane the cowards right."

"heere is my gloue to thee !" quoth Egerton ;

80 "Compton ! if thou be a *knight*,

Compton,
scoffing at
these
speakers,

"take my gloue, & with me fight

Man to Man, if thou wilt turne againe ;

for if our prince were not *present* wright,⁹

84 the one of vs 2 shold be slaine,

is challenged
by Egerton.

"& neuer foote beside the ground gone

vntill the one dead shold bee."

our prince was moued theratt anon,

88 & returned him right teenouslye,¹⁰

¹ A & B, for now.

² B, greatest.

³ A, Brearton, B, Breerton.

⁴ A, And if.

⁵ A, that we are.

⁶ A, rounded. *Rowned*, i.e. whispered.

—P.

⁷ A adds Anone.

⁸ A, saying.

⁹ A & B, right.

¹⁰ A, Angerly, B, tenyslye. A.-S. *teona*, reproach, insult.—F.

Enters Earl
of Derby.

& to him came on the other hand ¹
the Honnotable Erle of Darbye ;
& when he before our prince came,
92 he lowlye kneeled vpon his knee,

& said, " Iesu christ *that* on the crosse dyed,
this day, Noble Henery, thy speed may bee ! "
the first word *that* the King did speake, ²
96 sayd, ³ " welcome, King of man & Erle of Darbye !

The King
asks how
he likes
Cheshire and
Lancashire's
conduct.

" how likest thou Cheshire and lancashire ⁴ both,
which were counted cheefe of chiuallree ⁵ ?
falslye are ⁶ they fled & gone,
100 & neuer a one is ⁷ trew to mee ! "

He says
what
Egerton has
said,

" if *that* be soe," said the Erle free, ⁸
" my Leege, therof I am not faine.
my comlye prince, rebuke not mee,
104 I was not there to be there ⁹ Captaine ;

" if I had beene their Captaine," the Erle said then,
" I durst haue Layd both Liffe and land,
he neuer came out of Lancashire nor cheshire
108 That wold haue fledd beside the ground ! [page 112.]

" but if it like your Noble grace
a litle boone to grant itt mee,
Lett me haue Lancashire and Cheshire both,—
112 I desire noe more helpe trulye ;—

¹ B, syde.

² A, sayde.

³ A, was.

⁴ B transposes these words.

⁵ Compare Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. 6032, f. 132, De Cestrisciria. (The metre is meant to be hendecasyllabic.)

O Devania, virtutis nutritrix,
Pollens nobilibus Princeps virorum
Qui pulchri corpore, spiritu feroces,

Septi robore, prodigique vitæ,
Hostes aggrediuntur et laceasant.

Camden : " Eximia nobilitatis alitrix, nec enim alia est in Anglia provincia quæ plures nobiles in aciem eduxerit et plures equestres familias numerarit."—H.

⁶ B, nowe are.

⁷ B, are.

⁸ A & B, then.

⁹ A, their.

"if I ffayle to burne vp ¹ all Scotland,
take me & hang me vpon a tree!

and what
Brereton.

I, i ² shall conquer to Paris gate

116 both ³ comlye castles and towers hye!

"wheras the walls ⁴ beene soe stronge,

Lancashire and Cheshire shall beate them downe."

"by my fathers soule," ⁵ sayd our King,

120 & by him that dyed on the roode,

"thou shalt neuer haue lancashire nor Cheshire right
att thy owne obedyence for to bee!

The King
taunts the
counties
with
cowardice.

cowards in a feild felly ⁶ will fight

124 againe to win the victorye. ⁷ "

"wee were neuer cowards," said the Erle,

"by him that deerlye dyed on tree ⁸!

who brought in your father att Milford Hauen ⁹ ?

Derby
reminds him
how his
house had
helped
Henry VII.

128 King Henery the 7th forsooth was hee;

"thorow the towne ¹⁰ of fortune ¹¹ wee did him bring,

& soe convayd him to Shrewsburye,

& soe crowned him a Noble King;

132 & Richard that day wee deemed to dye."

¹ A, brene uppe, B, bren up.

² Aye, I.—F.

³ A, both the.

⁴ A inserts they.

⁵ A inserts then.

⁶ A, freely, B, fellye.—felly, i.e. desperately.—F.

⁷ "Put a coward to his metal, and he'll fight the deil."—*Proverbs of Scotland*, ed. Hislop, 1862, p. 322; Bohn's *Handbook of Proverbs*, p. 253.—F. Compare Horace, Odes, iii. v. 25–36 (J. W. H.)—

Auro repensus scilicet acrior

Miles redibit? Flagitio additis

Dannum. Neque amissos colores

Lana refert medicata fuco;

Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit

Curat reponi deterioribus.

Si pugnat extricata densis

Cerva plagis, erit ille fortis,

Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus;

Et Marte Pœnos proteret altero,

Qui lora restrictis lacertis

Sensit iners, timuitque mortem.

⁸ A & B, for me.

⁹ See Introduction to "Lady Bessie."
—H.

¹⁰ perhaps turne.—P.

¹¹ Town of Fortune, i.e. Forden, says Evans. Speed in his *Theatre of Great Britain*, to which work Evans refers, gives a Forton in Staffordshire, a village near Newport—the place here meant. In his Index he mentions also a Forten in Shropshire, but does not, I think, mark it in his map.—H.

The King
turns away.

Buckingham
comforts
Derby,

and throws
doubts on
Surrey's
letter.

The Earl of
Derby makes
his moan ;

bids farewell
to Sir Edw.
Stanley,

- our prince was greatlye moued at *that* worde,
& returned him hastilye againe.¹
- to comfort the Erle came on the other hande²
the doughtye Edward,³ Duk of Buckingham ;
- "plucke vp thy hart, brother Stanlye,⁴
& lett nothing greeue thee !
for I dare lay my liffe to wedd⁵
- 140 it is a false writing of the Erle of Surrey.
- "sith⁶ King Richard feeles,⁷ he neuer loued thee,
for thy vnckle slue his father deere,⁸
& deerlye deemed him to dye ;
- 144 Sir Christopher⁹ Savage his standard always¹⁰ did
beare."
- "alas brother !" sayd the Erle of Darbye,
"woe be the time *that* I was made Knight,
or were ruler of any Lande,¹¹
- 148 or euer had manhood in feild to fight !
- "soe bold men in battle as were they,
forsooth had neither Lord nor swaine.
ffarwell may vnckle Sir Edward Stanley !
- 152 for well I wott *that* thou art¹² slaine !

¹ A, upon the same, B, on the same.

² A, syde, B, side.

³ Edward Stafford, executed in 1521.
See Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.*—H.

⁴ A & B, Standley.

⁵ Lat. *radium*, a pledge.—P. A.-Sax.
wedd.—F.

⁶ B, synce.

⁷ A, feilde, B, feylde.—perhaps felle.
—P.

⁸ "Thy vnckle," i.e. Sir William Stanley (beheaded, in spite of his good service on Bosworth Field, in 1496, for saying that "if he certainly knew the young man called Perkin to be really the son of Edward IV. he would never draw his sword or bear arms against him").

"His father deere," i.e. John Howard, Duke of Norfolk. He was slain on the field of Bosworth, but not by Sir William

Stanley. "They [Oxford and Norfolk] personally attacked each other with their spears till they were shivered to pieces ; then each drew his sword. Norfolk gave the first blow at Oxford's head, which sliding down his helmet, glanced on the shoulder, and wounded him in the left arm. Oxford, enraged, returned the blow, and hewed the beaver from Norfolk's helmet, leaving the face bare. Oxford, disdain- ing to fight a man unguarded, declined the combat, and retreated a few paces, when instantly an arrow from a distant and unknown hand hit the Duke in the face and pierced the brain." *History of the Battle of Bosworth.*—H.

⁹ MS. xopher.—F.

¹⁰ A, away.

¹¹ B adds thereby.

¹² correction of B, weart.

"surelye whiles thy liffe wold last
 thou woldest neuer shrinke ¹ beside the plaine ;
 nor Iohn Stanley, *that* child soe younge !

156 well I wott *that* ² thou art slaine !

to John
 Stanley,

"ffarwell Kighlye ! Coward was thou neuer ³ !
 old Sir Henery the good *Knight*,
 I left the[e] ⁴ ruler of Latham, ⁵

160 to be deputye both day & night.

Kighley,
 Sir Henry

"ffarwell Townlye *that* was soe true !
 & *that* Noble Ashton of Middleton ⁶ !

& the sad Southwarke ⁷ *that* euer was sure,

164 forwell ! I wott *that* thou art gone.

and
 Townley,
 and Ashton,
 and
 Southwark,

"farwell Ashton vndeline ⁸

& Manlye Mullenax ⁹ ! for thou art slaine ;
 for doubtlesse while *your* lines wold last

168 you ¹⁰ wold never shun ¹¹ beside the plaine.

and
 Molineux,

"ffarwell Adderton ¹² with the Leaden Mall !
 well I know thow art deemed to dye !

I may take my leaue att ¹³ you all !

172 the flower of Manhood is gone from mee !

and
 Adderton,

¹ A & B, schunte.

² A, howe that.

³ A, none.

⁴ A, thee.

⁵ Latham, Lancashire, near Ormskirk, and in the neighbourhood of coal-pits. In its park is a chalybeate water, or spa, called Maudlin's Well, which has wrought many remarkable cures. Though remote from the sea, or salt-water rivers, it used to cast up marine shells in large quantities, till millstones were laid upon the spring, to hinder the sand and shells from boiling up so high as formerly. *Walker's Gazetteer*, 1801.—F.

⁶ Middleton, Lancashire, near the Irk,

four miles north of Manchester. *Walker*.—F.

⁷ A, Sotheworthe, B, Sotheworke. There is a Southworth in Lancashire, north of Warrington.—Robson.

⁸ A & B, under Lyne. Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, six miles from Manchester. *Walker*.—F.

⁹ A, Molenex, B, Mollenax.—Molineux.—P.

¹⁰ A, ye.

¹¹ A, schonte, B, schunte.

¹² A, Anderton, B, Aderton. Atherton, in Lancashire, is near West Derby.—Robson.

¹³ A, nowe of, B, nowe at.

- and Sir John Booth,
 "ffarwell Sir Iohn Booth of Barton,¹ Knight!
 well I know *that* thou art slaine!
 while thy liffe wold last to fight,
 176 thou² wold neuer [shun] be-sids³ the plaine,
- and Butler,
 and Sir Bode,
 "ffarwell Butler⁴ & Sir Bode⁵!
 sure you haue beene euer to mee;
 & soe I know *that* [still⁶] you wold,
 180 if *that* vnslaine⁷ you bee.
- and Savage,
 "ffarwell Christopher⁸ savage, the Knight⁹! [page 120.]
 well I know *that* thou art slaine!
 for whiles thy life wold last to fight,
 184 thou wold¹⁰ neuer [shun] besids¹¹ the plaine.
- and Dutton,
 Sir Dane
 and
 Kinderton,
 ffarwell Dutton & Sir Dane¹²!
 you haue beene euer trew¹³ to mee.
 ffarwell the Baron¹⁴ of Kinderton¹⁵!
 188 beside the feild thou wold not¹⁶ flee!
- and Fitton.
 "ffarwell, fitton of Gawsworth¹⁷!
 either¹⁸ thou art taken or slaine;
¹⁹ doubtelesse while thy life wold Last,
 192 thou wold²⁰ neuer [shun²¹] beside the plaine."
- Earl of Shrewsbury
 comforts
 him.
 as they stood talkinge together there,
 the Duke & the Erle trulye,
 came ffor to comfort him th[e] trew Talbott
 196 & the noble Erle of Shrewsburye²²:

¹ Barton, Cheshire, NW. of Malpas.
 Barton, Lancashire, between Preston and
 Garstang. *Walker*.—F.

² A, woldeste, B, woulde.

³ shun beside: see st. 41st.—P.

⁴ A, Butteler.

⁵ A, Bolde, B, Bode.

⁶ A, still.

⁷ vnslaine.—P.

⁸ MS. xopher.—F.

⁹ A, weight, B, wighte.

¹⁰ A, woldeste.

¹¹ shun beside: see stanza 41st.—P.

¹² MS. Dane; A, Done, B, Downe.

¹³ A, by me stode.

¹⁴ Venables.—H.

¹⁵ Kinderton, Cheshire, near Middle-
 wich. *Walker's Gaz.*—F.

¹⁶ A, woldeste.

¹⁷ A, Fytton of Gosworthe, B, Gows-
 wurthe. Gawsworth Hall is in Cheshire,
 near Macclesfield. *Walker*, 1801.—F.

¹⁸ A & B, other.

¹⁹ A *prefixes* For.

²⁰ A, woldeste.

²¹ shun.—P.

²² A, Sherwesbury. *Dele &.*—Robson.

"plucke vp thy hart, sonne Thomas, & be Merry,
& let noe tydings greeve thee!
am not I godfather to our King?

200 my owne god-sonne forsooth is hee."

he tooke the Duke of Buckingham by the arme,
& the Erle of Shewsburye by the other:

He con-
tinues his
farewells.

"to part with you it is my harme;

204 farwell my father & my brother!

"farwell Lancaster *that* litle Towne!
farwell now for euer & aye!

Farewell
Lancaster,

many pore men may pray for my soule

208 when they lye weeping in the lane.¹

"farwell Latham, *that* bright bower²!

and Latham,

9 towers thou beares³ on hye,

& other 9 thou beares on the outer walls;

212 within thee may be lodged kings 3.

"farwell Knowsley,⁴ *that* litle tower
vnderneath the holtes⁵ soe whore⁶!

and
Knowsley,

euere when I thinke on *that* bright bower,

216 white⁷ me not⁸ though my hart be sore.

¹ MS. lane; B, lawne. in the lane they weeping lye.—Robson.

² A, boure.

³ A, bearesta. beares is right in the old northern dialect.—F.

⁴ An inhabitant of the house writes to me, "Knowsley can never have been correctly described as a 'tower.' It was in those days, and still for the most part is, a straggling, irregular building, very long and low, with nothing about it resembling a castle. There are two small turrets above one of the entrances, but of no great height. On the whole, I suspect the author of the ballad was influenced rather by the exigencies of rhyme than by a desire to describe with accuracy. There is a sloping ground behind the

house,—hardly enough of it to be called a hill,—and as there is now a good deal of wood about, and in former days there was probably much more, the house may fairly be assumed to have been 'underneath the holts so hoar.'"—S. "Knowsley: a portion of this mansion, with two round towers, is said to have been built by Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, for the reception of his son-in-law, King Henry VII." *Domestic Architecture*, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 214.—F.

⁵ holte, a wood, rough; also a hill (as here).—P.

⁶ here, hoar, hoary white.—P.

⁷ A, Wyte.

⁸ Wyte me not, i. e. blame me not.—P.

"farwell Tocstaffe,¹ *that trustye parke,*
 & the fayre riuer *that runes* ² *there beside !*
 there I was wont to chase the hinde & hart ;
 220 now therin will I neuer abide !

and
 Tocstaffe,

"farwell bold Birkhead,³ there was I boorne,
 within the abbey & that Monesterye ;
 the sweet covent for mee may mourne ;
 224 I gaue to you the tythe of Beeston,⁴ trulye.

and
 Birkenhead,

"farwell westchester⁵ for enermore,
 & the watter gate, it is my⁶ owne ;
 I giue a mace *pro* the serieant to weare,
 228 to waite on the Maior, as it is knowne ;

Westchester,

"will I neuer come *that* citey within ;
 but, sonne Edward, thou may⁷ clayme it of wright.
 farwell westhardin,⁸ I may thee⁹ myn !
 232 Knight & lord I was of great might !

and
 Westharden.

"Sweete sonne Edward, white Lookes¹⁰ thou make,
 & ener haue pittye on the pore cominaltye ¹¹ !
 farwell hope & Hopedale !
 236 Mould & Moulesdale,¹² god be with thee !
 I may take leaue with a sorry¹³ cheere,
 and Hope,
 and Mold.
 for within thee will I neuer bee.

¹ Tockestafe, B, Tockestaffe. Toxteth.
 —Robson.

² B, renneeth.

³ A, Berkenhede, B, Byrkehead, corrected to Byrkenhead. Birkenhead, Cheshire, between the Dee and the Mersey. Walker.—F.

⁴ Bidston, Cheshire, between Hyle lake and the river Mersey.—Robson.

⁵ See "Robin Hood & Queen Katherine," above, p. 38, l. 14, &c.—F.

⁶ A, myn.

⁷ A, mayest.

⁸ ? Hawarden.—Robson.

⁹ A, thee, B, call thee.

¹⁰ A, bookes, B, bokes.

¹¹ A, comyntye, B, comyntie.

¹² Hope & Hopedale, Mole & Mouldale, were manors belonging to the Earl of Derby in the County of Flint. Feby 6. 1661 was act passed for restoring the Earl of Derby to these estates. See History of y^e House of Lords, 8vo. 1742.—P.

¹³ A, hevie, B, heavye.

[The Second Part.¹]

as they stodee talking together there,²
 240 the Duke & the Lords trulye,³

While he
 speaks to
 him,

2^d Parte. { Came Iamie⁴ Garsed,⁴ a yeman of the guard
 that had beene brought vp with the Erle of
 Derbye:
 like the devill, with his fellowes he had fared,
 244 { he s[t]icked⁵ 2, & wounded 3;

there flees to
 him Garsed,
 who has just
 slain two
 fellows and
 wounded
 three.

After, with his sword drawn in his hand,
 he fled to the Noble Earle of Derbye.
 "stand vp, Iamye⁶!" the Erle said,
 248 "these tydings nothing liketh mee.

"I haue seene the day I cold haue saued thee,
 such 30 men if thou hads[t]⁷ slaine,
 & now if I shold speake for thee,
 252 Sure thow weret⁸ to be slaine⁹;

The Earl
 doubts
 whether he
 can save
 him now.

[page 121.]

"I will once desire my bretheren eche one¹⁰
 that they will speake for thee."
 he prayd the Duke of Buckingham
 256 & alsoe the Erle of Shrewsburye,¹¹

He asks his
 friends to
 speak for
 him.

alsoe my Lord fitzwater¹² soe wise,
 & the good Lord willowbye,¹³

¹ A & B have no divisions into Parts.

² MS. leaves these lines in the First Part.—F.

³ A, James.

⁴ A, Garsey, B, Garsyd.

⁵ sicked, i.e. sickned, made sick, or perhaps sticked, i.e. stuck.—P.

⁶ A, James.

⁷ A, haddest.

⁸ A, wearte.

⁹ A, slayne.

¹⁰ B, echon.

¹¹ Robert Radcliffe.—H.

¹² A, Fitzwaters.

¹³ Willoughby, B, Wyllabee.

Sir Rice apthomas, a Knight of price,
260 they all spoke for long ¹ Iamye.

Garsed is
sent for by
the King,

they had not stayd ² but a litle while there,
the Duke & the Erles in their talkinge,
but straight to the Erle came a messenger
264 that came latelye from the King,

to be hanged.

and bad that long Iamie ³ shold be sent;
there shold neither be grith ⁴ nor grace,
but on a boughe he shold be hanged
268 In middest ⁵ the feild before the Erles face.

"if that be soe," said the Erle of Derbye,
I trust our prince will better bee;
such tydings maketh my hart full heavey
272 afore his grace when that wee bee."

Derby and
his friends
go with
Garsed

the Duke of Buckingham tooke Iamie by the one arme,
& the Erle of Shrewsburye by the other;
afore them they put the King of Man;
276 it was the Erle of Darbye & noe other.

the Lord fitzwater followed fast,
& soe did the Lord willowbyghe;
the comfortable cobham ⁶ mad great hast;
280 all went with the Noble Erle of Derbye.

the hind Hassall hoved ⁷ on fast
with the Lusty Lealand trulye,
soe did Sir Alexander Osbaston, ⁸
284 came in with the Erle of Derbye;

¹ A, for longe.

² A & B, standen.

³ Iamie in MS.—F.

⁴ *grith*, preparation, qu.—P. A.-Sax.
*gri*⁵. 1. Peace or protection such as was
given by the king to official men. 2. The
privilege of security within a certain

space. Bosworth.—F.

⁶ A, amydeste.

⁷ Thomas Brooke, Lord Cobham, d.
1521.—H.

⁸ A, hied.

⁹ A, Osboldstone, B, Osbaston.

the royall Ratcliffe *that* rude was neuer,
 & the trustye Trafford keene to trye,
 & wight¹ warburton out of Cheshire,
 288 all came with the Erle of Darbye ;

Sir Rice ap Thomas, a *Knight* of Wales,
 Came² with a feirce³ Menye⁴ ;
 he bent his bowes on the bent⁵ to abyde,
 292 & cleane vnsett⁶ the gallow-tree.

when⁷ they came afore our *King*,
 lowlye they kneeled vpon their knees ;
 the first word *that* our prince did Myn,⁸
 296 " welcome ! Dukes & Erles to mee !

before the
King,

" the most welcome⁹ hither of all
 is our owne¹⁰ traitor Long Iamie !
 Iamie ! how Durst thou be soe bold
 300 as in our presence for to bee,

who
wonders at
Garsed's
boldness.

" to slay thy bretheren within their hold ?
 thou was sworne¹¹ to them, & they to thee."
 then began long Iamie to speake bold :
 304 " my leege, if it please¹² your grace to pardon mee,

" When I was to my supper sett,
 they called me coward to my face,
 and of their talking they wold not lett,
 308 & thus with them I vpbrayded was.

Garsed says
he was
called
coward by
his fellows,

¹ A, mighty evene.

² A *inserts* forthe.

³ A, fyrs, B, feirce.

⁴ multitude.—P.

⁵ bent, i. e. field, see 'Life & Death.'

—P.

⁶ *vnsett* for *vnsett*, surrounded.—F.

⁷ A, whenas.

⁸ To *myn* or *ming* is used in North-

[amp]tonshire for to *mention*.—P.

⁹ The sense seems to require *unwel-*
come.—P. No: welcome to judgment;
or spoken ironically.—F.

¹⁰ Correction of B, yondere.

¹¹ Cp. the sworn brethren in Eger and
Grine.—F.

¹² A, lyke.

and Lord
Derby, his
good patron,
was called
coward.

“thé bade me flee from them apace
to *that* coward the Erle of Derbye.
when I was litle & had small grace,
312 he was my helpe & succour trulye ;

“he tooke [me] from my father deere,
& kepted¹ me² within his woone³
till I was able of my selfe
316 both to shoote & picke⁴ the stone ;

He reminds
the King
how he
came to be
a yeoman of
the guard.

“then after, vnder Greenwich, vpon a day
a Scottish Minstrell came to thee,
& brought a bow of yew⁵ to drawe,
320 & all the guard might not stirr *that* tree.

“then the bow was giuen to the Erle of Derbye,
& the Erle deliuered it to mee ;
7 shoots before *your* face I shott,
324 & att the 8th in sunder it did breake⁶ ;

“Then I had the Scott bow downe his face [page 122.]
& gather vp the bow, & bring it to his *King* ;
then it liked *your* noble grace
328 into *your* guard for me to bring⁷ ;

He could
never hear
his Earl
called
coward.

“Sithen I haue liued a merry liffe ;
I thanke *your* grace & the Erle of Darbye ;
but to haue the Erle rebuked thus,
332 *that* my bringer-vp forsooth was hee,

The King
pardons
him,

“I had rather⁸ suffer death,” he said,
“then be false to the Erle *that* was true to me.”

¹ A, kepte.

² Correction of B, ‘as his own.’—F.

³ dwelling.—F.

⁴ To *Pick*, to pitch at a mark. Jamieson.—F.

⁵ A & B, vewe.

⁶ A, flee, B, be, *corrected to flee*. flee,
so y^e rime [requires].—P.

⁷ me for to bring, qu.—P.

⁸ A, lyuer, B, leaver.

"Stand vp Iamie!" said our King,
 336 "haue heere my charter, I giue it thee;

"let me haue noe more fighting of thee
 whilest thou art within ffrance¹ Lande."
 "then one thing you must grant," said Iamie,
 340 "that your ward² theron may stand,

"who-soe rebuketh Lancashire or Chesshire,
 shortlye shall be deemed to dye."
 our King³ comanded I⁴ cry I-wis
 344 to be proclaimed hastilye;—

"if the Dukes & Erles kneele on their knees,
 itt getteth on sturr the comonaltye⁵;
 if wee be vpbayed thus,
 348 manye a man is like to dye."
 the King said, "he that rebuket⁶ Lancashire or Chesshire
 shall haue his iudgment on the next tree."

that
 Lancashire
 and Chesshire
 shall not be
 scoffed at.

then soe they were⁷ in rest
 352 for the space⁸ of a night, as I woene.
 & on the other day, without Leasinge,
 there came a Messenger from the Queene;

Next day
 comes a
 messenger
 from the
 Queen,

"& when he came before our King,
 356 lowlye he kneeled vpon his knee,
 & said, "chr[i]st thee saue, our Noble King,⁹
 & thy speed this day may bee!
 heere greeteth thee well thy loue & liking,¹⁰
 360 & our honorable Queene &¹¹ ladye,

¹ A, frence, B, ffranse.

² word, q.—P.

³ A, prince.

⁴ A, A.

⁵ B, comynalite.

⁶ A, rebukith.

⁷ A inserts styll, B, styl.

⁸ second or next.—F.

⁹ A, This owere noble kyng, B, This
 oure noble kyng.

¹⁰ A, lyffe & sponse.

¹¹ A, and fair, B, faire.

who tells
him that
King James
is slain.

" & biddeth you in ffance to be glad,
for slaine is your brother-in-law King Iamie ;
& att louelye London he shalbe found,
364 my comlye prince, in the presence of thee."

The King
asks for
details.

then bespake our comlye prince,
saiinge,¹ " who did fight & who did flee?
& who bare them best of² the Mount of fflodden ?
368 & who his false, & who is³ true to mee ? "

The mes-
senger says
the success
is due to
Lancashire
and
Cheshire.

" Lancashire⁴ & Cheshire," said the Messenger,
" they haue done the deed with their hand !
had not the Erle of derbye beene to thee true,
372 in great aduenture had beene all England."

The King
confers
honours on
the Cheshire
men.

then bespake our prince on hye,⁵
" Sir Raphe⁶ Egertton, my marshall I make thee ;
Sir Edward Stanley, thou shalt be a Lord,
376 Lord Mounteagle thou shalt bee ;

Buckingham
informs
Derby

" yonge Iohn Stanley shalbe a Knight,
& he is well worthy for to bee."
the Duke of Buckingham the tydings hard,⁷
380 & shortlye ran to the Erle of darbye :

of the good
tidings
that have
come.

" Brother, plucke vp thy hart & be merrye,
& let noe tydings greeve thee !
yesterday, thy men called⁸ cowerds were,
384 & this day they haue woone the victorye."

The King
receives
Derby back
into favour.

the Duke tooke the Erle by the arme,
& thus they ledden to the prince [trulye⁹].
7 roods¹⁰ of ground the King he came,

¹ A & B, And sayd.

² A, uppon. P, at.

³ A, weare.

⁴ A, Lankeshir.

⁵ A, with an highe word, B, on highe.

⁶ B, Raupha.

⁷ A, thes righte.

⁸ A omits called.

⁹ A & B, trulye.

¹⁰ B, rowdes.

388 & sayd, "welcome, *King* of man & Erle of Derbye!
the thing *that* I haue taken from thee,
I geeve it to thee againe whollye,

"The Maurydden ¹ of Lancashire & Cheshire both [page 123.]
392 att thy bidding ener to bee ;
ffor those men beene ² true, Thomas, ³ indeed ;
they beene trew both to thee & mee."

"yett one thing greeveth me," said the Erle,
396 & in my hart maketh me heavye,
this day to heare thé wan ⁴ the feild,
& yesterday cowards ⁵ to bee." Lord Derby
wonders
at the news.

"it was a wronge wryting," sayd our *King*,
400 "*that* came ffrom the Erle of Surrey ;
but I shall him teach his prince to know,
if ener wee come in our countrye !" The King
says the first
account was
Lord
Surrey's.

"I aske noe more," sayd the Noble erle, ⁶
404 "ffor all *that* my men haue done trulye,
but *that* I may be Iudge my selfe ⁷
of *that* Noble Erle of Surreye." Derby asks
that he may
judge
Surrey.

"Stand vp, Thomas !" sayd our prince,
408 "Lord Marshall I ⁸ make thee,
& thou shalt be Iudge ⁹ thy selfe,
& as thou saiest, soe shall it bee." The King
agrees.

¹ ? Welsh, *Mawredd*, greatness, grandeur; *mawreddus*, magnificent, grand. Pughe.—F. A, Marshallynge; B, Manratten.

² A, be.

³ Though the ballad gives Thomas as Lord Derby's name, p. 320, l. 48, and Lord Shrewsbury calls him "Sonne Thomas," p. 327, l. 197, Weber, whose text, Harl. 293, reads "be true to Thomas indeed," puts a note here saying, "We have here

an example of the proverbial popularity of *True Thomas of Ercildom*." Flodden Field, p. 387, n. ¶.—F.

⁴ A, wane.

⁵ A, courds.

⁶ A, the erle nowe.

⁷ A, that I myselfe his judgmente maye pronounce, B, gyve judgment myselfe.

⁸ A inserts will.

⁹ A & B, give the judgment.

Derby will
spare his
life, he says.

412 "then is his liffe saued," sayd the Erle,
"I thanke Iesu & your grace trulye;
if my vnckle slew his father deere,
he wold haue venged him on mee."

The King
posts him
and Lord
Shrewsbury
on the south
side of
Tournay.

416 "thou art verry patient," sayd our King¹;
"the holy ghost remaines,² I thinke, in thee;
on the south side³ of Turnay thou shalt stande,
with my godfather the Erle of shrewsburye."

In three
days it is
taken.

420 & soe to *that* seege forth thé went,⁴
the noble Shrewsburye & the Erle of Derbye,
& thé Laid seege vnto the walls,⁵
& wan the towne in dayes 3.⁶

The King
posts Sir
Alexander
Ratcliffe,
too, on the
south side.

424 & then bespake our noble King,
these were the words said hee,
sayes, "come Alexander Ratcliffe, Knight,
come hither now vnto mee,
ffor thou shalt goe on the south side of Tournay,
428 & with thee thou shalt haue 1000! 3."⁷

then forth is gone Alexander Ratcliffe, Knight;
with him he leads men 1000! 3;
but or ere 3 dayes were come to an end,
432 the ffrenchmen away did flee.

He offers
him the
governorship
of the town,

then King Henery planted 300! Englishmen
that in the citey shold abyde & bee:
Alexander Ratcliffe, he wold haue mad him gouernour
there,

¹ A, our kyng sware.

² A, remayneth. See "Lord of Learn,"
l. 12, p. 184.—H.

³ See Hall: "Then the Kyng with
all his battayle planted hys siege on the
northe parte of the citee. Therle of
Shrewsbury with his battayle warded
towards the south syde of the ryver, &
there lay that night. Lorde Harberte
with the rereward planted his battall in

the west syde of the citee, & with great
ordinance daily bett the walles & towers
of the citee."—H.

⁴ A, foarthe they ganged.

⁵ A adds batled.

⁶ The Harl. MSS. do not contain the
following 86 lines, but end with vv.
510-13.—H.

⁷ thousands three, query.—P.

436 but he forsooke it certainely,
& made great intreatye to our *King*
that he might come into England in his com-
pa[n]ye.

but Sir
Alexander
prefers
returning to
England.

& then bespake Noble *King* Henery,
440 & these were the words said hee,
sayes, "come hither *Rowland* Egerton, *Knight*,
& come thou hither vnto mee;

The King
offers Sir
Rowland
Egerton

"for the good service *that* thou hast done,
444 well rewarded shalt thou bee."
then forth came *Rowland* Egerton,
& kneeled downe vpon his knee,

saies, "if it like your grace, my gracious *King*,
448 the reward *that* you will bestow on mee,
I wold verry gladlye haue it in Cheshire,
ffor *thats* att home in my owne country."

& then bespake him Noble *King* Henery,
452 & these were the words said hee,
"I haue Nothing, Egerton, in all Cheshire
that wilbe any pleasure for thee
but 5 Mills stands att Chester townes end,
456 thé gone all ouer the water of Dee."

the five mills
on the Dee,
at Chester;

still kneeled *Rowland* Egerton,
& did not rise beside his knee,
sayes, "if it like your highnesse, my gracious *King*,
460 a Milner¹ called I wold neuer bee."

but Egerton
does not
care to be
called a
miller.

And then bespake him Noble *King* Harrye, [page 124.]
these were the words said hee,

¹ Milner, vet. ang. pro Miller.—P.

saith, "Ile make mine avow to god
 464 & alsoe to the trinite,
 there shall neuer be King of England
 but thé shalbe Miller of the Mills of Dec!

The King
 offers to
 make him
 Ranger of
 Snowden.

"I haue noe other thing, Egerton,
 468 that wilbe for thy delight ;
 I will giue thee the forrest of Snoden¹ in wales,
 wherby thou may giue the horne & lease ;
 in siluer it wilbe verry white,
 472 & meethinkes shold thee well please."

Egerton
 does not
 care to be
 that.

Still kneeled Rowland Egerton on his knee ;
 he sayes, " if itt like your highnes, my gracions
 King,
 a ranger² called wold I neuer bee."

476 then our King was wrathe, & rose away,
 sayes, "I thinke, Egerton, nothing will please thee."
 & then bespake him Rowland Egerton
 kneeling yet still on his knee,

He asks

480 sayes, " if itt like your highnesse, my gracions King,
 that your highnes pleasure will now heer³ mee,
 In Cheshire there lyes a litle grange⁴ house,
 in the Lordsh[i]ppe of Rydeley⁵ it doth Lyee,

¹ Snoden, i. e. Snowden.—P.

² *Ranger* of the Forest is one whose office is to walk daily through his Charge to see, hear, and enquire, as well of Trespasses as Trespassers in his Bayliwick ; to drive the Beasts of the Forest out of the Disforested into the Forested Lands, and to prevent all Trespasses of the Forest. *Glossographia Anglicana Nova*, 1719.—F.

³ hear.—P.

⁴ Fr. Beauregard: m. A Summer-house or *Graunge* ; a house for pleasure, and recreation. Cotgrave. *Grange* (Lat.), a great farm which hath Barns, Stables, Stalls, and other Places necessary for Husbandry. *Gloss. Angl. Nova*.—F.

⁵ Compare *Notitia Cestriensis* (Chet-ham Society), note: "Ridley Hall, the seat of the Egerton family from the time of Henry VIII., who granted the estate to Sir Ralph Egerton, second son of Philip Egerton of Egerton, Esq. as a reward for taking the French standard at Tournay. . . . The house was quadrangular, and approached by a massive gateway." And Leland (*Itin.* vii. 33): "Ridley Hawlle was made of a poure olde place the fairest Gentilmans howse of all Chestreschire by Syr William Standleey, Helper to Kyng Henry VII. It is a ryght goodlye howse of stone & tymbre." Ormerod: "The manor of Ridley, which became forfeited to the crown by

484 "a tanner there in it did dwell,—
 my leage, it is but a coto with one eye,—
 & if your grace wold bestow this on mee,
 ffull well it wold pleasure me.¹"

for a little
 grange
 house in
 Cheshire,

488 then bespake our Noble *King* Harrye,
 & these were the words saith hee,
 saies, "take thee *that* grange house, Egerton,
 & the Lordshippe of Rydley faire & free ;

which is
 given him.

492 "for the good service thou hast to me done,
 I will giue it vnto thy heyres & thee : "
 & thus came Row[land] Egertton
 to the Lordshippe of Rydley faire & free.

496 this Noble *King* Harry wan great victoryes in france
 thorow the Might *that* Christ Jesus did him send :

first our *King* wan Hans & Gynye,²
 & walled townes, the truth to say ;

The King
 takes Hans,
 and Guisnes,

500 & afterwards wan other 2 townes,
 the names of them were called turwin & Turnay ;

Terouenne,
 Tournay,

high Bullen & base Bullen he wan alsoe,
 & other village townes many a one,³

Boulogne,

504 & Muttrell⁴ he wan alsoe,—
 the Cronicles of this will not lye,—
 & kept to Calleis, plainsht⁵ with Englishmen,
 vnto the death *that* he did dye.

and
 Montreuil.

the attainder of Sir William Stanley, was granted by King Henry VIII. as a reward for taking the French standard at Tournay, to Sir Robert Egerton of Ridley, second son of Philip Egerton of Egerton, Esq., the founder of a family whose existence in the county was confined to a few generations, but whose splendour

during that period has never been rivalled by any branch of that ancient stock."—H.

¹ MS. me pleasure. *forte*, pleasure me.—P.

² Guisnes.—P.

³ *a one*. delend. Rhythmi gratia.—P.

⁴ Montreuil in Picardy.—P.

⁵ plenisht, *i.e.* replenished.—P.

508 thus was lancashire & Cheshire rebuked
thorow the pollicye of the Erle of Surrey.
Now god *that* was in Bethlem borne,
& for vs dyed vpon a tree,
512 saue our Noble prince *that* wereth the crowne,
& haue mercy on the Erles soule of derby !¹
ffins.

¹ A, Shewe this mersye one the Earle of Derby.

Eger and Grine.¹

[In Six Parts.—P.]

Of this once popular, and deservedly popular romance, there are two copies known—the following one of the Folio, now printed from the Folio for the first time; and a copy printed at Aberdeen in 1711,² of which an abstract is given by Mr. Ellis in his “Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances,” and a reprint, by Mr. Laing, in his “Early Metrical Tales,” in 1826. The latter copy is evidently a much diluted version of the old romance. “The printer,” says Mr. Ellis, “has evidently followed a very imperfect MS., with which also he seems to have taken great liberties; and the story, as it now stands, is so obscurely told, that the catastrophe is quite unintelligible, and has been in the present abstract supplied by conjecture.”

The diffuseness of the said copy may be appreciated when we state that it consists of 2860 lines, of which 2782 contain the story given in the Folio in 1473 lines, in little more than half the space. The last 60 furnish a feeble continuation of the original story. Sir Graham (so Sir Grime is called there) dies; Sir Eger’s bride discovers the trick that has been played upon her, and betakes herself to a religious life. Sir Eger fights in Holy Land. Returning, and finding his affronted wife dead, he marries Sir Graham’s widow. “This romance,” says Mr. Ellis, “is by no means deficient in merit; but I do not know of its

¹ This Old Piece is not much Inferior to one of Ariosto’s Gates.—P. There is a mark as if of contraction over the n of Grine.—F.

² Mr. Laing informs the editors that he possesses an edition twenty-four years earlier than this one. “It was a be-

quest,” he writes, “by my old friend Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., and has this title: ‘*The History of Sir Eger, Sir Grahame, and Sir Gray-Steel*. Printed in the year 1687.’ It is a little 18mo., pp. 72, black letter, without either the place of printing or printer’s name.”

existence in a perfect state, either in MS. or in print, unless it be preserved entire in Bishop Percy's folio."

Every one who cares for old romances will, we think, find pleasure in the Folio version now at last brought to the light. We see no reason for suspecting that it deviates from the original romance in respect of its story. The spelling and the language are considerably corrupted or modernised; but the incidents and circumstances remain as they were. The frame of the picture is damaged; but the picture lives. In the later editions of his "Reliques," in his list of Ancient Metrical Romances, Bishop Percy just mentions his copy. In 1800 he communicated an account of it to Dr. Robert Anderson, for the information of Sir Walter (then plain Walter) Scott, the substance of which is reproduced by Dr. Leyden in his remarks on the romances mentioned in the "Complaint of Scotland" (edited by him in 1801). It is printed *verbatim* in Mr. Laing's Preface to his reprint of the romance.

Sir Walter Scott, after speaking of "Gawen and Galogras," "Galoran of Galloway," and "Sir Tristrem," as romances in which "there does not appear the least trace of a French original," and probably "compiled by Scottish authors from the Celtic traditions which still floated amongst their countrymen," subjoins the hypothesis, that "to this list we might perhaps be authorised in adding the 'History of Sir Edgar and Sir Grime;' for although only a modernised copy is now known to exist, the language is unquestionably Scottish, and the scene is laid in Carrick in Ayrshire." We see no reason for referring it to Celtic traditions. But it may, perhaps, be of domestic growth. Certainly this romance enjoyed an early and extensive popularity in Scotland. Perhaps the earliest mention¹ of it belongs to the year 1497; when the Treasurer's accounts inform us: "ixs" was paid to "twa fithelaris² that Sang Gray Steil to the king," James IV., then

¹ See Leyden's *Comp. of Sc.* and Mr. Laing's Preface to his reprint.

² Not "Sachelaris." That reading is, as Mr. Laing informs the editors, a transcriber's blunder.

holding his court at Stirling. James V., as we learn from Hume of Godscroft's history of the family of Douglas, "when he was young, loved" Archibald Douglas of Kilspendie "singularly well, for his ability of body, and was wont to call him Gray Steill." Then, as we have already intimated, the romance is referred to in the "Complaynt of Scotland," 1549, as one well and widely known. Sir David Lyndsay, about the same time—who indeed has been set forth by some critics as the author of the "Complaynt," mentions it more than once : as in his "Squire Meldrum"—

I wate he faucht that day als weill
As did Schir Gryme againes Gray Steill—

in his Interlude of "The Auld Man and his Wife"—

This is the sword that slew Gray Steill
Necht half a myle beyond Kinneill.

A poem, written in 1574, by John Davidson, then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, published twenty-one years afterwards at Edinburgh, says that poets have in all time delighted to celebrate worthy persons :

Even of Gray Steill, who list to luke,
Their is set foorth a meikle buke.

"William, first Earl of Gowrie," says Mr. Laing, "is denominated Gray Steill in one of Logan's letters, produced as a proof of that alleged and mysterious conspiracy, which in all probability shall [Anglicè will] remain a question of doubtful interpretation." Subsequently, allusions to our romance abound. "In a curious MS. volume," to quote again from Mr. Laing's valuable Preface, "formerly in the possession of Dr. Burney, entitled 'An Playing Booke for the Lute;' 'Noted and collected' at Aberdeen by Robert Gordon, in the year 1627, is the air of 'Gray Steel;' and there is a satirical poem on the Marquis of Argyle, printed in 1686, which is said 'to be composed in Scottish rhyme,' and is 'appointed to be sung according to the tune of Old Gray Steel.'"

"Besides these allusions," adds Mr. Laing, "other evidence of the popularity of this romance might have been adduced from common sayings and proverbial expressions which are current to this day in various parts of the country, although all knowledge of the hero and his exploits have long since ceased to be remembered.

"Indeed, this romance would seem, along with the poems of Sir David Lyndsay, and the histories of Robert the Bruce, and of Sir William Wallace, to have formed the standard productions of the vernacular literature of the country. The author of the 'Scots Hudibrass,' originally printed at London, 1681, under the title of 'A Mock Poem, or the Whiggs Supplication,' in describing Ralph's Library says:

And here lyes books, and there lyes ballads,
As Davie Lindsay, and Gray Steel,
Squire Meldrum, Bevis, and Adam Bell,
There Bruce and Wallace.

"To this effect, John Taylor, 'the water poet,' a noted character in the reign of Charles I., speaks of Sir Degre, Sir Grime, and Sir Gray Steele, as having the same popularity in Scotland that the heroes of other romances enjoyed in their respective countries 'filling (as he quaintly says) whole volumes with the ayrie imaginations of their unknowne and unmatchable worths.'"¹

The reader will not, we think, be surprised at the wide popularity these many allusions imply. The poem is not only valuable for its faithful picture of mediæval life, with its adventures, and gallantry, and that mysterious atmosphere we called "romantic," but for the force and beauty of its story. It has charms beyond those which attract the antiquarian, or the historical eye. The subject of the piece is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. Such a friendship was a

¹ Argument to the verses in praise of the Great O'Toole, originally printed 1623, 8vo., and included in Taylor's works, 1634, folio, sign. Bb. 2.

favourite subject with the old romance-writers. See "Amys and Amylion," and "Athelstan" (printed from a Caius College MS. in "Reliquiæ Antiquæ"). What Damon and Pythias were to each other, and Pylades and Orestes, that were Eger and Grime.

They were fellows good & fine ;
They were nothing sib of blood,
But they were sworn Brethren good ;
They kept a chamber together at home ;
Better love loved there never none.

Of such a kind was the fast friendship of Wallace and Graham, the recollection of which, perhaps, may have induced later Scotch reciters or editors of the story to change Grime's name into Graham. Graham had become to them the ideal representative of the friend that sticks closer than a brother.

This romance then, like the Fourth Book of the "Fairy Queen," sings of friendship. It sings how a true knight stood faithfully by his friend when misfortune overtook him, and fought his battle, and won it, and was rewarded with the same happiness which he had so nobly striven to secure for his friend—success in love. The causes of his friend's misfortune are highly characteristic of the age in which the romance was probably composed—the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. They are: (1) Sir Eger's own adventurous spirit. He is a younger brother, who, "large of blood and bone," but possessing no broad lands, has to fight his way in the world. "Ever he justs and he fights." Ever unvanquished, he wins the love of Winglaine, Earl Bragas' daughter, who has set her heart on marrying such an one. But with her love pledged to him, and with all his honours, he cannot rest from seeking adventure. He hears of a fresh enemy ; he sets off in quest of him.

Upon a time Eger he would forth fare
To win him worship, as he did see ;
Whereby that he might praised be
Above all knights of high degree.

(2) Winglaine's inflexible resolve to give her hand to one who had never known defeat. The new enemy, against whom her lover is gone, is the formidable Sir Gray-Steel. The lover comes back from his encounter with him stained with defeat.

So he came home upon a night
Sore wounded, & ill was he dight;
His knife was forth, his sheath was gone;
His scabbard by his thigh was done;
A truncheon of a spear he bore,
And other weapons he bare no more.
On his bedside he set him down;
He siked sore, & fell in swoon.

Winglaine overhears the miserable story he gives his much sorrowing friend of his expedition; and her heart is hardened against him. He has committed what is in her eyes an unpardonable offence—he has been beaten. She laughs to scorn the version of the affair, which the *fidus Achates* circulates, to protect his friend's fair fame. She listens to Sir Grime's intercession with supreme obduracy. She will no longer lay any commands of hers upon him, she says.

All that while Eger was the knight
That wan the degree in every fight,
For his sake verily
Many a better I have put by
Therefore I will not bid him ride,
Nor at home I will not bid him abide;
Nor of his marriage I have nothing ado;
I wot not, Grime, what thou sayest thereto.

But poor, wounded Eger loves her as intensely as ever.

Such is the terrible distress from which friendship delivers him. If Eger can yet overthrow Gray-Steel, or be believed by Winglaine to have overthrown him, all may yet be well. The friend determines himself to go forth against the enemy, but to persuade the lady that her lover has gone. His generous scheme succeeds. He returns triumphant; and makes everybody believe that it is Eger returning so. Winglaine now relents, as she thinks Sir Eger has redeemed his honour; and, after some show

on his part of feigned indifference to her overtures, *prisca redit venus*, and the happy day is fixed.

The Earl & Countess accorded soon ;
The Earl sent forth his messenger
To great lords far and near,
That they should come by the 15th day
To the marriage of his daughter gay.
And then Sir Eger, that noble knight,
Married Winglaine, that lady bright.
The feast it lasted forty days
With lords & ladies in royal arrays ;
And at the forty days end
Every man to his own home wend.

And in due time

Winglaine bare to Sir Eger
Fifteen children that were fair ;
Ten of them were sonnes wight,
And five, daughters fair in sight.

Such is the outline of this charming old tale. The central scene is the land of Beam. But the expeditions against Sir Gray-Steel into the Forbidden Country are described at great length and with excellent effect. The introduction of the lady who entertains and nurses, or advises the knights when engaged in them, and who eventually marries Sir Grime, is accompanied with most pleasant and graphic pictures of the lady's bower of chivalric times. As Winglaine represents the sterner side of the female character, Loosepain represents the gentler. Says Sir Eger :

The Moon shone fair, the stars cast light ;
Then of a Castle I get a sight,
Of a Castle & a Town ;
And by an harbour side I light down ;
And there I saw fast me by
The fairest bower that ever saw I.
A little while I tarried then,
And a lady came forth of a fresh Arbour ;
She came forth of that garden green,
And in that bower fain would have been.
She was clad in scarlet red
And all of fresh gold shone her head ;
Her rud was red as rose in rain,
A fairer creature never seen.
Methought her coming did me good.

She is full of gentle consideration for the wounded and vanquished knight—for his wounded spirit as well as for his pierced and bruised body.

The Lady lovesome under line
 With her white hands she did wash mine ;
 And when she saw my right hand bare,
 Alas ! my shame is much the mair !
 The glove was whole, the hand was nomen ;
 Thereby she might well see I was overcomen ;
 And she perceived that I thought shame ;
 Therefore she would not ask my name.
 Nor at that word she said no mair,
 But all good easements I had there.

This gentle-souled lady proves an excellent doctor—

Why was she called Loosepain ?
 A better leech was none certain.—

(see v.v. 243–328), and a most kindly nurse. *Haud ignara mali*—her betrothed had been slain by Sir Gray-Steel, and her brother too, in striving to avenge him—she endeavours to forget her own griefs while she “succours” the miserable Sir Eger ; but ever and anon, in the midst of her tender, gracious nursing of him, they recur to her, and she must needs weep. The old romances paint few more beautiful touching pictures than this one :

She sat down by the bedside,
 She laid a psalter on her knee ;
 Thereon she played full lovesomely ;
 And yet for all her sweet playing,
 Oftimes she had full still mourning ;
 And her two maidens sweetly sang,
 And oft thé wept, or their hands wrang ;
 But I heard never so sweet playing,
 And ever amongst so sore siking.
 In the night she came to me oft,
 And asked me whether I would ought,
 But always I said her nay,
 Till it drew near the break of day.

No wonder Sir Eger describes her afterwards as

. . . the gentlest of heart & will
 That ever man came until.

She receives Sir Grime with the same sweet hospitality—happily he did not need experience her leechcraft, either before or after his combat with Graysteel—disturbed by the same irrepressible sorrow.

Meat nor drink none would he,
He was so enamoured of that fair lady.

He discovers the secret of her tears.

"Sir," she said, "I must never be weel
Till I be avenged of Graysteel,
For he slew my brother, my fathers heir,
And also my own lord both fresh & fair;
For Sir Attelstan shold me have wedd,
But I came never in his bed." &c.

So Sir Grime rides forth against Sir Gray-Steel, not only as Eger's friend, but as Loosepain's lover. He rides with a lighter heart, therefore; around him the small birds singing, the flowers springing. The lady Loosepain, sitting at home in her chamber, thinks of him gone to the Forbidden Country.

At supper where she was set
Never a morsel might she eat.
"Ah!" she sayd, "now I think on that knight,
That went from me when the day was light!
Yesternight to the chamber I him led;
This night Graysteel has made his bed.
Alas! he is foul lost on him!
That is much pity for his kin!
For he is large of blood and bone;
And goodly nurture he lacketh none.
And he is fair in arms to fold,
He is worth to her his weight in gold,—
Woe is me for his love in his country!
She may think long or she him see!"
With that she thought on her Lord Attelstan
That the water out of her eyen ran.

Who is so hard-hearted as not to rejoice when at this juncture—

. . . Grime knocked at the chamber door,
And a maiden stood there on the floor.

"O madam!" she said, "Now is come that knight
That went hence when the day was light!"
And hastily from the board she rose,
And kissed him twenty sixes.
"How have you faren on your journey?"
"Full well, my love," Sir Grime did say. &c.

Of course the old, old, never wearisome *finale* follows. The brave, true, virgin knight

("I had never wife," he says, "nor yet lady.
I tell you truly by Saint John
I had never wife nor yet leman.")

marries the sweet tender-hearted lady. The betrothal—the handfasting—takes place at once; the marriage, after Sir Grime has revisited the land of Beam, and ensured the happiness of his friend, returning to Earl Gares' land—

There Sir Grime, that noble knight,
Married Loosepain, that lady bright,
A royal wedding was made then.

The third knight of the poem is Sir Gray-Steel. He is described as

. "A venturous knight,
That kept a forbidden country both day & night,
And a fresh island by the sea,
Where castles were with towers hie.

The Forbidden Country was made an island by a river and the sea together. It was well furnished with parks, and palaces, and castles, and towers, and with watchmen. For the lord of it, his shield and spear were red; his steed so big as to make Sir Egar's by the side of it look but a foal; his spear was great and long. In the four quarters of his shield were a dragon, an unicorn, a bear, and a wild boar; in the midst "a ramping lion that would bite sore." His armour is of wonderful and lavish magnificence,

made of silver and gold, and precious stones. He carries a golden mace with a topas at the end of it. His horse's furniture is of the same splendid sort—reins of silk hung with bells of gold, saddle of selcamar,¹ fretted with golden bars, breastplate of Indian silk.² Moreover, his strength ebbed and flowed, being greatest at noon, least at midnight. He fought better on horse-back than on foot. He was believed to be invincible. With his hands too he had

. . . A hundred knights & mo,
Shamefully driven them to dead
Without succour or any remed,

and made their ladies captive. He was wont to cut off the little finger of the right hand of those he slew or overthrew, probably for some purpose of sorcery.³ The features of this figure have evidently an Oriental cast. The brilliant opulence of Gray-Steel's appearance and his practice of witchcraft both point to an Oriental origin. He is a terrible infidel. At a later time, when an allegorical application of the old romances was the fashion; when they were being turned to uses never dreamt of by their prime authors, and it was insisted that "more was meant than met the ear"; when those tendencies were working that produced their most glorious result in the "Fairy Queen"; when men were attempting to use for new thoughts the old forms of expression, just as they were retaining for Protestantism the cathedrals that had so long re-echoed the liturgy

¹ Some rich stuff like *siclatoun*.—F.

² In an old English poem on the siege of Rouen, A.D. 1418, Henry is described as riding

. . . On a broune stede;
Of blak damaske was his wede;
A *peytrelle* of golde full bryzt
Aboute his necke hynge down ryzt.
Archæologia, vol. xxii.

The *peytrelle* or *poitral* was a piece of horse-furniture of this period.—*Planché's British Costume*, p. 230.

"Also the synne of here ornament, or of apparaile, as in thinges that apperteynen to rydyng, as in to many delicat horses . . . and in to curious harnoys, as in sadelis, and bridils, croupours, and *peytrelle*, covered with precious clothing, and riche barres and plates of gold and of silver." Chaucer, *Persones Tale*. Poet. Works, ed. Morris, iii. 298.—F.

³ Compare the Hand of Glory in "The Antiquary"; in "Thalaba," book v. Fingers seem to have been used in a similar way.—H.

of Rome—at this time the “Forbidden Country” and Sir Gray-Steel may have had assigned them a fresh significance. The religious interpretation of them is obvious. The edition of 1711 reads for the Forbidden Country “The Land of Doubt.” This latter title cannot fail to remind us, if the former did, of certain adventures that befall the hero of the “Pilgrim’s Progress.” Bunyan must have been well familiar with the common versions circulating in his time of the old romances. Perhaps he may have heard a version of this very one from one of the many Scotchmen who for various reasons overran this country in the seventeenth century.

A supposed difficulty remains. We have seen that James, in his youthful days, nick-named a Douglas whom he then loved, his “Gray Steill.” “There might be some reason as to Lord Gowrie’s nick-name,” writes Mr. C. K. Sharpe, *apud* Mr. Laing’s Preface, “for it is plain that Gray Steill was a sort of magician; and Spottiswood says that Gowrie ‘was too curious, and said to have consulted with wizards,’ &c.; but for Lord Eglintoun, it is only known that he fought stoutly for the Solemn League and Covenant, was never vanquished by Sir Grime, and had no deeper dealings with the devil than the rest of his fellow Puritans.” With regard to Douglas, we should conjecture that the name was given him in banter. Affection often uses the seemingly most inapt terms. It expresses itself contrariously. It is much given to irony. It can convert the hardest names into terms of endearment. It can make the rudest speeches civil, the harshest titles complimentary, denunciations into caressings, blows into kisses. So there is no difficulty in James giving his favourite such a hard name. As to Lord Eglintone, if it is only “known that he fought stoutly for the Solemn League and Covenant,” quite enough is known to prepare us for the application of the most abusive terms to him. What with the great differences, and the endless bitter little

differences that "pitted" the face of his age, he must been a very unique person indeed if he did not get called by every possible bad name at one time or another. Naturally enough, the popular taste, requiring brevity in a title, and fascinated by the mystery and weird air that surround Sir Gray-Steel, attached his name to the romance, though it celebrates him and two others ; and so, as we have seen, it is often referred to "Graysteel."

We think our readers will agree with Percy's verdict that "it is one of the best of the ancient epic tales" preserved in the Folio—will perhaps extend their praise. It is, indeed, a poem of very high excellence, vivid, picturesque, terse, delicate, tender, vigorous. It breathes the very spirit of romance, and re-creates for us the old sights and scenes of romantic life in all their strange grotesque beauty. The knight-errant in his pride, and in his fall ; the Forbidden Land with its weird lord ; the castle standing out in the moonshine, as the broken knight rides away from the field of his shame ; the scarlet-clad, gold-head-dressed lady who meets, and greets, and doctors, and nurses him ; the wilderness and the forest ; the wonderful sword Egeking, of whose "guider" "no man ever of woman born durst abide the face beforn" ; Sir Eger in "a window," reading books of romance ; Winglaine on the walls seeing the waygate of her lover ; Sir Grime taking his inn at a burgess's house ; Loosepain playing her guest to sleep ; the avenger riding about the plain in quest of the oppressor ; the oppressor rushing on the avenger like a lion "in his woolest time" ; the fighting "together fell and sore, the space of a mile and something more" ; the hacking, and swooning, and dying ; the steeds left to themselves when their masters are dismounted, fighting furiously together after the example of their furiously fighting masters ; the castle of stone hard by the terrible field, where the victor sees and hears "ladies, many a one, wringing, and wailing, and riving their hair, striking, and crying, with voices full clear" ; the lady doing off his armour and searching

his wounds, and "never so sound as when she saw he had no death wound"—these are some of the pictures that our romance gives us; that teach us how unlike, and how like we are the men who played their parts some five centuries ago on the stage we now are occupying.

In Beame dwells		IT fell sometimes ¹ in the Land of Beame, there dwelled a Lord within <i>that</i> realme, the greatest he was of renowne	
	4	except the <i>King that</i> ware the crowne; thé called him to name Erle Bragas; he marryed a ladye was fayre of face; they had noe Child but a daughter younge,	
Earl Bragas, and has		in the world was none soe fayre thing: They called <i>that</i> Ladye winglanye ² ; husband wold she neuer haue none, ³	[page 125.]
a lovely girl, Wing- layne, who'll marry no one unless	8	Neither for gold nor yett for good, nor for noe highnese of his blood, without he would with swords dent ⁴	
	12	win euery battell where he went. soe there were many in <i>that</i> Realme rich,	
he wins every battle he fights.		but they cold find but few such, for the Erle rydeth with such a route of Lords & knights hardye & stout.	
	16	there was in <i>that</i> same time a curtoous <i>knight</i> called Sir Grime; & of Garwicke ⁵ Lord was hee; he was a wise man and a wittye.	
Of two friends, Sir Grime of Garwicke	20	soe there was in <i>that</i> same place a young <i>Knight</i> men called Egace, but his name was Sir Eger,	
	24	for he was but a poore bachlour,	
and Sir Eger,			

¹ sometimes in MS.—F.² Winglayne.—P.³ nane.—P.⁴ i.e. dint, as we say, *by meer dint of*,
&c.—P. Blow.—F.⁵ Garwicke, or rather Garnwicke. See
p. 143, v. 64 [of MS.]—P. Garwicke,
l. 61.—F.

- for his elder brother was liuande,¹
 28 & gouerned all his fathers Land.
 Egar was large of blood & bone,
 but broad Lands had hee none,
 but euermore he wan the honour
 32 through worshipp of his bright armour ;
 & for lone *that* he was soe well taught,
 euer he Iusted & hee fought ;
 & because he was soe well proued,
 36 the Erles daughter shee him Loued.
 they Ladye granted her good will,
 her father sented² there soone till,³
 he was glad *that* shee wold,
 40 *that* shee wold in hart fold⁴
 for to take vntill her fere⁵
 a baru[n]⁶ or else a bacheleere.
 these *Knights* Sir Egar & Sir Grime,
 44 they were fellowes good & fine ;
 they were nothing sib⁷ of blood,
 but they were sworne Bretheren good⁸ ;
 they kepted⁹ a chamber together att home ;
 48 better lone Loved there never none.
 Vpon a time Egar he wold forth fare
 to win him worshippe, as he did ere,
 wherby *that* he might praysed bee
 52 aboue all knights of high degree.
 soe hee came home vpon a night,
 sore wounded, & ill was he dight :

the latter
wins every
fight,

and Wing-
layne
loves him.

Then Eger
goes out to
win fame,

but comes
home
wounded or
despoiled.

¹ liuande, i.e. living.—P.

² i.e. assented.—P.

³ i.e. to.—P.

⁴ either fold, as in folding sheep, fold in one's arms, "enclose or embrace in her heart," or as in folding a cloth, "turn in her heart."—F.

⁵ companion, mate, &c.—P.

⁶ baroune.—P. a hole in the MS.—F.

⁷ related.—P. "But th' Birtle folk are a dhyel on um sib an sib, rib an'

rib—o' ov a litter—Fittons an' Diggles, an' Fittons and Diggles o'er again." *Edwin Waugh's Sketches of Lancashire Life*, 1857, p. 206.—F.

⁸ Compare, in the *Romance of Athelston*, Rel. Ant. vol. 2, p. 85 :

For love of here metyng thar,
They swoor hem weddyd brethryn for
ever mar;

In trowthe trowely dede hem bynde.—F.

⁹ kept.—P.

- his kniffe was forth, his sheath was gone,
 56 his scaberd by his thigh was done,
 a truncheon of a speare hee bore,
 & other weapons he bare noe more.
 on his bed side he sett him downe,
 60 he siked sore, & fell in swoone.
 Sir Grime of Garwicke shortlye rose,
 & ran to Sir Egar, and said, "alas,
 for thee, Egar, my hart is woe
 64 *that euer I were soe farr thee free !*
 for when wee parted att yonder yate
 thou was a mightye man, & milde of state ;
 & well thou seemed, soe god me speede,
 68 to proue thy manhood on a steede ;
 & now thou art both pale and greene,¹
 & in strong battell thou hast beene ;
 thou hast beene in strong battell,²
 72 it was neuer litle *that* made thee fayle."
 " ³Now as it hath behappned mee,
 god, let it neuer behappen thee
 Nor noe other curteous *Knight*
 76 *that euer goeth to the feild to fight,*
 for to win worshipp as I haue done !
 I haue bought it deare & lost it soone !
 for other *Lords* haue biddn⁴ att home,
 80 & saued their bodyes forth of shame,
 & kepeed⁵ their manhood faire & cleane !
 well broked⁶ my loue before mine eyen,
 & I am hurt & wounded sore,
 and man- 84 & manhood is lost for euer-more."
- Grime com-
forts him
and sorrows
for his
defeat.
- Eger la-
ments over
- his lost
worship
- and man-
hood,

[page 126.]

¹ Compare *χλωρός*, pale-green, light-green, greenish-yellow, strictly of the colour of young grass, corn, &c. *χλωπαί βῆρες*, Od. 16, 47, ii., generally pale, *χλωρὸν δέος*, pale fear. Il. 479, &c. Lid. and Scott.—H.

² battayle.—P.

³ Egar loquitur.—P.

⁴ biden, i.e. abode . . . hame.—P.

⁵ kept.—P.

⁶ ? rejected, lost. See Wedgwood under *broker*. Du. *braken*, To vomit, to cast, or to spewe. Hexham.—F.

- then said Grime to Sir Egar,
 "ye greene you more then meete were;
 for *that* man was neuer soe well cladd,
 88 nor yett soe doughtye in armes dread,¹
 but in battell place he may be distayned.²
 why shold his manhood be reproned,
 or his Ladye or his lone repine?"
- 92 then said Egar, "lett be, Sir Grime!
 for fairer armour then I had,
 was neuer Cristian Knight in cladd;
 I had a body *that* seemed well to doe,
 96 & weapons *that* well longed therto;
 well I trusted my Noble steed,
 soe *that* I did my good rich weed;
 & well I trusted my Noble brand;
 100 the best of all I trusted my hart & my hand!
 I heard tell of a venterous Knight
that kept a fforbidden cuntrye bath day & night,
 & a fresh lland by the sea
 104 where castles were with towers hye.
 ouer the riuer were ryding frythes³ 2,
 & soone I chose to the one of tho;
 in short while had I rydden
 108 in *that* Land that was fforbidden,
 but I heard mouing⁴ in the greete⁵
 as itt had beene of a steeds feete.
 My horsse gladedd with *that* cheere,
 112 cast vp his head & was a steere,⁶

and tells
 Grime his
 mishap.

He heard of
 a daring
 knight
 who forbad
 others his
 land;

he rode
 there,

¹ dradde, i.e. dreaded. Chau.—P.
² I quench or put out. *Je destains*.
 The water that boyleth over wyll
 quench the fyre. I stayne a thyng, I
 marre the colour or glosse of it: *Je*
destayns. I distayne, I chaunge the
 coloure of a thyng: *je destains*. . .
 This drinke hath distayned my doublet
 foule. Palgrave. *Desteindre*, to distaine,
 to dead, or take away the colour of.
 Cotgrave.—F.

³ *ryding places* in l. 937.—H. ? fords.
Frythes, in *Gawaine and the Greene*
Knight, are enclosed woods, (see Glos-
 sary). *Firth*, *fyrth*, a sheltered place,
 enclosure. Jamieson.—F.

⁴ moving.—P.

⁵ greet, grete, sand or gravel in Rivers
 —G[awain] D[ouglass]. Gl.—P.

⁶ steer, is to stir, move briskly. G.D.;
 Chau.—P.

- he groped together as he wold haue runen :
 I hearkned when more din had comen ;
 I looked on the way nye before,
 & see a *Knight* come on a sowre ¹;
 red was his sheild, red was his speare,
 & all of fresh gold shone his geere ;
 & by the death *that* I must thole,²
 my steed seemed to his but a fole ;
 his speare *that* was both great & long,
 faire on his brest he cold itt honge ;
 & I mine in my rest can folde.
 I gaue my horse what head he wold,
 our steeds brought vs together soone :
 alas, *that* meeting I may mone !
 ffor³ through coate armour & acton,⁴
 through brest plate & Habergion,
 through all my armour lesse & more,
 Cleane through the body he me bore ;
 & I still in my sadle sate,
 my good spere on his brest I brake.
 the 2^d time he came againe,
 he fayled of me, & my steede he has slaine.
 then I gott vpp delinerlye,⁵
 not halfe soe soone as need had I ;
 I thought to hane wrocken ⁶ my steeds bane,
 but *that* great outrage my selfe hath tane ;
 I drew a sword of Mettle bright,
 & egerlye I sought vnto *that Knight* ;
 I stroke at him with all my maine,
 I failed of him, & his steed has⁷ slaine.
 when hee see *that* itt was soe,
 to counter ⁸ on ffoote he was full throe ⁹ ;
- saw the Knight in red and gold, 116
 charged him, 124
 was run right through the body, 128
 and his steed slain. 132
 Eger then attacked on foot with his sword : 140
- [page 127.]

¹ Sore, is sorrel col^d; perhaps it is here a horse of that colour; G.D. Sore also signifies valde, vehementer. *Jun.* if so, perhaps *a* is redundant.—P.

² suffer.—P.

³ MS. ffor.—F.

⁴ i.e. hocqueton.—P.

⁵ nimble, quickly; vid. Chauc. GL.—P.

⁶ wroken, wreaked, revenged.—P.

⁷ have, or *is* or *was*.—P.

⁸ encounter.—P.

⁹ bold.—F.

- hee drew a sword, a worthy weapon ;
 the first dint *that* on me did happen,
 throug all my armour, lesse and more,
 148 7 inches into the sholder he me shore ¹ ;
 & I hitt him with whole pith ²
 aboue the girdle, *that* he groned with,
 & with *that* stroke I cold him lett
 152 whiles another shortlye on him I sett,
 & well I wott I had him gotten,
 but with *that* stroke my sword was broken.
 then I drew a kniffe,—I had noe other,
 156 the *which* I had of my owne borne brother,—
 & he another out of sheath hath tane,
 & neere hand together are we gone :
 first he wounded me in the face ;
 160 my eyen were safe, *that* was my grace ;
 then I hitt him vpon the head,
that in his helme my blade I leade.³
 god ! lett neuer Knight soe woe be gon ⁴
 164 as I was when all my false weapons were done ⁵ !
 yett ⁶ with the haft *that* was left in my hand,
 fast vpon his face I dange
that the blood sprang out from vnder the steele :
 168 he lost some teeth, *that* wott I weele.
 My Habergion *that* was of Millaine⁷ fine,—
 first my fathers and then was mine,
 & itt had beene in many ⁸ a thrust,
 172 & neuer a naile of itt wold burst ;—
 my acton was⁹ of Paris worke,
 saued me noe more than did my sarke,
 for his sword was of Noble steele,
- the Red Knight
 out him
 7 inches
 into the
 shoulder ;
- his sword
 broke,
- he got a
 wound in
 the face,
- was cut
 through
 habergion
- and
 aequeton

¹ did share, divide.—P.

² met. vigour ; so in Chau.—P.

³ perhaps laid.—P. leaved, left.—F.

⁴ overwhelmed with sorrow.—P.

⁵ done.—P.

⁶ First written *y* in the MS. and then
ett added.—F.

⁷ Cp. the "*Millaine* knife," l. 167 of
 "King Arthur and the King of Corn-
 wall."—F.

⁸ many.—P. Only one stroke, with a
 mark over it, in the MS. for the *n*.—F.

⁹ that was.—P.

- 176 he strake hard—and it lasted weele—
through all my armour more & lesse,
and neuer ceaced¹ but in the fleshe.
into the
flesh. then, sore² foughten, I waxed wearye,
- 180 for blood as drye as any tree ;
Eger
swooned. I fought soe long, I ffell in swoone,³
till betweene his hands I fell downe.
- When he
woke, his
steed was
dead ; 184 when I came to my-selfe, my steed⁴ was away ;
I looked on the Land where he lay ;
my steed lay slaine a litle me free,
& his head backe striken in tow.
then I was ware of a runing strand,⁵
- he crept to
a brook
and washed
his eyes ; 188 & thither I crope⁶ on foot & hand,
& from my eyen I washt the blood ;—
all was away shold have done me good ;—
then I looked on my right hand ;
- his right
little-finger
was gone. 192 my litle finger was lackand.
then I went further on the greene
where more strong battells hadden beene ;
a slaine Knight & spoyled lay,
- So was
another
slain
knight's. 196 his litle finger was away ;
& by that Knight I might well see
that one man had delt both with him & me.
- Eger caught
a horse, 200 then of a saddled horsse I gatt a sight,
& by him lay a slaine Knight ;
his steede was both good & fine,
but not halfe soe good as mine.
- rode to 204 all that day did I ryde
till itt was in the euen tide ;
the Moone shone fayre, the starres cast light ;
then of a castle I gott a sight,
- a castle 208 of a Castle & of a towne,
& by an harbour side I light downe ;

¹ ceased.—P.² being sore fought.—P.³ Only one stroke of the *n* in the
MS.—F.⁴ foe ; *sic legerem*.—P.⁵ Fr. *plage* : f. A flat and plaine
shore or *strand* by the seaside. Cot.—F.⁶ crope, *i.e.* crept.—P.

- & there I saw fast me by
 The fairest bower *that* euer saw I. [page 127.¹] and bower,
 a little while I tarried there,
 212 and a lady came forth of a fresh Arbor;
 shee came forth of *that* garden greene,
 & in that bower faine wold haue beene;
 shee was cladd ² in scarlett redd,
 216 & all of fresh gold shone her heade,
 her rud was red as rose in raine,
 a fairer creature was neuer seene.
 me-thought her coming did me good,
 220 & straight upon my feete I stooode.
 "Good Sir," quoth shee, "what causes you here to
 lenge?
 for ye had meetter ³ of great easmend ⁴;
 & heere beside is a castle wight,
 224 & there be leeches ⁵ of great sleight,⁶
 cuning ⁷ men with for to deale,
 & wonderous good happ haue for to heale;
 & there is the gentlest *Lady* att will
 228 *that* euer man came in misery till;
 therfore I counsell you thither to wend,
 for yee had neede of great easmend."
 "Lady," said Egar, "as itt be-happened mee,
 232 I irke to come in any companye.
 I beseeche you, Lady faire and sweete,
 helpe *that* I were sounded ⁸ with one sleepe,
 & some Easment for me and my hackney."
 236 "Sir," sayd shee, "I will doe the best I may.
 Sir, sith I am first *that* with you mett,
 I wold *your* neede were the better bett.⁹"
 then a faire maid, shee tooke my steede,

whence
came a
lovely lady,

who asked
him to
come in and
be cured
by the
gentlest
lady living.

Eger went:
his steed was
stabled,

¹ This is the second page 127, the MS.
being wrongly numbered.—F.

² MS. has a tag like an *s* to the *d*.—F.

³ were meeter, qu.—P.

⁴ easmend, easement.—P.

⁵ physicians.—P.

⁶ skill.—P.

⁷ cunning.—P.

⁸ made sound, eased.—F.

⁹ remedied. A.-S. *betan*, to repair,
restore, remedy.—F.

- 240 & into a stable shee did him leade,
 & into a chamber both faire & light
 I was led betweene 2 Ladyes bright.
 his bloody
 armour
 taken off,
 and drink
 given him. 244 all my bloodye armour of me was done,
 the Lady searched my wounds full soone,
 shee gaue me drinke for to restore,
 for neere hand was I bled ¹ before;
 there was neuer alle nor wine
 248 came to mee in soe good a time ;
 a siluer bason she cammanded soone,
 & warme water therin to be done ;
 the Ladye Lone-some vnde[r] line,²
 The lovely
 lady washed
 his hands, 252 with her white hands shee did wash mine,
 & when shee saw my right hand bare,
 alas ! my shame is much the more ³ !
 the gloue was whole, the hand was nomen,⁴
 saw his
 finger was
 lost, 256 therby shee might well see I was ouercomen ;
 & shee perceined *that* I thought shame ;
 therfore shee would not aske me my name,
 nor att *that* word shee sayd noe more,
 260 but all good easments I had there.⁵
 then till a bed I was brought ;
 I sleepe neuer halfe soe soft ;
 the Ladye fayre of Hew & hyde,
 264 shee sate downe by the bedside ;
 shee a laid a souter ⁶ vpon her knce,
 theron she plaid full lonesomlye,
 & yett for all her sweet playinge,
 and played
 to him, 268 oftymes shee had full still mourninge ;
 & her 2 maydens sweetlye sange,
 while her
 maidens
 sang

¹ bled, bled dry, exhausted from loss of blood.—F.

² linen.—F. 'under gore (petticoat) or line' was for the woman; 'under shield' for the man :

There was none that undir schilde
 Durste mete his crokede stede.

Sir Isumbras, l. 617.

Fowre knyghtis undir schelde
 Come rydand fulle righte.

Sir Perceval, l. 1387.

³ mair.—P.

⁴ nomen, took away.—P.

⁵ thore.—P.

⁶ souter, i.e. Psalter, Psaltory.—P.

- & oft thé weeped, & their hands wrange ;
 but I heard neuer soe sweet playinge,
 272 & euer amongst, soe sore siking. and she
sighed.
 in the night shee came to me oft,
 & asked me whether I wold ought ;
 but alwayes I said her Nay
 276 till it drew neerr to the breake of day ;
 then all my bloodye tents out shee drew,
 againe shee tented ¹ my wounds anew : Next day
she dressed
Eger's
wounds
 wott yee well itt was noe threede, ² [page 128.]
 280 the tents *that* into my wounds yeede,
 they were neither of lake nor Line, ³
 but they were silke both good & fine ;
 twise the tenting of my wounds with silken
plugs,
 284 cost *that* Ladye 20 pounds,
 without spices and salues *that* did me ease,
 & drinke *that* did my body well please ;
 & then shee gaue me drinke in a horne ;
 288 neuer since the time *that* I was borne
 such a draught I neuer gatt ;
 with her hand shee held me after thatt.
 the drinke shee gaue mee was grasse greene ;
 292 soone in my wounds itt was seene ;
 the blood was away, the drinke was there, ⁴
 & all was soft *that* erst was sore ⁴ ;
 & methought I was able to run and stand,
 296 & to haue taken a new battell in hand ;
 the birds sange in the greene Arbor,
 I gate on foote and was on steere.
 the Ladye came to me where I lay, which made
him feel
ready to
fight again ;

¹ I tent a sore or a wounde, I put a tente in it. *Je mets une tente*. You shall never heale this depe wounde if you tent it not. Palsgrave.—F.

² thread.—P.

³ A.-S. *lach*, garment; *lin*, flax. Halliwell gives "Lake. A kind of fine linen. Shirts were formerly made of it. It is

mentioned in a laundress's list of articles in MS. Cantab. Ff. i. 6, f. 141, and by Chaucer. The following passage establishes its colour:—

The daisé y-crowned as white as lake,
 An violettis on bankes be [?] bedene.

MS. Cantab. Ff. i. 6, f. 11.—F.

⁴ thore or sair.—P.

- She advised him to stay, 300 these were the words shee to me did say,
 " I rede you tarry a day or towe
 till you be in better plight to goe ; "
 but as he longed to go, she let him, 304 but I longed soe sore to be at home
that I would needlye¹ take leaue to gone.
 shee gaue me 2 shirts of raines² in fere,
 put them next my body ; I haue them here ;
 & my owne shee did abone,³
 308 & my bloudye armour on me hath done,
 saue my heauy habergion ; shee was afraid
 lest they⁴ wold haue mad my wounds to bleede ;
that Ladye with her milke white hand,⁵
 312 to the rason⁶ of my saddell shee it bound⁷
 with 2 bottels of rich wine,
 & therof haue I lined euer sinne.⁸
 Eger wondered that he felt so well. 316 I sayd, " a ! deare⁹ good Madam, how may this
 be ?
 the coningest leech in this land be yee ;
 for all my wounds leasse or more,
 of them I feele noe kind of sore
 as I had neuer beene wounded with sword nor
 speare,
 320 nor neuer weapon had done mee deere.¹⁰ "
 " wold god," said shee, "*that* itt were soe !
 but I know well for a day or 2
 free *that* loue make you once agast,
 324 your oyntments may noe longer last.
 sith you will not abyde with mee,
 lett your Ladye in your cuntrye
 doe to your wounds as I wold haue done ;
 328 then they will soft and heale full soone."
 one thing did my hart great greeffe,

¹ *i.e.* needs.—P.² Fine cloth made at Rennes, in Britany.—F.³ *i.e.* above. G.D.—P.⁴ *it.* qu.—P.⁵ honde.—P.⁶ perhaps *arson*, *id.* as *arçon*, Fr. saddle-bow.—P.⁷ bonde.—P.⁸ syne, since.—P.⁹ ah ! dear !—P.¹⁰ dere, ledere, nocere, Lye.—P.

I had nothing *that* Ladye to giue ;
 but my golden beades forth I drew,
 332 *that* were of fine gold fresh and new.
 shee wold not receiue them at my hand,
 but on her bedside I lett them liggand ¹ ;
 I tooke leane of *that* Ladye bright,
 336 & homewards rid both day & Night.
 I fared full well all *that* while
 till I came home within 2 mile ;
 then all my wounds wrought att once
 340 as kniues had beene beaten thorow my bones ;
 out of my saddle I fell *that* fraye ;
 when I came to my selfe, my steed was away
 thus hane I beene in this ffarr countrie,
 344 such a venterous *Knight* mett with mee.
 Men called him Sir Gray Steele ;
 I assayed him, & he ffended weele.

Eger gave
 the lady his
 gold beads,

rode home,

and fainted
 when two
 miles off.

His defeater
 was Sir
 Gray-Steele.

[The Second Part.]

Then spake Grime to Sir Egar
 348 with soft words & faire,
 2^d Parte "*that* man was neuer soe wise nor worthye,
 nor yet soe cuning proued in clergie,²
 nor soe doughtye of hart nor hand,
 352 nor yett so bigg in stowre³ to stand,
 but in such companye he may put in
 but he is as like to loose as win ;
 & euer I bade you to keepe you weele
 356 out of the companye of Sir Gray Steele,
 for he is called by command
 the best *Knight* in any Land.
 sith the Matter is chanced soe,
 360 wee will take the wayes of choice 2 :

[page 129.]

Grime
 comfort
 Eger ;

he had
 warned him
 to keep out
 of Sir Gray-
 Steele's way.

¹ left y^m liggand, i.e. lying.—P.

² Fr. *clergie*, learning, skill, science, Clarkeship. Cot.—F.

³ battle.—P.

Winglayne
must know
nothing
about it.

- from *your* lone and laydye Lained¹ this shalbee ;
shee shall know nothing of our priuities.”
but litle wist Egar nor Sir Grime
364 where the lady was *that* same time ;
for the Lady *that* Egars lone was,
her chamber was within a little space ;
of Sir Egar shee soe sore thought
368 *that* shee lay wakened, and slept nought.
a scarlett Mantle hath shee tane,
to Grimes chamber is shee gone ;
shee heard them att a priuie dain² ;
372 shee stayd with-out, & came not in.
when shee heard *that* Egars body was in distresse,
shee loued his body mickle the worse.³
words this lady wold not say,
376 but turned her backe & went awaye,
yet soe priuilye shee is not gone
but Grime perceived *that* there was one ;
an vnfolded window opened hee,
380 & saw the way-gate of *that* Ladye.
“ what is *that* ? ” said Egar, “ maketh *that* dinn ? ”
Grime sayd, “ my spanyell hound wold come in.”
to his fellow Sir Egar he said noe more,
384 but he repented *that* she came there.⁴
Gryme hath gotten *that* same night
Leeches *that* beene of great sleight,
coning men with for to deale,
388 *that* had good happ wounds to heale.
yett Long ere day word is gone
that Egar the Knight is comen home,
& hath moe wounds with sword & kniffe⁵
392 then had euer man *that* bare liffe :
17 wounds hee hath tane,

But she has
overheard
all of it,

and despises
Egar.

Grime gets
doctors for
Egar,

who has
seventeen

¹ lained, *i.e.* concealed.—P.

² One stroke of the *u* of *priuie* is wanting. *Dain* may be *dinn*. ? A.-S. *denn*, bed, place of rest.—F.

³ worse.—P.

⁴ thore.—P.

⁵ knife.—P.

- 7 beene thorow his body ran ;
the Leeches cold doe him noe remede,
396 but all said " Egar wold be dead."
In the morning the Erle & the countesse,
to Grymes chamber can the passe ;
the Erle said, " how doth Sir Egar the Knight ? "
400 then answered Grime both wise and wight :
" he doth, my Lord, as you may see."
" alas ! " said the Erle, " how may this bee ? "
Grime answered him hastilye,
404 " my Lord, I shall tell you gentlye :
& ¹ vncoth ² Land he happened in,
where townes where both few. & thinn ;
giffe he rode neuer soe fast,
408 7 dayes the wilderness did last.
he heard tell of a venterous Knight
that kept a forbbidden cuntrye day & night,
& a mile by the salt sea,
412 castles fayre & towers hye ;
On the other ³ side a fayre strand, [page 180.]
a faire fforrest on the other hand,
on the one side run a fresh riwere,
416 there might noe man nighe him nere ;
for he *that ouer that riner* shold ryde,
strange adventures shold abyde ;
hee shold either fight or flee,
420 or a weed ⁴ in that Land leaue shold hee ;
the wedd *that* he shold leaue in this land
shold be the litle ffingar of his right hand ;
& or he knew himselfe to slowe,
424 his litle fingar he wold not forgoe.
boldlye Egar gaue him battell tho ;
his helme and his hawberckes he tooke him fro,
soe did he his sword & his spere

wounds,
seven
through the
body.

Earl and
Lady Bragas
ask after
Eger,

and how his
misshap
befell.
Grime
makes up a
story,

that Eger
rode into
Gray-
Steele's land,

defeated
Gray-Steele,

¹ for an.—F.

² unknown, strange, Gl. Chan.—P.

³ one side, *sic leg.*—P.

⁴ wedde, i.e. a pledge.—P.

- 428 & much more of his golden gayre¹ ;
 and was riding home,
 & homewards as he rode apace
 thorow the wylde forrest & the wyldenesse,
 he thought to haue scaped withouten Lett.
- when fifteen 432 then 15 theeves with Egar Mett ;
 thieves
 attacked and
 wounded
 him,
 they thought Egar for to have him sloe,
 his gold and his good to haue tooke him froe :
 thrise through them with a spere he ran,
- though he 436 7 he slew, and the master man,
 slew eight of
 them.
 yett had hee scaped for all *that* dread ;
 they shott att him, & slew his steed ;
 hee found a steed when they were gone,
- 440 wheron Sir Egar is come home ;
 for if Str Egar dye this day,
 farwell flower of *Knight*-hooode for euer & aye ! ”
 then the Erle proffered 40^u in Land
- 444 for a Leech *that* wold take Egar in hand.
 9 dayes were comen & gone
 or any Leech wold ² Egar vndertane ;
 it was 9 dayes and some deale more
- Winglayne 448 or his ladye wold come there ³ ;
 will not
 come for
 nine days ;
 & att the coming of *that* fayre Ladye,
 her words they were both strange & drye :
- then asks 452 shee saies, “ how doth *that* wounded *Knight* ? ”
 coldly after
 Egar,
 then answered Gryme both wise & wight,
 “ he doth, Madam, as yee may see.”
- 456 “ in faith,” said the Lady. “ *thats* litle pittye :
 he might full well haue bidden⁴ att home ;
 worshipp in *that* Land gatt he none ;
- and sneers 456 he gaue a ffigar to lett him gange,
 at his
 having lost
 his finger.
 the next time he will offer vp the whole hand.”
- 460 Gryme was euer wont to gange
 in councell with the ladye to stand,
 & euer told Egar a fayre tale

¹ geere.—P.² had.—P.³ thore.—P.⁴ i.e. bided, abode.—P.

- till the *Knight* Sir Egar was whole ;
 for & her want & will¹ had beene to him lenging,
 464 it wold have letted him of² his mending.
 soe long the Leeches delt with Sir Egar
 till he might stoutlye goe & stirr ;
 till itt once beffell vppon a day
 468 Gryme thought the Ladye to assaye
 whether shee loued Sir Egar his brother
 as well as euer shee did before :
 Grime said, " Madame, by godds might,
 472 Egar will take a new battell with yonder *Knight* ;
 he is to sore wounded yett for to gone ;
 itt were worshipp to cause him to abyde at home,
 for he will doe more for you then mee."
 476 then answered *that* fayre Lady,
 " all *that*³ while *that* Egar was⁴ the *Knight*
that wan the degree in euery fight,
 for his sake verelye
 480 Manye a better I haue put by ;
 therfor I will not bidd him ryde,
 nor att home I will not bid him abyde,
 Nor of⁵ his Marriage I haue Nothing adoe⁶ ; [page 131.]
 484 I wott not, Gryme, what thou saist therto."
 Gryme turned his backe of the Ladye faire,
 & went againe to his brother Sir Egar,
 sett him downe on his bed side,
 488 & talked these words in *that* tyde :
 " Egar," he said, " thou & I are brethren sworne,
 I loued neuer better brother borne ;
 betwixt vs tow let vs make some cast,
 492 & find to make our formen⁷ fast,
 for of our enemies wee stand in dread,
 & wee Lye sleeping in our bedd."

Eger gets
able to walk.

Grime tests
Winglayne's
love for
Eger :

she says,
while he
won every-
thing

she refused
his betters
for him ;

but now
she'll have
nothing
to do with
him.

Grime turns
his back on
her,

and asks
Eger how
they can be
revenged on
their foes.

¹ "wanton will," qu: from this mistake I should suspect this Poem transcribed only from y^e mouth of a minstrel.—P. But & for if, and want meaning "desire," make sense.—F.

² In the MS. there is something like an e following the f.—F. ³ the.—P.

⁴ MS. Egar y^t was.—F. y^t Egar was.—P.

⁵ with ⁶ to do: qu.—P. ⁷ foemen.—P.

- Egar said, "what mistrust haue yee with mee?
 496 for this 7 monthes if I here bee,
 shall neuer a man take my matter ¹ in hand
 till I bee able to auenge my-selfe in Land."
 A kinder *Knight* then Gryme was one,
 500 was neuer bredd of blood nor bone:
 "methinke you be displeased with mee,
 & that is not your part for to bee,
 for sith the last time *that* ye came home,
 504 I haue knowen prinie ² messengers come & gone
 betwixt your Ladye & Erle Olyes,
 a Noble *Knight* that doughtye is,
 of better blood borne then euer were wee,
 508 & halfe more liuings then such other ³."
 then Egar vp his armes sprang,
 & fast together his hands dange,
 with still mourning & siking sore ⁴
 512 saith, "alas! my loue & my Ladye fayre,
 what haue I done to make you rothe ⁴
that was euer leue, & now soe Lothe?"
 Gryme had of him great pittye,
 516 "brother," he said, "be councelled by mee;
 if you will doe after my counsaile,
 peradventure it will greatly preuaile:
 another thing, my liffe I dare Lay
 520 *that* yee shall wed *that* Ladye within this monthes day."
 "how now?" quoth Egar, "how may *that* bee?"
 "peace!" said Gryme, "& I shall tell thee:
 I haue a brother *that* men call Palyas,
 524 a noble squier & worthye is,
 he is welbeloued within this court
 of all the Lords round about;
- Grime tells him that
- Winglayne is flirting with Earl Olyes.
- Poor Eger
- mourns and sighs.
- Grime declares
- he shall marry her in a month.
- They will take Grime's brother Pallyas into council.

¹ ? MS. *my hatter* was first written, then seemingly an *m* over the *h*, but only two strokes of it are seen. It can hardly be read *my hatter*, for though Old Norse *hattir* is German *hut* (hat), yet *hattir* has

not *hut's* second metaphorical meaning of "custody, guardianship, care, charge."—F.

² Only half the *u* in MS.—F.

³ sair.—P. ⁴ wrothe.—P.

wee will him call to our counsell,¹
 528 peradventur he will vs prevayle;
 & I my selfe will make me sicke at home
 till a certen space be comen & gone,
 & *that* such a disease hath taken mee
 532 *that* I may noe man heare nor noe man see.
 Palyas my brother shall keepe you att home,
 & I my selfe will to *that* battell gone,
 & I shall feitch Gray-steeles right hand,
 536 or I shall leaue another finger in *that* Land."

He shall
nurse Eger

while Grime
fights Gray-
Steele.

[The Third Part.]

They called Pallyas to their counsell,¹
 & he assented soone withouten fayle,
 3^d Parte for he loued Sir Egar both Euen & morne
 540 as well as he did Gryme his brother borne.
 " & iff you will to this battell goe,
 yee had neede of good counsell betwene
 vs 2.
 Gryme, if thou wilt fight with Sir Gray-steele,
 544 thou had neede of weapons *that* stand wold weele;
 for weapons may be both fresh & new,
 fikle, false, & full vntrue;
 when a weapon faileth when a man hath need,
 548 all the worse then may hee speede;
 And all I say by Sir Egar,
 where was a better *Knight* knowen any where?
 when his weapon faild him att most need,
 552 all the worse then did he speede."
 Palyas said, "there was somtimes in this countrye,
 Egar, your vnckle Sir Egranye,
 & when *that* Egramye was liuand
 556 he had the guiding of a noble brand,

So said, so
done.

Pallyas
agrees,

but says
that Grime
must have
a better
sword than

[page 132.] Eger had.

He will get
him Eger's
uncle's
brand,

¹ counsayle.—P.

- Erkyin*, the name of itt was called Erkyin ¹ ;
 well were *that* man had it in keeping !
 first when *that* sword was rought,
- brought to 560 to *King* ffundus it was brought
 full far beyond the greekes sea,
 for a Iewell of high degree.
 when the *King* departed ² this world hence,
- 564 he left it with the younge prince ³ ;
 & some sayd *that* Egramye
 shold lone *that* ladye in priuitye ;
 he desired the sword in borrowing ;
- at his death 568 the *King* deceased at that time ;
 & when *that* Egrame was liuande,
 he had the guiding of *that* noble brand ;
that man was neuer of a woman borne,
- with a lady 572 durst abyde the winde his face beforne.
 living near. the Ladyes dwelling is heere nye ;
 shee saith, ' there is noe man *that* sword shall see
 till her owne sonne be att age & land,
- 576 & able to welde his fathers brande.'"
 Grime will
 borrow it. Grime sayd, " I will goe thither to-morrow at day
 to borrow *that* sword if *that* I may."
- 580 on the morrow when the sun shone bright,
 to Egrames Ladie went Grime the Knight ;
 kindly he halcht ⁴ *that* ladye faire :
- Grime goes 584 she saith, " how doth my Cozin Sir Egar ? "
 to the lady, " hee will forth, maddam, with all his might
 to take a new battell on yonder Knight ;
 he prayeth you to lend him his vnckeles brand,
 & there he hath sent you the deeds of his land,
 & all mine I will leaue with you in pawne
- and asks 588 *that* your sword shall safelye come againe."
 for his
 uncle's
 brand. soe he desired *that* sword soe bright

¹ Erkyin: below 'tis called *Egeking*,
 which perhaps is right.—P.

² *ks* departed.—P.

³ *t. i.* princess.—F.

⁴ saluted.—P.

- that shee was loth to with-say¹ that *Knight* ;
 then shee feitched him forth *that Noble brand*,
 592 & *received* the deeds of both their lands ;
 she said, "there was noe fault with Egeking,
 but for want of grace and *gouerninge* ;
 for want of grace & good *gouerninge*
 596 may loose a Kingdome & a *King*,
 for there is neither *Lin*² nor light
 that Egeking my sword meeteth with,
 but gladlye it will through itt gone,
 600 that biting sword, vnto the bone ;
 but I wold not for both your Lands
 that Egeking came in a cowards hands."
 & yett was faine³ Sir Gryme the *Knight* :
 604 to Egar he went againe *that night* ;
 Pallyas he said, "I read you be councelled by mee,
 & take some gifts to that faire Ladye,
 to *that Ladye faire & bright*
 608 *that Lodged Sir Egar* soe well the first night."
 "the best tokens," said Sir Egar,
 beene her sarkes of raines⁴ ; I haue them here."
 he tooke broches & beads in *that stonde*,
 612 & other Iewells worth 40^l
 & to reward *that fayre Ladye*,
 & thanke her of her curtesie.
 "wherby," sayd Gryme, "shall I her know
 616 amongst other Ladyes *that stands on a row* ? "
 "I shall tell you tokens," sayd Sir Egar,
 Wherby you may know *that Ladye faire* : [page 133.]
 shee hath on her nose, betweene he[r] eyen,
 620 like to the Mountenance⁵ of a pin ;
 & *that [hew]* is red, & the other is white,

She gives it
 him, he
 depositing
 his own and
 Eger's title-
 deeds as
 security for
 its return.

Grime
 comes back.

Pallyas tells
 him to take
 gifts for the
 lady that
 healed Eger.

Eger de-
 scribes her
 to Grime.

¹ A.-S. *viðsæggan*, to deny, gainsay.—
 F.

² *Limme & lith* is to this day a phrase
 in Scotland for the whole body.—P.

³ And then was faine, i.e. glad.—P.

⁴ See l. 305 above, p. 364.—F.

⁵ amount, quantity, see Chauc. Gl.
 —P. [Her eyebrows meet.—F.] so
 Horace, of Lycoris "*tenui fronte*."—H.

- there is noe other Ladye her like,
for shée is the gentlest of hart & will
624 *that euer man came vntill.*"
- Eger and
Grime dress. Early on the other day
theese 2 knights did them array :
into a window Sir Egar yeede,
Eger shows
himself
(reading
romances), 628 bookes of Romans for to reede
that all the court might him heare.
the *Knight* was armed & on steere ;
he came downe into the hall,
and takes
leave of all. 632 & tooke his leane both of great & small.
the Erle tooke Egars hand in his fist,
the countesse comlye cold him Kisse ;
his oune lady stood there by,
636 shée wold bere the *Knight* noe companye :
he sayd, "ffarwell my Lady faire !"
Winglayne
answers
him coolly. shée sayd, "god keepe you better then he did ere!"
& all *that* euer stodee her by,
640 did ¹ Marueill her answer was soe dry.
he went to the chamber or he wold blin ² ;
Sir Gryme came forth as he went in,
He goes
back to his
room.
Grime steps
out Stepped into the stirropp ³ *that* stiffe were in warr,
644 & Palyas his brother wrought ⁴ him a spere.
then wold he noe longer abyde,
and rides off. but towards Gray-steele can he ryde.
to the walls went winglaine, *that* Lady faire,
Winglayne
watches him
galloping ;
thinks he is
Eger ; 648 for to see the waygate of her loue Sir Egar ;
& Gryme the spurres spared not ; soe weeles
to the steeds sides he let them feeles,
his horsse bouted ⁵ forth with Noble cheere,
652 he spowted ⁶ forward as he had beene a deere
till he was passed out of her sight.
then goes to
Grime's
room, to Grymes chamber went *that* Ladye bright :

¹ The first *d* is made over a *w* in the line.—F.
MS.—F.

² desist, cease.—P.

³ Percy has put in an *s* above the

⁴ *raught*, i.e. reached.—P.

⁵ *bouted*, Scot. for bolted.—P.

⁶ a Scottish idiom.—P.

- yett long time or shee came there
 656 Palyas had warned Sir Egar,
 drawen double curtaines in *that* place
that noe man of Sir Egar noe knowledg hath.¹
 Palyas was full of curtesie,
 660 & sett a chaire for *that* faire Ladye :
 shee said, " at the walls, Palyas, I haue beene there
 to see the ryding forth of Sir Egar ;
 he rydeth feircely out of the towne
 664 as he were a wild Lyon.
 alas ! hee may make great boast & shoure²
 when there is noe man him before ;
 but when there is man to man, & steed to steede,
 668 to proue his manhood, then were it neede ! " and says
Eger can
show off
well enough
when there's
no one to
fight him.
 oftentimes Egar both cruell & keene
 for her in strong battells oft hath beene,
 & oftentimes had put himsele in warr ;
 672 & lay & heard her lowte³ him like a knaue :
 he wist not how he might him wrecke,⁴
 but cast vp his armes, & thought to speake.
 & Palyas was perceined of that,
 676 & by the sholders he him gatt ;
 he held him downe both sad & sore,
that he lay still & sturrd noe more.
 Palyas was full of curtesie,
 680 & thus answered *that* faire ladye ;
 he said, " Maddame, by gods might,
 Egar is knowne for the Noblest Knight
 That euer was borne in the land of Beame, [page 134.]
 684 & most worshipp hath woon to *that* Relme !
that was well proued in heathenesse⁵
 when the King of Beame did thither passe ;
 soe did the Lords of this countrye,
 688 & alsoe your father, *that* Erle soe free.

Eger can
hardly help
speaking,

but Pallyas
holds him
down,

tells Wing-
layne that
Eger is the
noblest
knight of
Beame,

¹ has.—P.

² stour. qu.—P.

³ perhaps flowte.—P.

⁴ revenge.—P.

⁵ sc. the Heathen Land.—P.

that he
fought the
Sowdan
Gornordine

- there came a sowdan to a hill,¹
that many christen men had done ill,
 the name of him was Gornordine,²
 692 *that many a christen man had put to pine ;*
 & he becalled any cristen Knight,
 or any 5 *that with him wold fight.*
 500 Knights were there *that day,*
 (whose
challenge
500 knights
refused), 696 *& all to that battell they saydden nay.*
 Egar thought on you att home,
 & stale to *that battell all alone ;*
 they fought together, as I heard tell,
 and slew 700 *on a mountaine top till Gornordine fell.*
 him. Sixty
heathens
attacked
Egar,
 60 Hethen³ were in a busment⁴ neere,
 & all brake out vpon Sir Egar :
 or any reshcew came to him then,
 704 *he had kild Gornordine & other ten.*
 then was he rescewed by a Noble Knight
that euer was proued both hardye & wight,
 but he, Kay, *the name of him was Kay of Kaynes,⁵*
 708 *a Northeren Knight I trow he is ;*
 there were but Egar & other ten,
 and ten
others killed
the sixty.
 & thé killed 60 or more of the heathen men ;
 thus they rescewed the Noble Egar,
 712 *& brought him to the host, as you shall hear.*
 the King of Beame in *that stage*
 offered Sir Egar his daughter in Marryage ;
 yet *that gentle Knight* wold not doe soc,
 The king
offered Eger
his daugh-
ter, but he
refused her
for Wing-
layne's sake,
who is now
his foe. 716 *he loued you best [that] now⁶ be his foe.*
 you be his foe, he knowes *that nowe*
 when he standeth in dread, I know."
 the Lady was soc wrath with Palyas,

¹ a Sowdan them until, i.e. a Sultan came unto them.—P.

² Gornordine or Gornordine.—P.

³ Hethen, first written *Lethen*, in MS. and then corrected.—F.

⁴ ambushment, i.e. ambushcade.—P.

⁵ perhaps Cathness, orig. *Kapnes*.—P.

⁶ who now.—P. Though *who* in the nominative was in use at the date of the ballad, *that* was the more general relative. See Mr. Weymouth's paper on *who*, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1860-1, p. 64, and Mr. Furnivall's answer to it, Phil. Soc. Trans. 1865, p. 139.—F.

- 720 shee tooke her leane & forth shee goth.¹
 Now lett vs leane chydng att home,
 & speake of Sir Gryme *that* is to the battell gone.

Now of Sir
 Grime.

[The Fourth Part.]

- All the wildernesse *that* there bee,
 724 Grime rode it in dayes 3 ;
 he mett a squier by the way ;
 4¹ Parte with fayre words Grime can to him say,
 " Sir," he said, " who is Lord of this countrye ? "
 728 the squier answered him gentlye,
 " It is a lord most worthyest in waine,²
 Erle Gares is his name."
 Grime sayd, " how highteth *that* lords heyre ³ ? "
 732 he sayd, " he hath none but a daughter fayre."
 Gryme saith, " who hath *that* Ladye wedd ? "
 the Knight sayd, " shee neuer came in mans bedd ;
 but Sir Attelston, a hardye Knight,
 736 marryed *that* Lady fayre & bright ;
 for he gane battell, *that* wott I weele,
 vpon a day to Sir Gray-Steele :
 a harder battell then there was done tho,
 740 was neuer betwixt Knights 2 ;
 but Gray-steele killed Sir Attelstone,
 a bolder Knight was neuer none.
 Erle Gares sonne & his heyre,—
 744 in all the world was none more goodlyere,—
 he was soe sorry Attelstone was dead,
 he thought to quitt gray-steele his meede ;
 boldlye he gaue him battell vpon a day,
 748 ther-for many a man sayd well-away !
 & there thé both ended att this bane
 as many another Knight hath done ;

Sir Grime
 rode into

Earl Gares'
 land,

a lord
 whose
 daughter
 was wedded
 to Sir
 Attelston.

Gray-Steele
 killed Attel-
 ston,

also Earl
 Gares' son
 and heir,

¹ gues.—P.

² ? *wone*, dwelling, or Sc. *wane*, man-
 ner, fashion, Suio-Gothic *wana*, Isl.

vane, consuetudo, mos. (Jamieson).—F.

³ Written above *Ladye fayre* crossed
 out.—F.

- and more
than 100
knights. 752 ffor I haue wist! *that* tyrant with his hands 2 [page 135.]
kill a 100 *Knights* and some deale moe ;
shamfulye hath drinen them to dead
withouten succour or any remed."
- 756 for all the words he spake in *that* time,
nothing it feared the *Knight* Sir Grime.
Grime asks
where the
widowed
lady dwells, . Gryme sayd, " how ffarr haue wee to *that* citey
whereas *that* Ladyes dwelling doth bee ? "
the *Knight*² said " but miles 2 ;
- 760 the one of them I will with you goe."
they talked together gentlye
till he had brought Grime to *that* citey.
goes there, att a burgesse house his ine he hath tane ;
- 764 to Seeke the Ladye Sir Grime is gone ;
then he went into a garden greene
where he saw many Ladyes sheene ;
recognises
her by
Eger's
description, amongst them all he knew her there
by the tokens of Sir Eger.
- 768 Egar was hurt vnder the eare ;
an oyntment Gryme had drawen there ;
he held the gloue still on his hand
- 772 where Egers fingers was lackand ;
& when *that knight* came her nye,
he kneeled downe vpon his knee,
& thanked her with humble cheere
- 776 " sith the last time, madam, *that* I was heere."
" Sir," said shee, " excused you must hold mee ;
thus avised, I did you neuer see."
and gives her
Eger's pre-
sents. then hee gaue her the shirts of raines in *that* stond
- 780 and other Iewells worth 40^{li},
& thus rewarded *that* fayre Ladye,
& thanked her of her curtesie.
- 784 " Now Sir," sayd shee, " soe haue I blisse :
how fareth the *Knight* *that* sent me this ? "
" I doe, Madam, as yee see now,³

¹ known.—P.² Squire.—P.³ ? MS. *may be* how.—F.

- therof I thanke great god and you."
 "why Sir," said shee, "but is it yee
 788 *that* in such great perill here did bee?
 I am glad to see you so sound in sight."
 hastilye shee rose & kist *that Knight*.
 Gryme Looke vpon *that Ladye* ¹ faire:
 792 soe faire a creature saw I ² neuer ere;
 for shee was cladd in scarlett redd,
 & all of fresh gold shone her head;
 her rud was red as rose in raine,
 796 a fairer creature was neuer seene.
 as many men in a matter full nice,—
 but all men in louing shall neuer be wise,—
 his mind on her was soe sett
 800 *that* all other matters he qu[i]te forgett;
 & as thé stood thus talkeand,
 shee stale the gloue beside his hand.
 when shee saw his right hand bare,
 804 softly shee said to him there,
 "Sir," said shee, "it was noe marueill though³ you
 hidd *your* hond!
 for such Leeches in this Land are none!
 there is noe Leech in all this land
 808 can sett a fingar to a hand,
 to be as well & as faire
 as neuer weapon had done it deere⁴!
 but game and bourd ⁵ Let goe together;
 812 scorning I can well conssider!
 it was neuer *that Knights* commandement
 noe scorne hither to mee to send!
 If thou be comen to scorne mee,
 [page 136.]
 816 ffull soone I can scorne thee."
 before, shee was mild of state,

She kisses
him, think-
ing he is
Eger.

Grime falls
in love with
her.

She finds
him out by
his having
a little
finger,

gets angry,

¹ There is a tag to the *e* as if for *s*.—

F.

² hee.—P.

³ *tho*, then.—P.

⁴ hurt.—P.

⁵ jest.—P.

- Now is shee high and full of hate!
 & of all the Iewells *that* he hath brought,
 and throws 820 shee curset¹ them to the ground, & wold them
 his presents down. naught.²
- Grime was neuer soe sore³ in all his day;
 he wist neuer a word what he shold say;
 & as shee was to the chamber passand,
 Grime 834 tooke that Ladye by the hand,
 Grime is saith, "I beseech you, lady free,
 sorry, and explains a word or 2 to hearken mee,
 &—soe helpe me god & holy dame!—
 828 I shall tell you how all this matter was done⁴:
 that he is the *knight that* was heere, he was my brother,
 going to fight Gray-Steele for Eger. & hee thought me more abler then any other
 for to take *that* matter in hand:
- 832 he loueth a ladye within his land;
 if not in euery fight he win *the* gree,⁵
 of his loue forsaken must he bee."
 The lady is shee sayd, "yee seeme a gentle *Knight*,
 pacified, 836 *that* answereth a ladye with soe much right."
 the Iewells the mayden hath vpp tane,
 & shee & the *Knight* to chamber are gone.
 shee sent vnto *that* burgesse place
 840 a mayden *that* was faire of face;
 what cost⁶ soeuer his steede did take,
 twice double shee wold it make.
 a rich supper there was dight,
 and offers 844 & shortlie sett before *that* *Knight*.
 him supper, but he can't eat for love. Meate nor drinke none wold hee,
 he was soe enamored of *that* fayre Ladye.
 he longed sore to [bee⁷] a bedd,
 She shows 848 & to a chamber shee him Led,
 him to bed, & all his armour of was done,

¹ cost.—P. ? MS. cast.—F.² nought.—P.³ sorry, qu.—P.⁴ came, *sic legm.*—P.⁵ victory.—P.⁶ cost.—P.⁷ bee.—P.

& in his bed he was layd soone.
 the Ladye lonesome of hew & hyde¹
 852 sett her downe by his bedside,
 shee layd a sowter vpon her knee,
 & theron shee playd full lone-somlye,
 & her 2 mayds full sweetlye sang,
 856 & euer they wept, & range² their hands.
 then Spake Gryme to that Ladye fayre :
 " of one thing, Madam, I have great Marueile,³
 for I heard neuer soe sweet playnge,
 860 & ofentetimes soe sore weepinge."
 shee commanded her sowter to be taken her froe,
 & sore shee wrange her hands 2 :
 " Sir," shee sayd, " I must neuer be weele
 864 till I be auenged on Sir Gray-steele,
 for he slew my brother, my fathers heyre,
 & alsoe my owne Lord both fresh & fayre ;
 for Sir Attelstone shold me haue wedd,
 868 but I came neuer in his bedd ;
 he gaue a battell, *that* wott I weele,
 vpon a day to Sir Gray-steele.
 a harder battell then was done thoe,
 872 was neuer betweene *Knights* 2 ;
 Gray-Steele killed Attelstone ;
 therfor many a *Knight* made great moane.
 then my brother *that* was my fathers heyre—
 876 in all the world was none more goodlyer—
 he was soe sorry for my husband indeed,
 he thought to have quitt Gray-steele his Meede :
 boldlye he gaue him battell vpon a day ;
 880 therfore many a man sayd wellaway !
 And there they both ended att *that* bone [page 137.]
 as many another *Knight* hath done ;
 for I haue wist *that* tyrant with his hands 2

and plays on
 a psalterie to
 him, while
 her maids
 lament.

She tells him
 she can
 never be
 happy till
 she is
 avenged on
 Gray-Steele,

who slew
 her hus-
 band and
 brother.

¹ pellis, cutis, *hyd.* Wright's Vocab.
 p. 44.—F.

² their hands rang or wrang.—P.
³ perhaps care.—P.

- 884 to haue a killed a 100 *Knights* & moe,
 & shamefully driuen them to dead
 with-outen succour or any remedeye.¹
 & if thou be comen to fight with that *Knight*,
 Iesu defend thee in thy right !
 888 there is noe woman aline *that* knoweth so weele
 as I doe of the *Condicions* of Sir Gray-steele,
 for euerye houre from Midnight till noone,
 strength de- 892 eche hower he increaseth the strenght of a man² ;
 creases from noon to midnight,
 & euery houer from Noone till Midnight,
 euery hower he bateth the strenght of a *Knight*.
 looke thou make thy first counter like a *Knight*,
 896 & enter into his armour bright ;
 looke boldlye vpon him thou breake thy spere
 as a manfull *Knight* in warr³ ;
 then light downe rudlye⁴ for thy best boote⁵ ;
 900 the tyrant is better on horsbacke then on foote ;
 and that he is better on horseback than on foot.
 presse stifflye vpon him in *that* stoure
 as a *Knight* will thinke⁶ on his paramoure ;
 but I will not bid yee thinke on me,
 904 but thinke on your ladye whersoener shee bee ;
 & let not that tyrant, if *that* he wold,
 lett you of *that* conenant *that* Ladye to holde."
 then shee tooke leaue of *that* gentle *Knight* ;
 908 to her chamber shee is gone with her maidens bright.
 Next day Grime arms,
 Sir Gryme longed sore for the day ;
 the Ostler⁷ soone can him arraye,
 he armed the *Knight* & brought him his steede,
 912 & he gaue him red gold for his meede.
 a rich brea[k]fast⁸ there was dight,
 & shortlye sett before *that* *Knight*,
 but meate nor drinke none wold hee

¹ remead.—P.² mon.—P.³ weir, Scottice.—P.⁴ readily.—P.⁵ advantage.—P.⁶ who thinks.—P.⁷ i.e. the chamberlain, Hostelier, or maitre d'hotel; but see page 140, line 206 [of MS.]—P.⁸ The *k* added in MS. by P.—F.

- 916 but a cuppe of wine & soppes 3.
 he tooke leane of *that* Ladye cleare,
 & rydeth towards the fresh riuer.¹

takes a cup
 of wine, and
 rides for-
 ward.

[The Fifth Part.]

- Early in *that* May morning,
 920 merrely when the burds can sing,
 the throstlecocke, the Nightingale,
 5^d Parte the laueracke & the wild woodhall,²
 the rookes risen in euery riuer,
 924 the birds made a blissfull bere³;
 It was a heauenly Melodye
 pro a Knight *that* did a loner bee,
 on the one side to heare the small birds singing,
 928 on the other side the flowers springing.
 then drew forth of the dales the dun deere,
 the sun it shone both fresh & cleere,
 Phebus gott vp with his golden beames,
 932 ouer all the land soe light it gleames;
 hee looked vpon the other side,
 see parkes & palaces of Mickle pryde,
 with 7 townes by the salt sea
 936 with castles fayre & towers hyee.
 ouer the riuer were ryding places 2,
 & soone Grime chose to the one of tho;
 & then he wold noe longer abyde,
 940 but into Gray-steeles Land can he ryde;
 & yett was feared Sir Gryme the Knight
 lest he wold haue tarryed him till night;
 but, god wott, he had noe cause to doe soe;
 944 for Gray-steele had ouer-waches 2.
 they went & told their Master anon right,
 "into *your* Land is comen a Knight,

On a merry
 May morn,

when birds
 make
 melody

and the
 bright sun
 shines,

Grime rides

into Gray-
 Steele's land.

Gray-Steele's
 watchers
 tell him;

¹ riuer.—P.

² Perhaps, wode wal. The witwall
 or golden ouzle, a bird of the Thrush

kind. G. ad Chau.—P.

³ bere, noise. vid. page 388, lin. 145
 [of MS.]—P.

- and 3^a he hath rydden about the plaine,
 948 And now is he bowne to turne home againe." [page 138.]
 "Nay," sayd Gray-steele, "by St. John!
 this one yeere he shall not goe home,
 but he shall either fight or flee,
 952 or a wed in this land leaue shall hee."
 they brought him red sheeld & red spere,
 & all of fresh gold shone his geere;
 his brest plate was purpelye pight,
 956 his helmett itt shone with gold soe bright,
 his shankes full seemlye shone,
 was sett with gold & precious stone,
 his armes with plate & splents¹ dight
 960 were sett with gold & siluer bright;
 with his sheelde on his brest him beforne,
 theron was a dragon & a vnicorne;
 on the other side a beare & a wyld bore,
 964 in the Middest a ramping Lyon *that* wold byt[e²] sore;
 about his necke withouten fayle
 a gorgett rought with rich Mayle,
 with his helme sett on his head soe hye;
 his golden 968 a mase³ of gold full royallye,
 mace set on the top stooode a Carbunckle⁴ bright,
 with jewels, it shone as Moone doth in the night;
 his saddle with selcamoure⁵ was sett,
 972 with barrs of gold richlye frett;
 his petrill⁶ was of silke of Inde,
 his steed was of a furley⁷ kinde,
 his steed with bells with raines of silke raught to his hand,

¹ Splints. Small overlapping plates for the defence of the bend of the arm above the elbow, and which allowed of free motion. They are mentioned as early as Edward the Third's time. Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 586.—F.

² The *e* added in MS. by Percy.—F.

³ mace.—P.

⁴ topas.—P.

⁵ Cp. "Ciclaton, a rich stuff from India. K. Alysaunder, 1964. Fr. *ciglaton*; Lat. *cyclas*." Herbert Coleridge's Glossary.—F.

⁶ petrill.—P. Petrell, a breastplate. Kennett (in Halliwell). Fr. *Pvictail*, a Petrell for a horse. Cotgrave.—F.

⁷ ferley, i.e. wondrous.—P.

- 976 with bells of gold theratt ringand.¹
 he stepped into his stirropp well armed in war,²
 a Knight kneeled & raught him a spere;
 & then wold he noe longer abyde,
 980 but straight to Sir Grime cold he ryde.
 when Grime was ware of Gray-steele,
 through comfort his hart came to him weele;
 he sayd, "thou wounded my brother Sir Egar!
 984 that deed, traytor, thou shall buy full sore."³
 Gray-steele answered neuer a word,
 but came on Sir Grime as he was woode;
 they smoten their steeds with spurres bright,
 988 & ran together with all their might;
 but Gray-steele came on Sir Grime
 like a lyon in his wooddest time;
 soe did Grime vpon Sir Gray-steele,
 992 & attilde⁴ him a dint that bote⁵ full weele;
 thorow all his armour lesse & more,
 cleane thorow the body he him bore,
 that all his girthers burst in sunder;
 996 the Knight & salle⁶ & all came vnder.
 through the strenght of Gryime & his steede
 he smote downe Gray-steele, & ouer him yeede;
 & well perceined Gray-steele then
 1000 that he was macht with a Noble man.
 then young grime start out of stray,⁷
 & from his stirrops he light that day;
 he thought on that Ladye yore,
 1004 how shee had taught him to doe before;

of gold on
its reins.

He takes a
spear

and charges
Grime like
mad.

Grime runs

him right
through
the body,

unhorse
him,

leaps down,

draws Ege-
king,

¹ Compare Chaucer's Monk (Prol. Cant. *Tales*, ed. Morris, v. ii. p. 6, l. 169-171):

And whan he rood, men might his bridel
 heere
 Gyngle in a whistlyng wynd so cleere,
 And eek as lowde as doth the chapel
 belle.—F.

² weir. q.—P.

³ sair.—P.

⁴ attilde, i.e. ettled, aimed, Scot.—P.

⁵ did bite.—P.

⁶ saddle.—P.

⁷ ? *stray* here must be from *extra*, on the outside, without, as in the ordinary sense of *stray*, but with the meaning of "on the outside of the horse, the saddle."—F.

- he shooke out his sword Egeking ;
the other mett him manfully without leasing ;
Grime sought him on one side
- and cuts through
Gray-Steele's
armour 1008 & raught him a wound full wyde ;
a 100^d Mailes he shore assunder,
& all the stuffe *that* was there vnder ;
throughout all his armour bright,
- five inches
into his
shoulder. 1012 5 inch into the sholder, the sword light.
but Gray-steele neuer with noe man mett
that 2 such dints did on him sett ;
then thought Gray-steele, *that* warryour wight,
- Gray-Steele
pays him
back 1016 to quitt Sir Grime *that* Noble Knight :
He hytt him on the helme on hye [page 129.]
that the fire as flynt out can flye ;
or euer he cold handle Egeking againe,
- with three
blows that
nearly kill
him ; 1020 3 doughtye dints he sett on him certaine
that almost Sir Gryme was slaine,
the least of them might haue beene a mans bane. .
thus these Noble burnes¹ in battele
- 1024 hacked & hewed with Swords of Mettle.
through rich many & myny plee²
the red blood blemished both their blee.
- but Grime 1028 Sir Grime was learned in his child-hood
full Noblye to handle a sworde ;
with an arkward stroke ffull slee³
he hitt Sir Gray-Steele on the knee ;
if he were neuer soe wight of hand,
- 1032 on the one foote he might but stand :
" thou wounded my brother Sir Egar ;
that deed thou shalt aby full sore⁴ ! "
- 1036 then answered Gray-steele, *that* warryour wight,
" wherefore vpbraydest thou me with *that* Knight ? "
⁵ " for he neuer went by watter nor Lande,

¹ barnes, i.e. men.—P.² It should be Mail & many plie. See Reliques, vol. I. pag. 10, ver. 21 & Glos.—P.³ sly.—P.⁴ sair.—P.⁵ Grime answered.—P.

- but he was as good as [t]he¹ both of hart & hand ;
 & hee had beene weaponed as well as I
 1040 he had beene worth both thee & mee."
 he hitt Sir Gryme on the cainell² bone ;
 a quarter of his sheeled away his gone³ ;
 the other he claue in tow
 1044 that it fell into the feyld soe far him froe ;
 his Noble sword Egeking
 went from him without Leasing.
 but Grime was wight upon the land,
 1048 he followed fast after & gatt his brand ;
 but on⁴ Gray-Steele had had his other foote
 to haue holpen him in neede and boote,
 I cold not thinke how Gryme the Knight
 1052 shold haue comen againe to that Ladye bright.
 when he had gotten againe Ege-king,
 fell were the dints he sett on him ;
 with an arkeward stroke full sore
 1056 through Lauer & longs Gray-steele he bore.
 Gray-Steele went walling⁵ woode
 when his sydes fomed of his harts blood ;
 then perceiued the Knight Sir Grime
 1060 that Gray-Steele was in poynt of time.
 Grime sayd, " yeeld thee, Sir Gray-steele,
 for thou can neuer doe⁶ soe weele."
 the other said, " thou mayst lightlye lye ;
 1064 that man shall I neuer see ;
 that man was neuer of woman borne
 shall make me yeelde, one man to one."

Gray-Steele
 hits Grime
 on the
 collar-bone,

and knocks
 his sword
 out of his
 hand.

Grime
 recovers it,

cuts Gray-
 Steele

through the
 liver and
 lungs,

and calls on
 him to
 yeild.

¹ thee both.—P.

² The *Cainell* or *Kennel bone* of the neck is still current in Northamptonshire. See *Camel bone* in Bailey's Dict.—P.

But swiche a fairenesse of a nekke
 Had[de] that swete, that boon nor
 brekke,
 Nas ther noon seen that mys-satte ;
 Hyt was white, smothe, streght, and
 pure flatte,

Withouten hole or *canel boon*,
 As be semyng had[de] she noon."

Chaucer. *The Boke of the Duchesse*, l. 942, vol. v., p. 183, ed. Morris, 1866.—F.

³ is gone.—P.

⁴ and [= if].—P.

⁵ i.e. boiling, raging mad.—P.

⁶ get on, fight.—F.

- In return,
Gray-Steele 1068 he was soe angry att Grimes words
that both his hands he sett on his sword,
& with all his strenght *that* was in him Leade,¹
he sett itt on Sir Grimes heade
that such a stroke he neuer gate,
1072 nor noe *Knight* *that* was his mate.
he thought his head roue² assunder,
nearly splits
Grime's
head. his necke cracked *that* was vnder,
his eares brushed³ out of blood.
1076 the *Knight* stackered⁴ with *that* stroke, & stoode,
for & he & had⁵ once fallen to the ground,
the Lady had neuer seene him sound.
thus they fought together fell & sore
At last, 1080 the space of a mile and somthing more.
Gray-steele bled withouten fayle,
his visage waxed pan and wale⁶;
Grime gripe
Gray-Steele
by the
throat,
throws him
down, and
kills him. 1084 Grime att his gorgett he gate a gripe, [page 140.]
& fast he followed in after itt,
& backward to the ground he him bare ;
he let him neuer recouer more ;
his brest-plate from him he cast,
1088 & thrise to the hart he him thrust :
thus vngracious deeds without mending
can neuer scape without an ill endinge.
all this I say by Sir Gray-Steele,
1092 for fortune had led him long and weele ;
I haue wist *that* *Knight* with his hands tow
slay 100 *Knights* and moe,
shamefullye driuen them to dead
Gray-Steele 1096 without succour or any remed ;
lies slain ; & he lyeth slaine with a poore *Knight*
& for⁷ his sworne brother came to fight.

¹ laid. qu.—P. (or learde, left.—F.)² rove, i.e. riven.—P.³ brasted.—P. "To *brusch*, v. n. to burst forth, to rush, to issue with violence. *Wallace*." Jamieson.—F.⁴ staggered.—P. Old Norse *stakra*,to totter (Wedg.); Scotch *stacker*, *stakker*; Swed. *stagra*. (Jam.).—F.⁵ & had *may be* had in *MS.*—F.⁶ wan & pale.—P.⁷ that for.—P.

- then Gryme looked by him soone ;
 1100 they¹ steeds were fighting, as they had done ;
 in sonder he parted the steeds 2 ;
 to Graysteeles saddle can he goe ;
 he right the Girthes,² & sadled the steed,
 1104 & againe to the dead body he yeede,
 & pulled forth his Noble Brand,
 & smote of Sir Gray-steeles hande :
 " My brother left a fingar in this land with thee,
 1108 therefore thy whole hand shall he see."
 hee looked vp to the castle of stone,
 & see³ Ladyes manye a⁴ one
 wringing, & wayling, & rining there heare,⁵
 1112 striking, & crying with voices full cleere.
 wight men, they wold not blin,
 horsse & harnesse pro⁶ to win :
 it was euer Sir Gray-steeles desiring
 1116 that for his death shold be made noe chalishing.⁷
 Grime leapt on Sir Gray-steeles steed,
 his owne by the bridle he cold him leade,
 & he rode towards the fresh riuer,⁸
 1120 there was noe man durst nye him nere ;
 yett it was an howre within the night
 before he came againe to *that* Ladye bright.
 he rode strayght to the burgesse dore,
 1124 the ostler mett him on the flore :
 " O Master ! " he sayd, " now is come *that* Knight
 that went hence when the day was light ;
 he hath brought with him Sir Gray-steeles steede,
 1128 & much more of his golden weede ;
 he hath brought with him his chaine of gold—

Grime takes
his steed,

cuts off his
hand,

leaps on
the steed,

and rides
back to his

lady.

¹ their.—P.

² righted the girths. qu.—P.

³ saw.—P.

⁴ Only half the n in the MS.—F.

⁵ hair.—P.

⁶ pro, i.e. for.—P.

⁷ Fr. *chaloir*: importer, se soucier,

avoir soin, se mettre en peine, prendre
soin, de *calere*. Roquefort. I care nat,
I regarde nat or estyme nat a thyng: *Il*
ne men chault. Palegrave. *Se chaloir*
de, to passe, care, take thought for.
Cotgrave.—F.

⁸ rivere.—P.

- his sadle harness is fayre to behold,—
 with other more of his golden geere;
 1132 in all this land there is none such to were.”
 then to the dore fast cold they hye,
 bold men & yeomanrye.¹
 the Burgesse asked the *Knight*
 whether he wold lodg with him all night.
 Grime sayd, “to lye in a strange Land—
 1136 & here is a strong Castle att hand—
 methinke itt were a great follye ;
 I wott not who is my freind or my enemye.”
 hee tooke the hand, & the gloue of gold soe gay ;
 to the Ladyes chamber he tooke the way
 att supper where shee was sett,
 1144 but neuer a Morsel might shee eate :
 “a !” shee sayd,² “now I thinke on *that Knight*
that went from me when the day was light !
 yesternight to the chamber I him Ledd ;
 1148 this night Gray-steele hath made his bed !
 alas ! he is foule lost on him !
that is much pittye for all his kine !
 for he is large of blood & bone,
 1152 & goodlye nurture lacketh he none ;
 & he his ³ fayre in armes to fold,
 He is worth to her his waight in gold ; [page 141.]
 woe is me, for his loue in his countrye !
 1156 shee may thinke longe or she him see ! ”
 with *that* she thought on her Lord Attelstone
that they water out of her eyen ran.
 with *that* Grime knocked att the chamber dore,
 & a maiden stode ther on⁴ the flore ;
 “O Madam !” shee said, “now is come *that Knight*
that went hence when the day was light.”
 1160 & hastilye from the bord she rise,
 She rises,

¹ yeomanrye.—P. ² Ah ! shee s^d.—P. cp. l. 1227–8, p. 393.—F.

³ is.—P. ? his fair one, his love ; but

⁴ MS. theron.—F.

- 1164 & kissed him 20 sithe¹ :
 "how haue you farren² on your Iourney?"
 "full well, my loue," Sir Grime did say,
 "for I haue taken such a surtye³ on yonder Knight
 1168 that pore men in his country may haue right;
 Merchants may both buy and sell
 within the lands where they doe dwell."
 he gaue her the hand & the gloue gay,
 1172 & sayd, "lay vp this till itt be day."
 shee tooke the gloue att⁴ him,
 but shee wist not *that* they hand was in;
 & as they stooode still on the ground,
 1176 the hand fell out ther in⁵ *that* stond,
 & when shee looked on *that* hand
 that had slaine her brother and her husband,
 noe marueill though her hart did grisse,⁶
 1180 the red blood in her face did rise:
 it was red rowed⁷ for to see,
 with fingars more then other three;
 on euerye fingar a gay gold ring,
 1184 a precious stone or a goodly thing;
 & yet shee hath it vp tane
 & put into the gloue againe,
 & vnto a coffer did shee goe,
 1188 & vnlocked lockes one or 2.
 a rich supper there was dight
 & sett before *that* worthye Knight,
 but meate nor drinke he might none;
 1192 he was soe furbrished,⁸ body and bone,
 he longed sore to be a bedd.
 & to a chamber shee him Ledd,

and kisses
him twenty
times.

He gives
her Gray-
Steele's
hand

which had
slain her
husband
and brother,

and she
locks it up,

puts Grime
to bed,

¹ times.—P.

² i.e. fared.—P.

³ suretye.—P.

⁴ i.e. at his hand.—P.

⁵ MS. therin.—F.

⁶ grise.—P. First written *greefe* in the MS. and then corrected.—F.

⁷ colour, *rud* of a cheek: A.-S. *rud*, red.—F.

⁸ *For-brissed*, broken, bruised (Halliwell's Gloss.). Dutch *verbryzeld*, crushed, grinded, bruised (Sewel). A.-S. *brysan*, to bruise; *forbrytan*, to break in pieces, smash, bruise (Bosworth).—F.

- examines
his wounds, 1196 & all his armour of was done,
& the Lady searched his wounds soone.
the Lady¹ was neuer soe soe sounde
when shee saw hee had no death¹ wound¹ ;
and thinks
she'll marry
him. 1200 for euer thought *that* fayre Ladye
his wedded wife *that* shee shold bee.
& when shee had this done,
to her owne chamber shee went soone ;
she tooke out the hand & the gloue of gold ;
Then she
takes Gray-
Steele's
hand 1204 to her fathers hall shee sayd shee wold,
att supper when he was sett,
& many Lords withouten lett.
& when shee came into the hall,
1208 finely shce halched² on them all :
to Earl
Garce, " I can tell you tydings, father, will like you weelle ;
slaine is your enemye Sir Gray-steelee." (so)
then they laughed all full hastilye,
1212 said, " Maddam, it seemeth to be a lye :
that man was neuer borne of a woman
cold neuer kill Gray-steele, one man to one.³ "
she cast out the hand and the gloue of gold ;
shows it
him, 1216 all had Marueill did it behold,
for it was red rowed for to see,
with fingars more then other 3,
& on euerye finger a fine gold ring,⁴
1220 a precious stone or a goodlye thing.
the Erle sayd, " daughter, wher dwelleth *that*
Knight ? "
[page 142.] Then answered *that* Ladye both faire [&] bright,
and tells
him who
won it. 1224 & sayth, " father, his name I cannott myn,⁵
but he was borne in the Land of Beame ;
he is large of blood & bone,
& goodlye Nurture lacketh none ;

¹ There are tags like *esses* to these
letters in the MS.—F.

² saluted.—P.

³ man to man. qu.—P.

⁴ One stroke only of the *π* is in the
MS ; over it is a mark of contraction.—F.

⁵ mention.—P.

- he is faire in armes to fold,
 1228 he is worth his waight in gold ;
 but he rydeth in the morning when it is day."
 "that I sett gods forbott," the Erle can say,
 "for I wold [not] for ¹ a iooo!"
 1232 of florences ² red & rounde,
 vnrewarded of me *that* he shold goe
that soe manfully hath uenged mee on my foe."
 Earlye on the other day
 1236 Sir Gryme radylye³ can him array ;
 & as hee was his leaue takeand,
 the erle came att his hand ;
 & when the Erle came him nye,
 1240 Sir Gryme sett⁴ him on his knee,
 & thanked him with humble cheerre
 for the great refreshing he had there.
 the Erle tooke Gryme by the hand,
 1244 & said, "gentle *Knight*, doe thou vpp stand !
 & as thou art a warriour wight,
 tarry with me this day & this night."
 "my Lord," hee said, "I am at your will ;
 1248 all your comanndement to fulfill."
 then a squier tooke the steeds tow,
 & to a stable then can he goe ;
 the Erle tooke Gryme by the hand,
 1252 to the pallace thé yode Leadand ;
 a rich dinner ther men might see,
 of Meate & drinke was great plentye ;
 the certaine sooth If I shold say,
 1256 he was meate fellow for ⁵ the Ladye gay.
 & when the dinner was all done,
 the Erle tooke Grime into a chamber soone,

On the
second day,

Earl Gares
comes to
Grime,

saks him
to stay
another day,

takes him
to the
palace,

seats him at
dinner next
his daugh-
ter,

¹ not for.—P.

² Florins, formerly worth about 3s. 4d.
apiece :

I salle the gyffe ten thousand pounde
Of *Florence* that bene rede and rounde.

Sir Isumbras, l. 294–5, in *Thornton Ro-*
mances, p. 100. Halliwell's *Glossary*.—F.

³ The top of the *a* in *radylye* is open,
nearly like *u*.—F.

⁴ *i.e.* knelt down.—P.

⁵ *i.e.* messmate to, &c.—P.

- & spurred¹ him gentlye,
 asks him if he's married, 1260 "Sir, beene you marryed in your countrye?"
 Grime answered him hastilye,
 "I had neuer wiffe nor yett Ladye :
 and on Grime say- 1264 I tell you truly, by *Saint John*,
 ing no, I had neuer wiffe nor yett Lemman."
 the Erle sayd, "I am glad indeed,
 offers him 1268 for all the better here may you speede ;
 his daugh- ter. of I haue a daughter *that is my heyre*
 of all my Lands, *that is soe faire* ;
 & if thou wilt wed *that Ladye* free,
 with all my hart I will giue her thee."
 Grime ac- 1272 great thanks Gryme to him can make ;
 cepts her, saith, "I loue her to well to forsake !"
 and afore the Erle & Bishoppes 3
 Gryme handfasted² *that faire Ladye*.
 the betrothal 1276 the day of Marryage itt was sett,
 is made, *that* Gryme shold come againe without Let.
 the Erle feitchd him in *that stonde*
 2 robes was worth 400⁴
 they were all beaten gold begon ;—
 1280 he gaue Egar the better when he came home.—
 and Grime he tooke Leane of the Erle & the Ladye,
 rides home. & rydes home into his countrye.

[The Sixth Part.]

- When Grime 1284 { He came to a forrest a priuie way,
 reaches a forest near home, & leaueth his steed & his palfray ;
 6^d Parte { & when he had soe doone,
 he goes on 1288 { he went to his chamber right soone,
 foot to his room, & priuylie knocked on the dore,
 [&] Palyas his brother stood on the flore.

¹ spurred, *i.e.* asked him.—P.

² plighted hands, *i.e.* betrothed.—P.
 A.-S. *handfastan*, to pledge one's hand.
 Of Mary's betrothal to Joseph, the *Ormu-*

lum (i. 81, l. 2389-90) says :

& who wass *handfast* an god mann
 patt Joseph was *gehattenn*.—F.

Palyas was neuer more glad & blyth [page 143.]

when he see his brother come home aliue.

"how fareth Sir Egar?" Sir Grime can say.

1292 "the better *that* you haue sped on your Iourney."

"rise, Sir Egar, & arme thee weele

both in Iron & in steele,

& goe into yonder forreste free,

1296 & Pallyas my Brother shall goe with thee;

& there thou shalt find Sir Gray-steeles steed,

& much more of his golden weede;

there thou shalt find his chaine of gold,

1300 his saddle harnessse full fayre to behold,

with other more of his golden geere;

in all this land is none such to weare.

to-morrow when the sunn shineth bright,

1304 Looke thou gett into thy Ladyes sight,

& looke thou as strange to her bee

as shee in times past hath been to thee;

for & thou doe not as shee hath done before,

1308 thou shalst loose my loue for euermore."

then forth went Egar & Pallyas

where the steeds & steuen¹ was.

a scarlett Mantle Grime hath tane;

1312 to the Erles chamber hee his gone

with still Mourning & sighing sore,²

"alas! slaine is my brother Sir Egar!

for 7 dayes are comen and gone

1316 sith he promised me to bee att home;

he rode forth wounded verrey sore;

alas! my sorrow is much the more!

thy³ great pride of thy daughter free

1320 made him in this great perill to bee;

alas *that* euer shee was borne!

the best Knight *that* euer was in this world is

forlorne!"

tells Eger
to arm,

go to the
forest,

take Gray-
Steele's
steed and
armour,

show him-
self to Win-
glayne, and
treat her
scornfully.

Grime goes
to Earl
Bragas,

says Eger
has been
away seven
days, and
must be
killed,

all through
Winglayne's
pride.

¹ ? stuffs. O. Fr. *estouvoir*, conven-
ance, nécessité, provision de tout ce qui

est nécessaire. Roquefort.—F.

² sair.—P.

³ the.—P.

- Gryme vpon his way can goe ;
 The Earl and Countesse, 1324 the Erle & the Countesse were full woe ;
 then they bowned¹ them both more & lesse
 to the parish church to hear a Masse.
 after Masse, when the Masse was all done,
 1328 to the pallace thé went full soone.
 one looked betwene him & the sunn,
 sais, "methinkes I see tow armed *Knights* come."
 another sayd, "Nay indeed,
 1332 it is an armed *Knight* ryding, and leads a steede."
 & when they *Knight* came them neere,
 all wist it was Sir Egar ;
 but Gryme was the first man
 They wel- 1336 that euer welcomed Sir Egar home.²
 come him. the Erle tooke Egars hand in his,
 the countesse cold him comlye Kisse ;
 He turns 1340 his back on Winglayne, and rebukes her.
 his own Lady winglaine wold haue done soe ;
 he turned his backe & rode her free,
 & said, "parting is a priuye payne,
 but old freinds³ cannott be called againe !
 for the great kindnesse I haue found att thee,
 1344 fforgotten shalt thou neuer bee."
 he turned his steede in *that* tyde,
 & said to Garnwicke he wold ryde.
 She swoons. 1348 Her father begs Grime
 the Lady sooned⁴ when he did goe ;
 the Erle & the Countesse were full woe ;
 the Erle profered Gryme 40^{li} of Land,⁵
 of florences *that* were fayre & round,
 to bring 1352 Eger round.
 for to gett the good will of Egar his daughter to :
 I hope *that* was ethe⁶ to doe.
 Grime went forth on his way,
 & faire words to Egar [can he say⁷ :]
 1356 "abyde & speake a word with mee,

¹ i.e. made them ready.—P.² hame.—P.³ friendes.—P.⁴ swooned.—P.⁵ Londe.—P.⁶ A.-S. *edð*, easy.—F.⁷ MS. partly cut away: words read by Percy.—F.

Brother," he said, "for Charitye."

[page 144.]

Egar sayd, "here I am at your will;
whaterere you command, Ile fulfill."

a squier tooke his steeds tow,

1360 & to a stable can he goe.

Gryme tooke Egar by the hand,
to their owne chamber they went Leadand,
& all his armour of hath done,

Grime takes
Egar to
his room,

1364 & laid it downe where he put it on.

Gryme feitched forth tow robes in *that* stond,
the worse was worth 400¹

puts robes
of beaten
gold on him,

thé were all of beaten gold begon :

1368 he put the better Egar on ;
then was Egar the seemlyest man¹

that was in all Christendonne.

Gryme tooke him by the hand,

1372 to the palace thé yode Leadand² :

leads him to
the palace,

a rich dinner there Men might see,
Meate & drinke there was plentye;—
certaine sooth if I shold say,

1376 he was meate fellow with the Ladye gay ;—
& when the dinner was all done,

seats him by
Winglayne,

Grime tooke the Erle to counsell soone :

and tells
Earl Bragas

"as my Lord Egar is the *Knight*

1380 *that* winneth the worshipp in enery fight,

& if hee shall haue your daughter free,
att your owne will I haue gotten him to bee ;
I read anon *that* it were done."

that Egar
will marry
her.

1384 the Erle & the Countesse accorded soone ;
the Erle sent forth his messenger

to great Lords both far & neere,
that they shold come by the 15 day

The nobles
are sum-
moned to
the wedding,

1388 to the marryage of his daughter gay.

& there Sir Egar, *that* Noble Knight,
Marryed winglayne, *that* Ladye Bright.

¹ mon.—P.

² yode leadand (went leading).—P.

- the feast
lasts forty
days,
- 1392 the feast it Lasted fortye dayes,
with *Lords & Ladyes* in royall arrayes ;
& at the 40 dayes end,
euerye man to his owne home wend,
eche man home into his countrie ;
- and then
Eger and
Grime ride
to Earle
Gares,
- 1396 soe did Egar, Grime, & Pallyas, all 3,
they neuer stinted nor blan,¹
to Earle Gares Land till thé came.
the Erle wist he wold be there,
- 1400 he mett them with a royal fere,²
with a 100 *Knights* in royall array
mett Egar & Grime in the way,
with much myrth of *Minstrelsy*,
- who wel-
comes them,
and Grime
weds the
Lady Loos-
paine.
- 1404 & welcomed them into *that* countrie ;
& there Sir Gryme, *that Noble Knight*,
married Loosspine, *that Ladye* bright.
why was shee called Loospaine ?
- 1408 a better Leeche was none certaine.
a royall wedding was made there,³
as good as was the other before ;
& when 5 dayes done did⁴ hee,
- All ride into
Gray-Steele's
land,
- 1412 Egar desired all the Erles meanye
to ryde with him into Gray-steeles Land,
to resigne all into his brothers hand.
they chose Pallyas to be their *Captain* wight ;
- 1416 the Erle dubd him, and made a *Knight*,
& by counsell of *Lords* with him did bee,
hee gaue him a 100⁵ of fee.
then wold they noe longer abyde,
- 1420 but into Gray-steeles Land can they ryde ;
they brake his *parkes* & killed his deere,
rasen⁶ his hauens & shipps soe Cleere ;
They tooke townes & castles of stone.
- kill his deer,
destroy his
ships,
- 1424 Gray-steele had neuer a child but one

[page 145.]

¹ desisted.—P.⁴ had.—P.² company.—P.⁵ razed.—P.³ thore.—P.

- that* was a daughter fayre & free ;
 vntill *that* castle shee did flee ;
 Egar tooke *that* Lady, as I vnderstand,
 1428 & brought her into Earle Gares land.
 when *that* Ladye the Earle did see,
 shee kneeled downe vpon her knee,
 & said, "if my father were a tyrant & your enemye,
 1432 neuer take my Land froe me."
 the Erle sayd, "for thy curtesye
 all the better the matter may bee :
 for to weld thy Land & thee
 1436 choose thee any *Knight that* thou he[r]e see."
 amongst all *that* there was
 shee chose vnto Pallyas.
 glad & blythe was Baron & *Knight*,
 1440 soe were Egar & Gryme *that* were soe wight ;
 & there Sir Pallyas, *that* Noble *Knight*,
 marryed Emyas *that* was soe bright.
 a royall wedding was made thore,
 1444 as good as was the other before.
 I neuer wist man *that* proued soe weelee
 as did Sir Grine vpon Sir Gray-steele,
 for he gate to his brother Sir Egar
 1448 an Erles Land & a ladye faire ;
 he gate himselfe an Erles lande,
 the fairest Lady *that* was Linande ;
 he gate his brother Pallyas
 1452 a barrons daughter & a Barronage.
 Winglaine bare to Sir Egar
 10 children *that* were fayre ;
 10 of them were sonnes wight,
 1456 & 5, daughters fayre in sight.
 & Loosepine bare to Sir Grime
 10 children in short time ;
 7 of them sonnes was,
 1460 & 3 were daughters faire of face.

and let his
daughter
Emyas

choose
Pallyas for
her hus-
band.

Pallyas and
Emyas are
married.

Well done,
Sir Grime!

you've set up
Sir Eger,
yourself and

Pallyas.

Eger has
fifteen
children,

Grime ten,

Pallyas
three.

Emyeas bare to Sir Pallyas

3 Children in short spacee ;

2 of them sonnes were,

1464 the 3 was a daughter faire and cleere ;

after, shee was marryed to a *Knight*

that proued both hardye & wight.

there was noe man in noe countrye

1468 *that* durst displease those brethren 3 :

for 2 of them were Erles free,

the 3^d was a Barron in his countrye ;

& thus they liued & made an end.¹

God bring
them all to
bliss, and
us too !
Amen !

1472 to the blisse of heauen their soules bringe !

I pray *Jesus that* wee² soe may

bring vs the blisse *that* Lasteth Aye !

ffins.

¹ endinge, *sic leg^m*.—P.

² hee.—P.

ARTHUR¹:A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO "MERLINE" AND
"KINGE ARTHURS DEATH."

THE case for Arthur's historical existence stands thus. Discarding the vague words Keltic and Welsh, we find Britain divided in historical times between five main branches of the same race. Of these, to begin from the North, the *Scoti or Gaelic Highlanders* have traditions of Irish growth about Finn or Fingal, and none about Arthur. The Dean of Lismore's book, edited by Mr. Skene, will prove this. The only mention of Arthur in it is by a Macgregor, probably of the fifteenth century. (2) *The Strathclyde Britons or Picts*. Of these Fordun is the earliest historian, who takes his account from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and says that Arthur was chosen king at Cilcester, probably Cirencester, and was buried at Avalon. Boetius, who, like Geoffrey, makes Arthur the bastard son of Uther, by a Cornish nobleman's wife, makes London his capital, and represents him as defeating the Scots and Picts in a great battle. (3) *The Cumbrian Britons*. To these belong the bards, Llywarch Hen, Aneurin and Taliesin, who with one exception celebrate Urien and his son, and the princess Bun, &c., all Northern personages. The one exception is the poem on the battle of Longborth, and whether the verse about Arthur be spurious or not, it speaks of him in connection with a hero of "the wooded country of

¹ See Herbert Coleridge's essay on *Seynt Graal* (Roxburghe Club, 1863), and "Arthur," in the 2nd volume of the *Morte Arthure*, ed. 1864.

Domnonia," and describes a battle known to the Saxon chronicle and probably against the West Saxons. (4) *The Welsh*. I don't think Mr. Nash speaks too strongly in saying that the genuine Welsh traditions know no more of Arthur than of the Druids. (5) *The Devonians or Domnonians*. We have three books more or less historical belonging to this district. The "*Historia Britonum Nennii*" (so called¹), written probably in the eighth century, and added to in the ninth,² treats at length of Arthur. The "*Vita S. Gildæ*," date unknown, but evidently ancient, treats also, and not very inconsistently, of Arthur, though with no particular reverence for him. Lastly, Gildas proper (prior to Bede) does not name Arthur, but dates from his most famous battle, the "*Bellum Badonicum*," and attacks Maglocunus or Maelgoun for having made fierce war on his uncle the king, with several circumstances that resemble the legendary history of Arthur and Lancelot; e.g., Maelgoun turns monk, marries unlawfully, &c. Take next William of Malmesbury, who wrote before Geoffrey's book had infected history. Malmesbury, in his book on the antiquities of Glastonbury Church, mentions by name two estates which Arthur gave to the Abbey, and assigns as the reason a legend not to be found in Geoffrey. Giraldus Cambrensis, who denounced Geoffrey of Monmouth as an impudent liar, relates how Arthur's tomb in Glastonbury was opened, and two bodies found with hair so decomposed that it pulverised at a touch, and a leaden plate inscribed with the

¹ The ascription of the *Historia Britonum* to Nennius has occasioned much discussion. Its accuracy depends mainly on the authority of the MS. Bibl. Pub. Cant. Ff. i. 27, 2 (of the twelfth century) as it is the only ancient copy which contains both Prologues in the original hand, and without the authority of those Prologues the work might be assigned to any other person; indeed one of the earliest manuscripts of this work assigns it to Mark the Anchorite, while no fewer than

seventeen MSS. have rubrics ascribing it to Gildas; besides which facts, whenever the work is cited by any early English historian (Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmesbury) it is never attributed to Nennius, but, on the contrary, to Gildas.—Hardy, *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 321.

² The earliest MS. is at latest of the eleventh century. Wanley and Petrie assign it to the tenth.—Hardy, *ib.* p. 322.

king's name. Lastly, the belief in Arthur's resurrection was confined to or at least strongest in Armorica, which was partly peopled with Devonian exiles, patriots who would naturally cling to heroic memories.

Dr. Guest, in his valuable paper "On Welsh and English rule in Somersetshire after the capture of Bath, A.D. 577," (*Archæological Journal*, 1859,) regards Arthur as historical, and identifies him with Owain Finddu, son of Aurelius Ambrosius.

Against all the proofs I have alleged, and which for the time and its scanty records are really considerable, there are only two reasons of any weight (*a*) that Arthur has become a hero of romance: the eponymus of his race, to whom all its great deeds are ascribed; (*b*) that he is claimed by several districts. The first argument would demolish Alfred, Charlemagne, &c. Assume Geoffrey's book destroyed, and there would be nothing extravagant in the histories of Arthur. Surely then the real value of these is independent of an uncritical and bombastic but poetical narrative into which a twelfth-century writer has interwoven them with other materials.

The argument from localities is not more valid. It is the essence of popular poetry to carry with it its own geography. Mr. Skene has shown clearly that there are at least two Fenian topographies, the Irish and the Scotch. Now assuming Arthur's history to become first extensively popular in the twelfth century, who are most likely to take it up and identify it with localities in their own neighbourhood? the Saxons or Saxonised settlers in Devon, or the Welsh and Picts of Galloway? Surely the latter. Which history can best be interpolated with strange facts? the history of the conquered and civilised western counties, or that of districts which long maintained their barbarous independence? Again, the latter. Accordingly Cornwall, as best answering these conditions among the south-western counties, is the one that has made best fight for Arthur. The real value of the

Arthurian geography is not to identify him with any locality, but to bring out in all possible completeness a list of local names that may once have been genuine somewhere, and that are certainly useful for philology.

The remarks above were written by Mr. Charles H. Pearson, author of "The Early and Middle Ages of England," after reading the Introduction by myself, here following. As Mr. Pearson is the most trustworthy of our historians on the period of which he treats, his view will, I have no doubt, meet with ultimate acceptance. Still, in speaking of Arthur, we are dealing with probabilities, not certainties. The Life of Gildas, on which Mr. Pearson relies, is assigned by Mr. Thomas Wright, on the authority of the very MS. which Mr. Stevenson printed, as well as that of a Corpus (Cambridge) MS. of the thirteenth century, to Caradoc of Lancarvan in the twelfth century ("Biogr. Lit." p. 119, note). Mr. Wright's conclusion on this Life and the other Life of Gildas by an anonymous monk of the abbey of St. Gildas de Ruys, who is said to have lived in the eleventh century, is, "the mass of errors which is here presented to us compels us to the only rational supposition, that the whole is a fable, created probably during the latter part of the eleventh, and the twelfth centuries, the period at which so many other fabulous narratives took their rise," p. 124. Of the book attributed to Gildas himself, Mr. Wright says, "that no circumstance in it affords the slightest support to the *biographies* of its author," p. 126. Of Nennius's History, Mr. Wright says, "The earliest MSS. give it as an anonymous treatise. The name of Nennius is not joined with it until the beginning of the thirteenth century; and both then and afterwards it is as frequently given under the name of Gildas; . . . the compiler evidently intended that it should pass for a work written soon after the middle of the seventh century. . . . The tract which goes under the name of Nennius is, as might be supposed from what has been said above, of very little historical value; but it

derives a certain degree of importance from those very parts which are least historical. The stories of the first colonisation of our islands, of the exploits of King Arthur, and, above all, of Merlin and his wonderful birth and prophecies, which are not found elsewhere before the twelfth century, exercised great influence upon the literature of succeeding ages, and through it they have presented many mysterious questions to exercise the learning and ingenuity of modern historians." (T. Wright, "Biogr. Brit. Lit.," Anglo-Saxon Period, p. 138-41.)

Now I do not mean for a moment to set up the authority of Mr. Wright and myself against Mr. Pearson's and Dr. Guest's; but the impression of the uncertainty about Arthur is so strong on me, that I leave the following remarks as they were written before Mr. Pearson's able comment on, if not refutation of, them, which is printed above.

There is no evidence, in the proper sense of the term, that such a person as Arthur ever existed.¹ But as the habit of early writers was not, I take it, to invent a hero "on thair awene heidis," as Hampole would phrase it, but to magnify the deeds of a man who really had lived, and add heroic actions and qualities to him without end, transferring to him also those of his con-

¹ This is said with all due deference to Mr. Pearson's authority in his *Early and Middle Ages of England*. His view of Arthur, at p. 56-8 of the work last mentioned, I accept as the most probable, and believe in it. He states: "My view of Arthur's position as a king, is chiefly derived from the *Vita S. Gildæ* prefixed to the works of Gildas (Eng. Hist. Soc.). The modern conception of him appears first in Nennius." Mr. Pearson makes Arthur sovereign of a territory in the South-west of England, of which Camelot or Cadbury in Somersetshire was the capital. He defeated the Saxons at Bath, and so preserved the British power in the west for another generation, when the feebleness of his successors and a disastrous battle at Sarum ruined it. This shows what "the real merit of Arthur's

struggle was, and why his countrymen preserved in their songs the name of the last prince under whom they were independent and lords of the soil." Instead of "the hero of romance, history only knows him as the petty prince of a Devonian principality, whose wife, the Guenever of romance, was carried off by Maelgoum of North Wales, and scarcely recovered by treaty after a year's fighting. No doubt there were some real noblenesses in Arthur's character, which have given him a life beyond the grave, as the type of the knight ideal among men; that ideal which the imaginative Celtic race has exalted through all time, above the more statesman-like virtues that secure life and property, or success in national enterprises."

temporaries, successors, or predecessors, I think it reasonable to suppose that an original of Arthur was once in the flesh. Where he lived it is difficult to say. The Welsh traditions put him in Wales; Geoffrey of Monmouth (who is said to have translated an Armorican MS.) and most of the later romance-writers put him in the South of England; others of the romancers put him in Cumberland and the North of England; the Breton song-writers put him in Brittany. In Cornwall, Wales, and the North of England, Keltic chieftains would naturally have been continuing to the last the struggle against the Saxon invaders. And if, of the leaders in each of these three districts, one chieftain had greater success than the rest, and for a time made ebb the flow of the Saxon tide, to him in aftertime would the deeds of the other leaders be attributed; he, in all three regions, would represent the chief who in each fought and lost the Keltic fight. There can be little doubt that, as Mr. Pearson has pointed out, Arthur owes his reputed victories on the Continent to the conquests of the Emperor Maximus, who, himself of British descent, raised his standard in Britain in A.D. 382, and "by the defeat and death of Gratian was left the undisputed master of Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Italy, the western half of the Roman Empire." Iceland, Norway, Dacia &c. were added to Arthur's conquests by Geoffrey¹ and the romance-writers; for, when once on a list of names or numbers, the pens of legendists, Latin and French, as well as Jewish, were apt to run. The date of Arthur's death is fixed by Geoffrey of Monmouth in A.D. 542, and even admitting that the historical Arthur may have been a South-England man, Mr. John S. Stuart Glennie, the latest investigator into the Arthurian topography known to me, contends that it has yet to be shown that any region contains so many localities with Arthurian names or Arthurian traditions attached to them as South Scotland and North England. Mr.

¹ Bk. ix. chap. x-xi.

Glennie's essay is to appear with Part III. of the prose "Merlin" edited by Mr. Wheatley for the Early English Text Society.

For the date at which Arthur is first mentioned by any writer, I dare not refer to the Welsh legends. Kelts of strong imagination and faith have a list of a succession of poets at and after his time, with specimens (I believe) of their works that leave on the patriot's mind no shadow of doubt as to the existence of their hero. But a Nash, a Watts, and other critics, have made such sad havoc among the Welsh theories, that until the reconstructor called for by Mr. Matthew Arnold appears, one must leave the whole matter alone, stating only Mr. Nash's conclusion, so far as the printed materials have allowed him to judge. (What may be in the thousands of Welsh MSS. to our shame remaining unprinted, who shall say?) "It is evident that the genuine Welsh traditions knew no more of Arthur than they did of the Druids. It is by no means clear that the Welsh had ever heard of Arthur as a king before Rhys ap Tewdwr brought the Roll of the Round Table to Glamorganshire in the twelfth century. Moreover, there is not, except in the spurious verse added to the stanzas on the Battle of Longborth, a single poem extant which relates any warlike feats of Arthur against the Saxon." ("Taliesin," p. 327-8.) Not till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table taken up by the Storiawr, whose romances we find in the Mabinogion. (*Ib.* p. 323.) "It is evident from a cursory perusal of the collection of Welsh romances called the 'Mabinogion,' that there are two distinct sets, or, as it is the fashion to call them, cycles of romances, the one of native growth, which may be compared to the Irish romances of Fionn Mac Cumhal and Manannan Mac Lir ["Taliesin," p. 326-7], in which there is no chivalry, [no Arthur,] and little, if any, Christianity; the other, in which the old romance of the Kelt has been mixed up and interwoven with the splendid fiction of the Arthurian chivalry, a fiction

which, though of foreign origin, was eagerly seized and appropriated by the Welsh bards, to whom it was recommended as much by its intrinsic merit as by the welcome flattery with which it consoled a vanquished and fallen nationality." ("Hist. of the Holy Graal," Pref. p. vii. ed. F. J. F. for Roxburghe Club, 1861.) Turning to English Latin-writing authors, we find that Nennius—who is said by some to have lived in the eighth century, and by others in the tenth—narrates, as history of course,*the legends of Merlin's birth and Vortigern's castle, and afterwards speaks of Arthur thus, after Hengist's death :

"Then it was, that the magnanimous Arthur, with all the kings and military force of Britain, fought against the Saxons. And though there were many more noble than himself, yet he was twelve times chosen their commander, and was as often conqueror. The first battle in which he was engaged, was at the mouth of the river Gleni.¹ The second, third, fourth, and fifth, were on another river, by the Britons called Duglas,² in the region Linnis. The sixth, on the river Bassas.³ The seventh in the wood Celidon, which the Britons call Cat Coit Celidon.⁴ The eighth was near Gurnion castle,⁵ where Arthur bore the image of the Holy Virgin,⁶ mother of God, upon his shoulders, and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Mary, put the Saxons to flight and pursued them the whole day with great slaughter.⁷ The ninth was at the City of Legion,⁸ which

¹ Supposed by some to be the Glem, in Lincolnshire; but most probably the Glen, in the northern part of North-umberland.

² Or Dubglas. The little river Duglas, which formed the southern boundary of Lothian. Whitaker says, the river Duglas, in Lancashire, near Wigan.

³ Not a river, but an isolated rock in the Frith of Forth, near the town of North Berwick, called "The Bass." Some think it is the river Lusas, in Hampshire.

⁴ The Caledonian forest, or the forest of Englewood, extending from Penrith to Carlisle.

⁵ Variouslly supposed to be in Cornwall, or Binchester in Durham, but most probably the Roman station of Gariouneum, near Yarmouth, in Norfolk.

⁶ V. R. The image of the Cross of

Christ, and of the perpetual Virgin St. Mary.

⁷ V. R. For Arthur proceeded to Jerusalem, and there made a cross to the size of the Saviour's cross, and there it was consecrated, and for three successive days he fasted, watched, and prayed, before the Lord's cross, that the Lord would give him the victory, by this sign, over the heathen; which also took place, and he took with him the image of St. Mary, the fragments of which are still preserved in great veneration at Wedale, in English Wodale, in Latin *Fallis-doloris*. Wodale is a village in the province of Lodonesia, but now of the jurisdiction of the bishop of St. Andrew's, of Scotland, six miles on the west of that heretofore noble and eminent monastery of Meiloros.

⁸ Exeter.

is called Cair Lion. The tenth was on the banks of the river Trat Treuroit.¹ The eleventh was on the mountain Bregouin, which we call Cat Bregon.² The twelfth was a most severe contest, when Arthur penetrated to the hill of Badon.³ In this engagement, nine hundred and forty fell by his hand alone, no one but the Lord affording him assistance. In all these engagements the Britons were successful. For no strength can avail against the will of the Almighty."

I have taken Mr. Gunn's and Dr. Giles's translations and their notes; and it will be observed that, with the perhaps doubtful exceptions of Gurnion, Cair Lion, Trat Treuroit, and Badon, all the places mentioned may be identified with localities in the region that Mr. Stuart Glennie calls Arthurian Scotland, and maintains to be the chief country of at least the *traditional* Arthur.

Next comes the originator of the Arthur of romance, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was Bishop of St. Asaph in 1152, and died in 1154. He gives us in his "Historia Britonum" or "Gesta Regum Britanniae,"—a well-known historical romance often taken for true history, the Seventh Book of which was written in 1147—the picture of Arthur which subsequent writers have followed in the main, altering, filling in, and colouring it as they saw fit.⁴ For the fables Geoffrey tells about our hero, he is denounced as an impudent liar by a prosaic contemporary, William of

¹ Or Ribroit, the Brue, in Somersetshire; or the Ribble, in Lancashire.

² Or Agned Cathregonion, Cadbury, in Somersetshire; or Edinburgh.

³ Bath.

⁴ So popular did this work (of Geoffrey's) become, that he obtained the title of Galfridus Arturus, on account of the halo with which he had surrounded the great fabulous, or at least semi-fabulous, hero, king Arthur. His work was soon translated into Anglo-Norman, into English, and even into Welsh; and each successive continuator added such legendary lore as came within his knowledge, or such fictions as he drew from his own imagination. Gradually Geoffrey's work

became the great fountain of romance out of which the poets of successive generations have drawn a flood of fiction, that has left an indelible impress upon our mediæval literature. Indeed, it is hardly going beyond bounds to say, that there is scarcely an European tale of chivalry, down to the sixteenth century, that is not derived, directly or indirectly, from Geoffrey of Monmouth. If he had never written, our literature would not, in all probability, have been graced by the exquisite dramas of Lear and Cymbeline; and much of the materials which he has woven into his work, would no doubt have perished.—T. Duffus Hardy, *Catalogue*, p. 349.

Newburgh, who could not see how Geoffrey's fictions, bred of his "unbridled lust of lying," as Newburgh suggests, would enrich the world of Art and become a possession for ever. In 1155 or 1156 A.D. Wace completed his Old-French versification of Geoffrey's work, and called his poem "Le Brut." About 1200 A.D. Layamon, "priest of Lower Arley, otherwise Arley Regis, 3½ miles south-east of Bewdley in Worcestershire," translated or adapted and enlarged Wace's "Brut" of 15,300 lines into nearly 32,250 lines of verse of his own English, of the stage of the language usually known as Semi-Saxon.¹ To Layamon we owe the first mention in English of the Round Table, and of Arthur's being carried to the island of Avilion.² Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne in their Chronicles also follow Geoffrey and Wace, altering and expanding at pleasure. But between Wace and Layamon come the true creators of the Arthur story as we know it. To the brilliant court of Henry II. we owe the chivalry of the legends; to the crusades of the Lionheart the crowning glory of them, "The Quest of the Holy Graal," the purity of which has made the Arthur legends shine with a moral lustre not their own.³

¹ Some scholars condemn the use of this term, and some people, who like to make a fuss about nothing in reviews, get violent about it; but it is wanted to mark that stage of the language between the Saxon or oldest form of English, and the third stage called Early English. It was no doubt originally given to denote that this second stage of the language contained forms half way between Saxon and Early English. As all but the merest tyros know what the term means, and as no better name has yet been proposed, the old one must be retained, for the present at least.

² And ich wulle uaren to Aualun;

to uarest alre maidene.

to Argante bere queene;

aluen swiþe sceone (an elf most fair).

Layamon, v. iii. p. 144.

On this Mr. Pearson says, "Is not Laya-

mon's story of Arthur being carried to Avilion (supposed to be in Somersetshire) derived from his own residence at Arley, and so a proof of what I have said about fictitious geographies growing up?"

³ Ascham's denunciation of *Morte Arthur* in his *Schoolmaster* (p. 159, ed. Giles), is well known: "The whole pleasure of which book standeth in two special points—in open manslaughter and bold bawdry. In which book those be counted the noblest knights that do kill most men without any quarrel, and commit foulest adulteries by subtlest shifts." At p. 7 of his *Toxophilus*, he also says, "In our fathers' time nothing was read but books of feigned chivalry, wherein a man by reading should be led to none other end but only to manslaughter and bawdry. These books (as I have heard

Walter Map and Robert de Borron—probably one of Lord Byron's ancestors¹—took the group of Keltic legends of which Geoffrey of Monmouth reported part, added to them the beautiful conception of the Graal, and produced the immortal succession of romances partly digested for us by Maleore and told us by Tennyson. They are set down in the following order by Sir F. Madden in his "Syr Gawayne," Pref. p. x.

1. "The History of the Holy Graal," by R. de Borron. Bringing the sacred vessel from Jerusalem to England.

2. "Merlin," by R. de Borron. Merlin's history, and Arthur's before his return to England from Rome, to punish Modred.

3. "Lancelot of the Lake," by Walter Map.

4. "The Quest of the Holy Graal," by Walter Map. Avowed in England before Arthur's expedition to invade Lancelot.

5. "Le Mort Artus," by Walter Map. Lancelot's love discovered, Arthur's invasion of his land, Modred's treason, Arthur's death, &c.

To these were added—

6. The first Part of the romance of "Tristan," by Luces Seigneur de Gast.

7. The conclusion of "Tristan," by Helie de Borron.

8. The romance of "Gyron le Courtois," by Helie de Borron.

9. The metrical romances of Chrestien de Troyes, between 1170 and 1195.

10. The later prose compilations of Rusticien de Pise and his followers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Written by authors of the court, for readers of the court, these romances were all in Norman French²: at least no Latin original has come down to us, though one is often referred to. The English Arthur literature was not, like the Robin Hood, one of

say), were made, the most part, in abbeys and monasteries: a very likely and fit fruit of such an idle and blind kind of living."

¹ See Prof. Pearson's interesting Essay in vol. ii. of *Seynt Graal*.

² For the early printed editions of them, see Brunet.

ballads for the people, as Mr. Hales has well observed, but of romances for the nobles. If we want Arthur as the people's hero, we must turn to Brittany, and hear the ballad's "Forth, after Arthur, on the foe!"¹ the hated Saxon. The Anglo-Norman noble did not want this presentment of his hero, and accordingly did not get it; the writers for him borrowed but little from Keltic sources for the full details of their picture of chivalric life, and owed their highest inspiration to Christian, not Keltic² lore.

These English French-writing authors do not only expand Geoffrey and Wace; they recast the story, and put a new purpose into it. Their main variation from the old type is their not bringing back Arthur from his Roman expedition in order to punish Modred's treason, but because he has humbled the Emperor Lucius (who demanded tribute from him), and has accomplished the object of his desire. This peaceful return to England admits of the introduction of all the knightly and marvellous adventures known to us through Maleore's abstract of them. Arthur, as Herbert Coleridge says, "retires somewhat into the background, while the narrative is occupied with the deeds of other important personages who are now for the first time brought forward. The principal figures are those of Lancelot, Tristram, Lamorak, Galahad and Percival." The legend of the Holy Graal, in which Arthur is nobody, is introduced by way of parenthesis, and dramatic unity is imparted

¹ Mr. Tom Taylor's most spirited Englishing of *Bale Arzur* one of the Breton ballads in M. de Villemarqué's collection. He read it to us in a lecture he gave at The Working Men's College some twelve years ago, and its trumpet tone is still in my ears. (See *Ballads and Songs of Brittany*, by Tom Taylor, 1866, p. 23-5: the tune is at p. 224.)

² The subsequent addition of the legend of the San Graal seems never to have taken root in Wales, and never to have

been incorporated with the genuine Welsh or mixed Arthurian romances by the native minstrels or *storiawr* of Wales. It is in fact evident, that the story of Joseph of Arimathea in the legend of the Holy Graal was known only to the Welsh literati of the fifteenth century from a rare MS. in Welsh, which had clearly been translated from a foreign original.—Mr. D. W. Nash, in Pref. to *History of the Holy Graal*, vol. i. p. viii.

to the whole story by making Arthur the father, through a chance incestuous intercourse with his own sister, of Modred, and then tracing the course of the avenging Fate which punishes Arthur by the adultery of his Queen and the mutual slaying of himself and his son by each other's hand. At least, this is the moral which the story, to my surprise at first, seemed to bear on the face of it, and which, after much resistance, my late friend Herbert Coleridge adopted. By it, as he says, "the legend acquires a kind of dramatic unity; it exhibits in *Æschylean* phrase the working out of an Ate, a retribution long delayed, but surely developing itself at last: just as the original sin of Tantalus pervaded every generation of his house till the curse finally worked itself out in the madness and deliverance of Orestes; just as also, in the great Scandinavian epos, the curse of Andvari destroyed each possessor in succession till the destined atonement was made in the death of Atli and his sons." The expedition in which Arthur was engaged when Modred's treason was committed, was by Walter Map and his fellows made to be the King's invasion of Lancelot in France, in revenge for the seduction of his Queen, an invasion to which Gawaine compelled the reluctant Arthur. On Arthur's landing at Richborough he is opposed by Modred, whom he beats, but with the loss of Gawaine. Modred makes a second stand at Barendowne or Winchester, is again beaten by Arthur, then flees to Cornwall, where, at Camlan, or Camelford, or Camelerton ("Arthur," p. 18, l. 605), by seeming accident, the proposals for a peace are frustrated, that great battle in the West is fought, and father, son, and the whole Round Table slain, save Lukyn, (and Lancelot and his knights, who are on their way to Arthur's help). Guinevere afterwards refuses Lancelot's prayer to marry him; she enters a convent, he a hermitage; and both soon rest in the grave.

Of English versions of parts of the story of De Borron, Map, and their followers, we have only, so far as I know, and excluding the ballads here, and in Professor Child's collection, &c.—

I. "Le Morte Arthur" of the Harleian MS. 2252, printed in 1819 for the Roxburghe Club at the cost of Mr. Thomas Ponton, and re-edited by me in 1864 for Messrs. Macmillan. "Le Morte Arthur" does not follow exactly any of the French romances, though at the end it is nearer the "Lancelot" than "La Mort au Roi Artus." It begins with a tournament at Winchester, called after Arthur's return from Rome, and carries the story through the Maid of Ascolot's love for Lancelot, his saving Guinevere from being burnt on suspicion of having poisoned Syr Mador's brother, his adultery with Guinevere and its discovery, Arthur's invasion of his land, the King's return and death after slaying Modred, Guinevere's and Lancelot's turning nun and monk, and dying, she being laid at rest by the side of her lord. The details of the last battle, of Excalaber's being "cast into the salt flood," of Arthur's being taken to the Vale of Avelon and buried there, are given with much more minuteness than in any other of our old poems.

II. Sir Thomas Maleore's "Morte Darthur," (Caxton, 1485, Southey 1817; modernised 1634, ed. twice 1816, ed. Wright 1858, 1866), an abstract of the books of "Merlin," "Balyn and Balan," "Lancelot," "Tristram," "Quest of the Holy Graal," "Percival," "Gawayne," "Morte Arthur"; an epitome, more or less complete, of the French romances, containing what is for the English student *the* history of Arthur.

As to the other English versions, the "Morte Arthur," edited from the Thornton MS. about 1440 A.D. by Mr. Halliwell in 1857, and re-edited in 1865 for the Early English Text Society by Mr. Perry, follows in the main the early story of Geoffrey, but contains only its second part, the invasion of Rome by Arthur after his marriage—an invasion attributed to Arthur in consequence of the successful pretendership of the Briton Maximus to the West-Roman empire. This poem is a most vigorous and successful specimen of alliterative verse, parts of it possessing also great beauty. It rejects all the Map and Borron

recasting of the old story, brings Arthur back from Rome to punish Modred, says nothing of Calyburne's being cast away, and lets the King die in the "Ile of Aveloyne," after ordering Modred's sons to be "sleyghely slayne, and slongene in watyrs."

The verse "Arthur" that I edited for the Early English Text Society in 1864 is a short account, in 642 lines, of the King's life and deeds after the early version of Geoffrey.

Besides these, we have in English, of poems relating to, but not directly of Arthur, 1. The "Lancelot of the Laik," MS. ab. 1500 A.D. (edited by Mr. Stevenson for the Maitland Club in 1839, and by Mr. Skeat for the Early English Text Society in 1855), which contains only the story of "the invasion of Arthur's territory by 'le roy de oultre les marches, nomm   galehault (in English *Galiot*), and the defeat of the said king by Arthur and his allies," translated and enlarged from the French "Lancelot." 2. The two poems not translated from any French original, so far as we know, "The Anturs of Arther at the Tarnewathelan" (the Tarn Wadlyng of our Folio) and "The Avowyng of Kyng Arther, Sir Gawan, Sir Kaye and Sir Bawdewyn of Bretan" edited by Mr. Robson for the Camden Society in 1842, from Mr. Blackburne's MS. ab. 1430-40 A.D. in the Lancashire dialect, after prior editions of the first by Pinkerton, Laing, and Madden, from other MSS. The scene of these poems is Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the South-west of Scotland, and they seem to belong to a different set from the Geoffrey and Map legends. 3. The collection of poems called "Syr Gawayne," edited by Sir F. Madden for the Bannatyne Club in 1839 from MSS. ranging from 1320 to 1620 A.D. Of these, the original of Gawayn and the Grene Knyght appears to exist in the "Roman de Perceval," written in verse by Chrestien de Troyes at the close of the twelfth century, and continued after his death by Gautier de Denet and Manessier at the beginning of the thirteenth, (Syr G. p. 305). Of "Golagros and Gawayne" Sir F. Madden says that the author "has borrowed the entire outline of

his romance from the French "Roman de Perceval." "Syr Gawene and the Carle of Carelyle," "the original from which the modernised copy in the Percy MS. was taken," has for its original "the beautiful fabliau of 'Le Chevalier à l'Epée,' printed in Meon's 'Recueil,' tome i. p. 127, 8vo, 1823, and previously analysed by Le Grand" (Syr G. p. 345). The entire story of "The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne" is in the French "Roman de Perceval," fol. lxxiv b. (Syr G. p. 349). "Kyng Arthur and the King of Cornwall" is adapted from a French Charlemagne romance (Syr G. p. 357). 4. "Sir Tristrem," edited by Sir W. Scott from the Affleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D. is taken from the French "Tristan." 5. "Lybius Disconius," or Syr Gyngelayne, son of Syr Gawayne, is from the French "Li Beau Desconnu." 6. Herry Lonelich's translation of De Borron's French History of the Holy Graal I edited from the Corpus MS. (ab. 1440 A.D.) for the Roxburghe Club in 1862-3; and Gautiers Map's French "Queste del Saint Graal" I also edited for the Roxburghe in 1864. 7. Of the English versions of the French "Merlin" a short account will be found in the pages next following. One copy of Lydgate's poem on Arthur, "*Arthurus conqueror*," is in the Lansdowne MS. 699, fol. 51-61. It begins "Was evir prynee myhte hym silff assure," and ends "off blood vnkynde, borne of oo kynreede." It is only a chapter of Lydgate's translation of Bochas's "Fables of Princes," (see Pynson's edition 1527, fol. clxxxx. sign. MM. back, col. 2, &c.)

We owe, then, the whole of our Early English Arthur-literature to Geoffrey of Monmouth and our French-writing authors of Henry II.'s or Cœur-de-Lion's time; and all of it that has affected most strongly the English mind since, is due to Walter Map, Robert and Helye de Borron, and their fellows of the crusading time. Lady Charlotte Guest's edition of the "Mabinogion," and Mr. Tennyson's "Enid" have lately popularised some of the Welsh Arthur-legends. May she and he soon give us scores more of them!

Merline.

[In 9 Parts or Cantos containing 2391 verses, giving an account of the Birth, Parentage & Juvenile Adventures of that famous old British Prophet. N.B.—This Poem is more correct & perfect than most in this book. A very curious old Poem, & may be considered as one of the first attempts in Epic Poetry by the English.—Percy. *First* is a mistake.—F.]

THE Essay by Mr. H. D. Nash, prefixed to the first part of the prose “Merlin” edited by Mr. H. B. Wheatley for the Early English Text Society in 1865, is the most valuable clearer-up of the mist hanging over the Enchanter-Bard that has yet appeared.¹ Mr. Nash shows that in the Merlin of Romance three persons are confounded: first, the prophetic child Ambrosius, first mentioned by Nennius, and by him or his copier confounded with, secondly, the Roman-British leader Ambrosius Aurelianus, the conqueror of Vortigern. To this compound prophet and conqueror the name Merlin was afterwards applied; and the Duinity was made a Trinity by merging, thirdly, into that other Merlin called Silvestris or Caledonius, and by the Welsh *Merddin Wylt*, of whom Mr. Nash says, “it appears to be historically certain that, about the date of the sixth century, there lived a personage who under this name of *Merddin*, or, as it is written in the oldest Welsh form, *Myrtin*, acquired celebrity as a bard, if not as one gifted with supernatural powers.” Though “the pedigree of this last Merlin or *Merddin Wylt* is as well ascertained as that of any other British celebrity,” yet to him have been ascribed—by the legend-writers whom Geoffrey of Monmouth followed, and by the later composers of the French romances, who enlarged and added to Geoffrey’s tales—the birth from a nun by an Incubus, and other romantic fictions belonging to the

¹ M. de Villemarqué’s judgment seems enquirers may consult his *Myrdhin* to me not so sound as Mr. Nash’s; but (Paris, 1862).—F.

prophet and magician Merlin Ambrosius, the supposed contemporary of Vortigern, Arthur, and the Ambrosius Aurelianus with whom he was confounded.

The story of Merlin is first told by Nennius (one of our chief authorities for Arthur's life) in sections 40-2 of his "*Historia Britonum*" (p. 401-3 of the translation in Bohn's Library), but the name there given to the boy is "Ambrosius, in British Embres guletic, t. i. king Ambrosius." Nennius makes Vortigern's wise men counsel him to build a city to defend himself; he pitches on a site, the top of one of the mountains of Heremus, (? Snowdon,) and sets his workmen to build the city. All the materials disappear in one night; fresh ones are got together a second and a third time, but vanish as before. The wise men say that the ground must be sprinkled with the blood of a child born without a father. Such a one is found; but confounds the wise men by asking what is under the pavement where the citadel is to be built. They know not. The boy says two vases, wherein is a tent, and in that two serpents. His words are proved true: the red serpent drives the white one from the tent, and then disappears. The boy expounds the omen: that the Kelts shall drive out the Saxons; he is to remain in Snowdon (?); Vortigern is to go elsewhere. So the boy is left in possession of the western provinces of Britain, and Vortigern goes to the region named Gueneri, where he built the city Guorthegirn, supposed by some to be near Carlisle; by others at Gwent, Monmouthshire; by others in Radnorshire, and by others to be Caermarthen; though in section 47 Nennius says, "Again Vortigern ignominiously fled from St. Germanus to the kingdom of the Dimetæ, where, on the river Towy, he built a castle which he named Cair Guothergirn. . . . On the third night, at the third hour, (in answer to Germanus's prayers,) fire fell suddenly from heaven, and totally burned the castle. Vortigern, the daughter of Hengist, his other wives, and all the inhabitants,

both men and women, miserably perished,—such was the end of this unhappy king, as we find written in the life of St. Germanus.” Such is the legend that has been altered and expanded into the following poem.

The Romance of Merlin exists in English in its completest form in the prose version above mentioned, now being published by the Early English Text Society from the unique MS., about 1440–50 A.D., in the Cambridge University Library; but even that wants its last leaf. Of Herry Lonelich’s verse translation in the unique MS.—about 1440–60 A.D.—at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, about two fifths are left.¹ Of the earliest English version, in the Auchinleck MS., about 1220–30 A.D., printed by Mr. W. D. D. Turnbull for the Abbotsford Club in 1838 as “Arthour and Merlin,” only 9772 lines are extant.² These carry Arthur’s history up to his betrothal to Guenour, and end with his second battle against the enemies of her father Leodegan, after she has armed and kissed her lover. The Lincoln’s Inn “Merlin”—the second poem in the Society’s MS. No. 150, about 1430 A.D.—contains 15 leaves, extends only to l. 1910 of the Auchinleck, p. 71, contains 1657 lines (if the numberer of them has counted right, which I doubt), and ends with the death of Vortiger, p. 42 of the E. E. Text Soc. “Merlin,” and the last line of Part 7 of our Percy folio text. It is, in fact, an original of the first Seven Parts of our poem, 200 years earlier than it, and a better text than it, from which our copy may well have been

¹ It ends in the middle of a battle (between King Claudas and Arthur, I think). See my edition of the *History of the Holy Graal* (Roxburghe Club, 1861), vol. i. p. li. note. Extracts from it are printed at the end of vol. ii. of the *Graul*, and in Nasmith’s *Catalogue of the Corpus MSS.*—F.

² The last century Douce MS. 124, seems to be merely a copy of the Auchinleck version, or one nearly the same. It begins at l. 1909 of that:—

Thus ended sir fortiger,
bat misbilleued a fewe 3er,
pei he wer strong of myzt,
To nou3[t] him brouzt his vnri3t.
Sir vter pendragon
Wiþ his folk went anon, &c.

It contains 8020 lines, and ends where the Auchinleck version ends, at l. 9772, with—

And after 3eden hem to rest.

modernised and slightly altered. Compare the first 16 lines of the Lincoln's Inn MS. here following, with the first 16 of our poem; and also the last 28 lines of the former, given in the note at p. 479, with the last 28 lines of Part 7 of our poem, on the same page.

- H**E þat made wiþ his hond
 wynd and water, wode and lond,
 3eue heom alle good endyng,
 4 þat wolon listne þis talkyng!
 And y schal telle 3ow byfore
 how Merlyn was geten and bore,
 And of his wisdoms al-so,
 8 And oþre happes mony mo,
 sum whyle by-feol in engelonde.
 3e þat wol þis vndurstonde,
 In Engelond þer was a kyng,
 12 A noble mon in al thyng;
 In weorre he was war and wyȝht,
 Kyng Constance for soþe he hyȝt
 A doughty mon he was of dede,
 16 And ryȝt was he was of rede.

(*Merlin*: in *Lincoln MS.* 150.)

The Lincoln's Inn MS. is abstracted by Ellis in his "Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances," pp. 77-98 (ed. Bohn, 1848); and at pp. 99-142 the Auchinleck MS. continuation of the story is also abstracted.

The Douce MS. 236 is of the fifteenth century; it begins at l. 27 of our poem, consists of 36 leaves, averaging 18 lines to a page, making 1296 lines, or thereabouts, and ends with chapter ii., p. 41 of the E. E. Text Soc. version, line 1732, p. 476 of the present poem. Here are its beginning and end:—

After his fader deyng
 Soþe to say wiþ-oute blame
 Moyne was þat childes name
 þe oþer children were of gret renoun
 þat on hyȝte vter þat oþer pendragon
 þus me gan here names calle
 þe brut hit wytnessed soþe wiþ alle
 In þat tyme as we fendeþ in book
 A gret syknesse þat kyng took

þat of þis world he schulde wende
 And after his barons he gan sende
 And whanne þey weren come echon
 Kyng constantyn seide a-non
 Lordyngs lestneþ he sayde lasse & mare
 For out of þis world now y schal fare
 þarfore y pray 3ow for loue of me
 þat trewe 3e be pur charite
 And þat no treson be 3ow a-mong
 For his loue þat suffrede deþ on þe croys with wronge
 Wan y am ded and loke in clay
 Helpeþ my childryn what 3e may
 Makeþ moyne myn eldest sone
 Of england to bere þe crowne
 And þat to hym trewe 3e be
 I 3ow pray pur charyte.

[fol. 1 b.]

Ends—

So moche folk comeþ soþ to say
 þat no man hem nombre may
 With helme on hefd & bronye bryzt
 And comeþ hedurward with þe to fyzt
 þey sweryþ þat þei nellyþ stynte nouzt,
 Tyl þu be to deþe brouzt
 For nouzt þey wylyþ a-byde
 Nyzt & day þey wylyþ ryde
 And buþ at Wynchestre al-mast
 þar-fore sende a-boute in gret hast
 To al þy frendes fer & ner
 þe to helpen with al here power.

“This Douce MS. 236 differs much from the Abbotsford ‘*Arthour and Merlin*,’ and a leaf or two in it are wanting,” says Mr. G. Parker, to whom I owe the details of the Oxford MSS.

A fragment of 62 lines in the hand-writing of Stow the chronicler in Harl. MS. No. 6223, fol. 1 of the MS. or fol. 123 of the volume in which it is bound (printed by Mr. Turnbull in his “*Exordial Observations*” to “*Arthour and Merlin*,” p. x-xiii), ends with line 65 of our text, and varies but little from it. These are all the English *Merlins* (except his *Prophecies*) that I have heard of. The present version follows the early Auchinleck one in postponing the account of Merlin’s birth to the second part or chapter, whereas the Cambridge University text and the French original (MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. No. 10,292)

put it first. This birth was from a virgin by a fiend of the air (a fiend of hell not being able to accomplish it), in order that its product might undo the work of the other supposed virgin's son, Christ, and secure man to the devil. The details of the plan and its defeat are narrated in the text, which also tells of the death of King Constantine, and the murder of his eldest son, King Moyne, in consequence of a hint from his traitorous steward, Vortiger. Vortiger is then made king, and defeats the Danes, but afterwards calls them in against his rebellious barons. He attempts to build a castle of refuge, but its walls fall down every night. Merlin is sought for, and explains how the fighting of two dragons causes this fall. He has them unearthed, and the castle is finished. Constantine's two younger sons, Pendragon and Uther, invade England, and burn Vortiger in his castle. Pendragon is crowned, seeks out Merlin for counsel how to repel fresh Danish invaders, kills them all at the battle of Salisbury, but loses his own life. And here the present text ends, at p. 57, line 1, of the Early English Text Society's "Merlin." All this happens before the birth of Arthur, son of Uther, who succeeds his brother Pendragon on the throne of England, and adds his name to his own.

God bless all
who listen
to me!

4

I will tell
you how
Merlin was
born,
and other
happes.

8

Once upon a
time was a
King,

12

HEE that made with his hand
both winde, water, and lande,
giue them all good ending
that will Listen to my talking!
& I shall you informe
how Merlyn was gotten & borne,
& of his wisdom alsoe,
& other happes many mooe
which then befell in England.
he that will this vnderstand:
In England there was a *King*,
a Noble man in all thinge,

- In warr he was ware & wight,¹
 Constantine forsooth he hight ;
 a doughtye man he was of deed,
 16 & right wise he was of reede² ;
 King he was of great honor,
 & holden prince & Emperour.
 for King Anguish³ of Denmarke,
 20 & many a Sarazen⁴ stoute & starke,
 warred on him withouten fayle,
 & he ouercame them in battaile
 that they durst him not abyde,
 24 & droue them out of feild⁵ that tyde.
 then had The King sonnes 3,
 the fairest children that might bee ;
 the eledest sonne,⁶ that shold be King,
 28 was called Moyne,⁷ with[out] Leasing.⁸
 the othe[r] were of great renowne,
 both Vther & Pendragon.⁹
 in that time (wee find in booke)
 32 a great sicknesse the King tooke,
 that out of this world he must wende ;
 & after his Barrons he did send ;
 & wen¹⁰ they were comen euerecheone,
 36 the King said to them anon,
 " Lords," he said to them¹¹ anon,
 " out of this world must I gon :¹²
 for gods loue & Charitye,
 40 & for the loue you owe to me,

[page 146.]

Constantine,

who beat
 King
 Anguish and
 his Danish
 saracens.

He had three
 sons :

1. Moyne,

2. Uther,
 3. Pen-
 dragon,

And he fell
 sick,

and asked
 his lords

¹ stout & active.—P.

² counsel.—P.

³ corrupte pro Hengist.—P.

⁴ here it means only Pagan.—P.

⁵ field.—P.

⁶ some in MS.—F.

⁷ In the old Chronicles his name is said to have been Constance ; but for as much as he is also said to have been a Monk, that may account for his being here called *Moyne*, or perhaps it should be *Le Moyne*, i.e. the Monk.—P.

⁸ without leasing, i.e. without Lying.—P. The line in Stow's fragment, Harl. MS. 6223, runs :—

Moyen he hight with out lesynge.—F.

⁹ Stow's copy adds :

Thus men dyd theyr names calle,
 As ther brutes wytnessythe all.—F.

¹⁰ when.—P. whan, Harl. MS.—F.

¹¹ then in MS.—F.

¹² gone, i.e. go.—P.

after his death		when I am dead & locked in clay,
to make Moynes king.	44	helpe my Children in what you may, & take Moynes my Eldest sonne, ¹ & make him King, & giue him crowne; hold him for your Lord," said hee.
This they promised, and Steward Vortiger did so too;	48	all they granted itt shold soe bee. then had the King a steward fayre that was called Sir Vortiger; his truth to the King he plight to helpe his children with all his might;
the traitor!	52	but soone the traytor was forsworne, & brake troth he had made beforne.
Constantine dies, and is buried at Winchester.	56	for the King out of this world went, & faire was buried verament; att winchester, without Leasinge, there was made his buryinge.
His lords		Erles & Barons soone anon tooke them together enerechone; with-out any more dwellinge ²
make Moynes king, to Vortiger's disgust.	60	they made Moynes Lord & King; but the Steward, Sir Vortiger, was full wrath, as you may heere, & stode ³ there againe with all his might
	64	both by day & eke by night, for he thought himselfe with treason ⁴ to be Lord & King with Crowne. as soone as Moynes was chosen King, into denmarke the word can springe:
When the Dane Anguis hears the news,	68	King Anguis ⁵ hard it then, & therof was both glad & faine ⁶ ; soone Messengers in that ilke tyde ⁷

¹ MS. some.—F.² *i. e.* delaying, vid. P[age] 356, st. 21, [of MS.]—P.³ *i. e.* against that; so *thereto* is *to that*, &c.—P.⁴ Stow's fragment, Harl. 6223, ends here.—F.⁵ MS. Angius; but the dot in the MS. is not always over the right stroke. The Affleck text has *Angys*, p. 5, l. 109.—F.⁶ faine, joyful.—P.⁷ *i. e.* that same time.—P.

- 72 he sent ouer all the land wyde,
after many sarazens¹ stout & starke,
& of Saxons, & of Denmarke
a 100 thousand, & yett moe,
76 on horsse backe & on foote alsoe.
then wold they noe longer abyde ;
but dight them² to shipp *that* tyde,
& brought into England, I saine,
80 many a doughtye Sarazen.
but England was called then³
Mikle⁴ Brittain of euery man.
Then the word wyde sprange⁵ [page 147.]
84 how the Danish *King* with wronge
wrought in England Mickle woe.
King Moynes heard *that* it was soe ;
he went vnto Sir Vortiger,
88 & prayed him with lowlye cheere,
& besought him of his honor
for to be his gouernor
against his foemen to fight.
92 he answered him anon-right,
& fained himselfe sicke, as traytor strong,
& said with wright & not with wrong,⁶
“ he wold neuer come in battaile
96 when his strenght began to faile ; ”
for all this he said aforehand,
for he thought to be *King* of *that* Land.
the *King*, he wold him noe more pray,
100 but tooke his leaue & went his way.
Messengers he sent *that* tyde
to all the Lands on euery side,
for Erles, Barons, & *Knights*,

he gathers

over 100,000
men,and ships
them to
England(Great
Britain).Moynes asks
Vortigerto command
for him.The traitor
declines.Moynes
summons
his lords ;

¹ Ver. 73 & 74. It plainly appears
here that Saracens is not a misnomer
for Saxons.—P.

² betook them ; so in Chauc. Mo. 553.
—P.

³ MS. them.—F.
⁴ mickle, i. e. great.—P.

⁵ sprung, spronge.—P.

⁶ perhaps “ not with right but with
wrong.”—P. The Affleck text, p. 6, l.
129–30, has only—

And feined him that he no might,
At batayle com for to fight.—F.

	104	to come & helpe him in his fights. & when they were all come, & their armes done vpon,
they give the Danes battle,	108	thé pricked forth without fayle to giue the Danes <i>King</i> battaille. there was clouen many a sheeld, & many <i>knight</i> fallen in feild. all <i>that</i> they mett in strond, ¹
and are put to flight.	112	horasse & man fell to the ground. soone the English men, the sooth to say, were discomfitt & fled away; to Winchester thé ffielden thoe
Anguis	116	with much sorrow, care, & woe. but the Danish <i>King</i> before, much of his ffolke he had forlore ;
sends for fresh Danes,	120	& then forthe he sent his sond sone ² into his owne Land, ³ to all ⁴ <i>that</i> might weapons beare, shold come & helpe him in this warre ; of warre wold he neuer blinne, ⁵
and ware on for half a year. The barons take counsel,	124	Cytyes & castles for to winne : in England he warrd full sore halfe a yeare & some deale more. all the Barons in England ⁶
	128	took them together in <i>that</i> stond, ⁷ what was best for them to done for to avenge them of their fone. when they were comen all arright,
say Moyne is no good,	132	Erles & Barrons, Lords & Knights, thé ⁸ said Moyne their young <i>King</i> was but a Brotherlinge,
Vortiger		& said " if Vortiger <i>King</i> were,

¹ here it signifies the country in
general; so in Chauc.—P.

² MS. some.—F.

³ Lond.—P.

⁴ That all.—P.

⁵ blinn, cessare.—P.

⁶ Englund.—P.

⁷ *i. e.* time.—P.

⁸ *i. e.* the Lords said.—P.

- 136 he wold bring them out of care ; ”
 they said anon, both old & younge,
that Vortiger shold be their *King*.
 & when they had spoken all this,
- 140 12 Barrons they send Iwis
 to Sir Vortiger the ¹ bold,
 to witt whether he nay wold ²
 against their foemen to stand,
 144 to drine them out of England.
 & when the Barrons all in fere ³
 were come to Sir Vortiger,
 well & hendlye ⁴ they him greete,
 148 & on they d[e]ske by him they seete ; ⁵
 & bade ⁶ them with words still
 for to say what was their will.
 & the answered ffayre againe,
 152 & bade *that* he shold them saine
 why he wold not with them gone
 ffor to avenge them of their fone,
 & sayden, “ sith Constantine was dead
 156 wee hane had a sorry read ⁷ ; ”
 & bade *that* he shold take in hand
 to warre them out of England.
 then answered Sir Vortiger
 160 as a man of great power,
 “ I was yett neuer your *King* ;
 why pray you me of such a thinge ?
 nor yett neuer here beforne,
 164 nor to you was neuer sworne
 for to helpe you att your neede ;
 & therfore, soe god me speede,
 wend home vnto your *King*,
 168 & pray him in all thing

should be
king.

They send
twelve
barons to
Vortiger,

and ask him

[page 148.] why he will
not help
them fight.

Vortiger
says

he is not
their king ;

¹ MS. they.—F. tha.—P.

² ne wold, i.e. would not.—P.

³ all together.—P.

⁴ hendly, gently.—P.

⁵ on the Deis by him they sit, i.e. at
the high table.—P.

⁶ He bade.—P.

⁷ counsel.—P.

he'll not
help them.

"Our king is
young and
timid. 172

176

Had you
been with us
we should
have won."

"Ah, it was
a pity to
make such a
fool king! 180

184

If he were
dead I'd help
you. 188

192

The barons
go back to
Winchester,

196

200

and cut off

to helpe you against your fone,
for helpe of me gett you none."

then answered a bold Barron,

"our *King* is but a younge one ;
for when he seeth a sword drawne,

he weeneth to bee slown¹ ;

hee doth vs noe other good,

but flyeth away as he were wood.

had thou beene amongst vs all,

that chance had neuer beffalle ;

thus saine all our Peeres."

"I trow well," said Vortiger ;

"certaine it was great dole²

to make a kinge of such a foole ;

had you made a Man your *King*,

he had saved you in all thinge ;

but sithen siker you bee,

helpe gett you none of mee.

but if your *King* were dead aflight,

I wold helpe you with all my *Might*,"

then said the Barrons eche one,

"will yee *that* wee our *King* slown³ ? "

"Nay," he sayd, "with-ouen strife

while your younge *King* is aline,

helpe gett you None I-wis."

the Barrons tooke leaue with this ;

to winchester they went all

there the *King* was in halle ;

& as he sate att Meate

they run to him in great heate ;

& as he sate att the bord,

or euer he spake any word,

thé run all to him anon

¹ perhaps *slawne*, *slone*, slain : see below, ver. 194, pag. 159, ver. 66 [of MS.]. —P. The *f* of *slown* is crossed as for *f*, and so is that of *saine*, l. 179, while the

f of *flyeth*, l. 176, is uncrossed as *f*. —F.

² sorrow, misfortune. —P.

³ i. e. slew, (slewen). —P.

- & smitten of his head full soone.
 & when the *King* was thus slowe,¹
 204 *Ereles*,² *Barrons*, hye & lowe,
 tooke them all to reede³
that a King they must haue need,
 all England for to warre
 208 against them *that* will or darre.
 then had *Moine* brethren tow,
 younge Children they were alsoe,
 the one hight *Vther*, the other *Pendragon*.
 212 then saiden the *Barrons* euerye one,
 " *that* they shold neuer speede
 but if a doughtye man of deede
 were chosen to be their *King* in fere ; "
 216 & sweren *that* *Sir Vortiger*
 was a doughtye man of deede,
 stout & stale⁴ worth of a steede :
 the swearen then together eche one,
 220 *that* other *King* they wold haue none.
 then was there neither *Knight* nor swaine
that durst speake them againe,
 but granted it, both old & younge,
 224 to make *Sir Vortiger* their *King*.
 soe in the time of Aprill, as yee may heere,
 the 12⁵ *Barrons* came to *Vortiger*,
 And said *that* Englands right
 228 was lorne thorow their *King* a-plight,⁶
 & he was dead without Leasing,
 & his 2 brothers were to young
 to hold the Kingdome in hand,
 232 " therefore the commons of the Land
 haue you chosen with Honour

Moine's
head.

Then all
consult,

and agree

that Vortiger

shall beking.

So in April
time the
twelve
barons tell
Vortiger

[page 149.]

that he has
been chosen

¹ slo, i. e. slaine.—P.

² *Ereles*.—P.

³ counsell.—P.

⁴ stalworth, brave, stout.—P. There
is something like *le* repeated, before the

w in the MS.—F.

⁵ ? MS. cut away.—F.

⁶ a-plight, adv. immediately, at once.
H. Coleridge.—F.

emperor ;
and he is
kinged.

236

for to be their Emperour."
blithe & glad was Vortyger,
& anon was King without danger.

[The Second Part.]

Two faithfu
barons

240

2^d Parte.

{ Att the feast of the turnament
the Barrons *that* were gent,
that all the treason vnderstoode,
they had ruth of the right blood,
that they ¹ children ² shold be done to
dead ;
therfore they tooke another reade,
& taken Vther & Pendragon,
& passed ouer the seas anon.

take Uther
and Pen-
dragon
beyond sea.

244

Of theire passage wist noe moe
but the hend ³ barrons 2.

& when the feast was all hold,

Vortiger
conspires

248

Vortiger the traitor bold

lett make accompackement ⁴

of erles & barrons *that* were gent,

att *which* Parlament they had hight

to slay

252

for to haue slaine they children right.

Vortiger commanded anon

for to feitch Vther & Pendragon.

Uther and
Pendragon,

fast about all they sought,

but they are
not to be
found.

256

but they cold find them nought.

when Vortiger this vnderstoode,

then hee waxed almost woode,

but neuer-the-lesse Sir Vortiger

260

did giue comāndment far & neere

to Duke, Erle, Barron, & Knight,

to make them rydey ⁵ for to fight;

Vortiger

& soone thé dight them I-wis

¹ the.—P.

² MS. childrem.—F.

³ gentle.—P.

⁴ a compactment, *i.e.* compact.—P.

⁵ ready.—P.

- 264 with armes & with horsse of price.
 & when they were ready dight,
 forsooth it is a seemlye sight :
 with helme one head, & bright banner,
- 268 all went forth with Vortiger.
 the *King* of Denmarke with pryde
 brought his host by his syde ;
 either host can other assayle ;
- 272 there might you see a strong battele.
 the English folkes, sooth to say,
 they foughten so well *that* day
that King Anguish in *that* tyde
- 276 was vpon the worsse side,
 & fledd away as he were woode
 into a Castle faire & goode ;
 & manye of his host alsoe,
- 280 fast away can they goe ;
 & Vortiger with his rowte
 besett the castle all aboute.
 & when t[h]ey had Long Laine,
- 284 Vortiger send to them for to saine ¹
 “ if he peace passe must,
 hee wolde take all his host
 & wende into his cuntrye,
- 288 & neuer after *that* day
 wold he passe the sea stronde,
 ne come to warr in Englande. ² ”
 & when this couenant was all done,
- 292 *that* they wold not into England come,
 Vortiger tooke his counsell
 & lett them passe certaine ;
 & soe they went to the sea,
- 296 & passed to their owne cuntrye.
 Vortiger then tooke his ost
 & went thence with a great boaste ;
- assembles
his host,
- Anguis his,
- and the fight
begins.
- Anguish is
beaten, and
flees to a
castle.
- Vortiger
besieges him.
- He offers to
- go back to
Denmark,
- and never
invade
England
again.
- His terms
are agreed
to, and his
Danes go
home.
- The English
hold feast.

¹ MS. *saine*.—F. They send to Vort. to *saine*.—P.

² Englande.—P.

		he held feast many a day	
	300	with much solace ¹ & with play.	
		And when the feast was all helde, ²	[page 150.]
Moyne's murderers ask		the 12 Barrons <i>that</i> I erst of told,	
	304	<i>that</i> had slaine Moyne the King,	
Vortiger		they bethought them of a wonderous thing,	
		<i>that</i> they wold wend to Vortiger	
		& aske him meede & liverr, ³	
		& said, "Vortiger, now you bee aboue,	
for a reward for killing Moyne.	308	now yeelde vs meede! for thy Loue	
		wee slew our right King by kind ;	
		now will wee see if thou bee hynde ;	
		for wee brought thee to thine aboue ;	
	312	thinke what wee did for your loue ! "	
Vortiger		King Vortiger answered againe :	
		with Eggar Moode he can saine :	
		"by the law <i>that</i> god made	
	316	you shall haue as yee bade !	
		for yee are traitors starke & stronge,	
		& haue slaine your King with wronge,	
		& yee haue wrought against the law !	
	320	& therfore yee shall both hang & draw."	
		he did take horses fleete,	
		& tyed them to their fleete,	
has them drawn and hanged.	324	& then drew them on a pauement,	
		& sithen hanged them verament.	
Their kindred rise against Vortiger,		then Many an Erle & Barron hynde	
		that were of the Barrons Kinde,	
		to Vortiger they ran anon	
	328	as his most deadlye fone ;	
		hard on him can they fight,	
		for to slay him thé thought right.	
		Vortiger with Might & Maine,	
give him battle,	332	he with his host went them againe ;	

¹ ? MS. *salace*.—F.² *holde*, *idem*.—P.³ *livere*, *liveray*, wages, pay, &c. (*li-verée* Fr.). Urry.—P.

- a strong battell there was dight,
 & many a head ther of smitt,
 soe *that* Vortiger *that* day
 336 was glad for to scape away. and he flees.
 anon the Barrons send their sonde
 wyde ouer all England ¹
 to all their freinds, sibb & couthe,²
 340 East, west, North & southe,
 & told them *that* sooth tyde,
 'how Vortiger with great despighte,
 with great treason & with wrong,
 344 their kinred had drawen & honge.'
 wrath then was many a man,
 & al together swarren then
that they wold not assunder breake
 348 till they were on him wreake.³
 enerye man on other besought,
 a great host on him they brought,
 & foughten with Sir Vortiger
 352 9 monthes of this yeere,
that many a Lady fayre & free
 lost her Lord & her ⁴ meanye.⁵
 then the warr endured long,
 356 & the Barrons waxed strong
that Vortiger had not power
 against them longer to endure.
 Messengers anon hee tooke,
 360 & made them sworne vpon a booke
that they shold his ⁶ arrand gone ;
 & letters he tooke to them anon,
 & sent them ouer the seas I-wis
 364 to Denmarke, vnto King Anguis,
 & *that* hee shold come att neede
 with all the power *that* he might lead,
- and all swear
 not to part
 till ven-
 geance is had
 on Vortiger.
- They fight
 for nine
 months.
- Vortiger is
 worsted,
- and sends
 messengers
- to ask
 Anguis of
 Denmark to
 help him.

¹ Englonde.—P.² sibb, kindred; couthe, acquaintance.—P.³ i. e. revenged.—P.⁴ his, or perhaps for the'r.—P.⁵ family, company, retinue.—P⁶ on his.—P.

		against his foemen for to fight <i>that</i> wold deprive him of his right.	
Anguis musters his host,	368	then was <i>King</i> Anguis blythe, & Messengers hee sent swithe ¹ to Duke, Erle, Barron, & <i>Knight</i> , & to all <i>that</i> weapon beare might.	
sails to England,	372	Then to shipp they went blithe, And ouer the sea can they drine ;	[page 151.]
		& when they came to vortiger, ho welcomed them with merry cheere,	
and gets a grant of half England.	376	& seized ² there into his hands halfe the realme of England <i>that</i> he had, or haue might,	
		for to helpe him in his right. when this couenant was made fast, all they dighten them in hast into Battelle for to wend	
They fight the barons near Salisbury,	384	with the Barrons <i>that</i> were hende ; besids Salsbury a Lyte, ³ there the battell can thé smite. many a bold Champion,	
		& many a 1000, in <i>that</i> stonde were slaine & brought to ground ; many a Ladye & damsell can weepe <i>that</i> day with teares fell.	
		then had Vortiger 10 against one of the Barrons men ; discomfitted they were <i>that</i> day ; with great sorrow thé fled away ;	
and beat them.		& vortiger, <i>that</i> wold not spare, but hunted them as hound doth hare, them <i>that</i> he did ouertake, noe other peace did he make,	
Vortiger	396	but did them all to-draw & hange.	
hangs all he catches,	400		

¹ soon, presently.—P.² a little.—P.³ gave possession. a Law-term.—P.

- but sithen all *that* was wrong ;
 many a Barron hynde & free
 fled out of his owne countrye,
 404 & dwelled out many a yeere
 for loue¹ of Sir Vortiger.
 then Vortiger ceazed into his hands
 the Lands & rents of all the Barrons ;
 408 & both wiffe, Chyld, & swaine,
 he droue out of the Lannd certaine.
 King Anguis had verament
 a daughter *that* was faire & gent,
 412 *that* was heathen Sarazen ;
 & Vortiger for loue fine
 vndertooke her for his wiffe,
 & liued in cursing² all his liffe,
 416 for he did make the Christen Men
 to Marry the heathen women,
 soe *that* nighe all England
 was fallen into the devills hand ;
 420 & thus they liued many a yeere.
 soe on a day Sir Vortiger
 bethought him on the children tow
that out of the Land were fledden thoe,³
 424 & alsoe he bethought him then
 of many another doughtye Man
that hee had fleemed⁴ out of the Land,
 & in his hart gan vnderstand
 428 *that* it was a sorry happe,
 & doubted him of an afterclappe.
 anon he sent Messengers
 ouer all the Land for Carpenters,
 432 & for good Massons alsoe,
 the best *that* were in Land thoe.
- Many barons
 flee the
 country,

 and Vortiger
 takes their
 lands.

 He marries
 Anguis's
 daughter,
 and turns
 heathen.

 For fear of
 Constan-
 tine's
 children

 and his
 banished
 lords,

 he sends for
 carpenters
 and masons,

¹ *i.e.* sake, or perhaps along of.—P.
 ? feare. The Affleck text has not the
 line.—F.

² *i.e.* in excommunication.—P.

³ *i.e.* then.—P.

⁴ fleem, banish, drive away. Urry.—P.

- Many a 1000 there came anon
that colde worke Lime & stone ;
 436 & when they were comen all,
 the King anon to them gan call,
 & said, "Lordings, I haue thought
 a strong castle to be wrought
 of bigge timber, lime, & stone,
 440 *that such another be noe-were none,*
 if euer I haue any need,
 my liffe therin *that I may Lead.*
 444 the Castle yee shall make surlye
 vpon the plaine of Salaburye ;
 goe & doe as I you bade,
that itt be surlye & ¹ well made,
 448 And you shall haue to your hyer [page 152.]
 as much as you shall desire."
 the workemen went forthe thoc,
 15000 ² & yett moe,
 452 hewen timber, caruing stone,
 & laid a foundation there anon.
 some Laid, & some bore,³
 & some can the worke arreare.⁴
 456 *that ilke day, round about*
 itt was brest high without doubt.⁵
 when itt came to the night,
 to their bedd they went wright,
 & came againe vpon the Morrow
 & found a thing of much sorrow,
 for all the fondation thé found
 lying abroad vpon the ground,
 464 & all to-torne, both Lime & stone.
 thé had great wonder, euerye one :

¹ MS. broken away.—F.

² Three thousand, in Affleck text,
p. 21, l. 530.—F.

³ bare.—P.

⁴ i.e. rear.—P.

⁵ The Affleck text (p. 21, l. 538-40)

refers to its authority (Wace's *Brut.*)
and the workmen's rights:

So it is written in the brout ;
And wenten hom tho it was night,
So it is werkmenes right.—F.

- better read then cold they None,
 but began it new againe,
 468 & sped ¹ as well, the sooth to say,
 as thé did the first daye.
 & when the enening was comen,
 thé went to bedd all soone.
 472 on morrow they came anon,
 & found it cast downe, lime & stone,
 & was spredd both heere & the[r]e;
 & thus they faren halfe a yeere.
 476 When the *King* heard of this,
 great wonder he had I-wis,
 & oft asked both young & old,
 & of the wonder wold be told,
 480 & why the worke might not stand.
 there was none within the land,
 highe nor lowe, Learned ² nor Clarke,
 that cold tell him of the worke.³
 484 *King* Vortiger sate in his hall
 amongst his Barrons & *Knights* all,
 & sware he wold neuer spare
 vntill he wist why it were;
 488 & anon he sent his sonde
 ouer all England ⁴
 after Clerkes old & younges
 that cold tell him wonderous things.
 492 the Messengers forth went,
 & did the *Kings* Comarndement;
 many a wise Clarke they sought;
 before the King they all were brought.
 496 *King* Vortiger opposed ⁵ them all
 why his worke did downe fall;
 but there was none that cold him tell.

They raise it
up again,

and again
find it
thrown
down during
the night.

The king is
astonished;

no one can
tell him why
the work
won't stand.

He sends for
learned
clerks,

and asks
them why
the work
falls down.
They can't
tell;

¹ sped, i.e. did speed.—P.

² perhaps lay.—P.

³ werke.—P.

⁴ England.—P.

⁵ appose, examine, ask questions; *hinc*
posa. Urry. Jun.—P.

- then he sware he wold them quell ¹
 500 but if they wold say in hast
 why this worke was downe cast.
 10 Masters he tooke anon,
 the wisest of them euery one ²;
 504 into a chamber they were doe
that noe ³ man might come them to.
 soe one day verament
 the looked into the firmament,
 & vnder the welkin their shewed a skye ⁴
 that shewedd them witterlye ⁵
 that in 5 winters there beforne
 a knaue child ⁶ there was borne,
 512 begotten without any man ;
 & if they had *that* child then,
 & sley ⁷ him hastilye then
 or he spoke to any man,
 516 and smeere the worke with his blood,
 then shold *that* worke be sure & goode :"
 thus the sky shewed them there, ⁸
 And passed away without more. [page 153.]
 then were the clarkes gladd & blythe,
 & came to Vortiger sithe, ⁹
 & told him without lesse ¹⁰
 of a knaue child *that* was gotten I-wis
 524 without seede of any man :
 thus they saydden euerye one,
 ' doe send & feitch *that* child
 whether hee bee in towne or feild ;
 528 & doe him slay hastilye,

¹ i.e. kill.—P.

² The Affleck text has, l. 585, p. 23 :

Astromiens these weren,
 Wisser neuer non neren.—F.

³ The *e* is made over an *a* between *no*
 and *man*.—F.

⁴ Old Norse and Sw. *sky*, a cloud.—F.

⁵ i.e. certainly: vid. Chauc.—P.

⁶ i.e. a Male child: so in Chauc.—P.

⁷ slay or slew.—P. See the legend of
 St. Oran of Iona, in Mr. Nash's *Essay*,
 p. vi.—F.

⁸ thore: Chauc.—P.

⁹ swithe, quickly.—F.

¹⁰ leaze, lease.—P.

- & take the blood of his bodye
 & smere the worke rond about,
 & it shall stand without doubt.¹
 532 glad & blithe was Vortiger,
 & called to him 12 Messengers,
 & parted them in veritye,
that neuer a one might other see;
 536 he sent them forth vpon his sond¹
 vnto 4 parts of England,²
 & commanded *that they stint*³ nought
 till he were befor him brought.
 540 anon the Messengers forth went
 and did the *Kings* commandement;
 & Sir vortiger the bold
 caused the clarkes to be hold
 544 till the Messengers came againe,
 to witt what thé wold saine,
 & sware by Iesu, heauen King,
 “if they made any Leasinge,
 548 noe ransome shold for them gone,
 but they shold dye euerye one.”
 now let vs tell of these Messengers
that went from Sir Vortigers
 552 for to seeke the child soe younge;
 & yee shall heare a wonderous thing
 & if yee will a stond dwell⁴;
 of *that* Chyld I shall you tell,
 556 on what Manner the Messenger
 brought him to Sir Vortiger,
 & what hee hight withouten lesse,⁵
 & of what kind he is,
 560 *that yee may vnderstand & witt*
 thorow what skill he was gett.

Vortiger
sends
twelve
messengers,

and till they
return the
clerks are
detained.

I'll tell you
about these
messengers

and this
child.

¹ sonde, message.—P.

² Englonde.—P.

³ i. e. stay, desist.—P.

⁴ wait a while.—P.

⁵ lease, lese: Chauc.—P.

[The Third Part.]

[How Merlin was begotten and born.]

			Danid the prophet, & Moyses,
			wittnesse & saith how itt was
	564		<i>that</i> god had made thorow his Might
The angels			heauen full of Angells bright :
	3 ^d . Parte.		the ioy <i>that</i> thé hadden then,
			forsooth no tounge tell can,
through			till Lwcifer, with guilt of pryde,
Lucifer's	568		& all <i>that</i> held with him <i>that</i> tyde,
pride			Such vengeance god on them can take
became			<i>that</i> they are now feinds blake.
			& I find in holy ritt,
black fiends,			thé fell from heauen to hell pitt
and fell, like	572		6 dayes & 7 nights,
hall, into			as thicke as hayle in thunder lights ;
hell.			& when it was our Ladyes ¹ will,
	576		heauen closed againe full still.
			the feendes <i>that</i> I told of ere,
			fellen out of heauen with Lucifer ;
Some fiends	580		those <i>that</i> bidden ² on the ayre on haight,
bide in the			fell thé beene, stronge ² & sleight ;
air,			of they ayre thé take their light,
			& haue great strenght & might
can take			after man to make a bodye
man's shape,	584		fayre of coulour & rudye,
			discending downe among mankind
			to tise men to deadlye sinne.
and tempt			all they wist well beforne
to sin.	588		<i>that</i> Jesu wold on Mary be borne ;
			therto the feendes hadden ennye,
These fiends			& said to the earth thé wolden hye
agree to			
beget a boy			
on a virgin,			

¹ The Attributes of the Deity are here applied to y^e Virgin Mary.—P.

² biden, i.e. bide.—P.

² They been fell, strong.—P.

- 592 to neigh on earth a maiden Mild,
 & begett on her a child.
 Thus thé wend the world to haue filed,¹ [page 154.]
 but att the Last they were beguiled :
- 596 I shall you tell how itt was ;
 now yee may heere a wonderous case.
 in *that* time, I vndestand,
 a rich man was in England,
- 600 & had a good woman to his wiffe,
 & liued together a cleane liffe ;
 a sonne they had, & daughters 3,
 the fairest children *that* might bee.
- 604 anon a feende *that* I of told,²
that woonen in the ayre soe bold ;
 & ³ for to tempt *that* good woman
 he light on the earth then,
- 608 & in her body had great might,
 & brought her into striffe & fight,
 & made her after with Egar Moode
 to curse her child as shee was woode.
- 612 vpon a day att Euen Late,
 thorow the feend, with great hate
 with her sonne she gan to grame,⁴
 & curst him fast by his name,
- 616 & to the devill shee him behight
 with all her power & her might.
 then was the feende glad & blythe,
 & thought to doe him shame swithe ;
- 620 & when it was come to night,
 the feende went to her house right,
 & strangled her sonne where he lay.
 the wiffe rose ⁵ vp when it was day,

to undo
Christ's
work.

An
Englishman
has a wife,

a son,
and thres
daughters.

An Air-
Fiend

tempts the
wife

to curse
her son

and give him
over to the
Devil.

That night
the fiend
strangles the
son.

¹ filed, i. e. defiled.—P. MS. cut away. There is part left of one letter more than *filed*.—F.

² of those I told.—P.

³ *del^d*.—P.

⁴ Grame, grief, vexation, anger, mad-

ness. S. *Gram*, furor. Urry. Here it is a verb.—P. A.-S. *gramian*, to anger.—F.

⁵ MS. has a letter like *p* between *rose* and *vp*.—F.

Next morn- ing the mother stranges herself; and her husband dies for grief,	624	& found her ssonne dead att Morrow, & went & strangled her selfe for sorrowe ; & when her Lord heard this, anon swithe for sorrow I-wis
unshriven.	628	sodainlye he dyed thoe without shrift ¹ or houzell ² alsoe.
Their neighbour		the folke of the cuntry <i>that</i> tyde, <i>that</i> wooned there neere beside,
	632	came together then to see, & had ruth & great pittye, & many a man <i>that</i> day
lament their deaths.	636	weaped, & sayd "well-awaye" for <i>that</i> good man & his wiffe <i>that</i> had lined soe good a liffe !
The hermit		an Hermitt <i>that</i> wooned there beside, came to see them there <i>that</i> tyde—
Blasye	640	Blasye forsooth his name was— & oft for them he sayd "alas !" <i>that</i> it was beffallen soe, in his heart he was full woe,
says it's the Devil's doing; he shrives the daughters,	644	& said it was verament thorow the ffeendes incomberment. ³ the daughters he found there aline ; the Hermitt hee can them shrine ;
	648	& when he had done & sayd, fayre penance on them he Layd ; & when hee had done soc,
sets them penance,		home again can he goe.
	652	then the Maydens all in fere ⁴ served god with blythe cheere.
and they serve God. (In England then, if any woman, not a harlot, fornicated,	656	in all England then was the vsage, if any woman did outrage (but if itt were in her spousage, ⁵)

¹ confession.—P.² receiving the Eucharist: S. *husl.*
Eucharistia. Lye.—P.³ incombrous is used by Chaucer for
combersome.—P.⁴ together.—P. ⁵ spousing.—P.

- if any man old or younge
 might it witt of *that* countrye,
 all qu[i]cke shee shold doluen¹ bee,
 660 but if it were a light woman called
 to all men *that* aske her wold.
 soe the ffeend *that* had might,
that wooned in the ayre² light,
 664 into the earth he light downe then;
 & went vnto an old woman,
 & hight her both gold & fee
 to wende to the sisters 3,
 668 the eldest mayden to enchant,
 some younge mans body to enfante³;
 And shee might bring her therto,
 he hett⁴ her gold for euer-more.
 672 *that* old Queane was full glad,
 & did as the devill her badde,
 & went to the sisters 3.
 as soone as shee might them sec,
 676 to the eldest sister soone shee said
 "alas, my deere sweete Mayd!
 thou hast fayre feete & hande,⁵
 a gentle body for to sounde,
 680 white hayre & long arme;
 I-wise it is much harme
that thy bodye might not assay
 with some younge man for to play,
 684 *that* yee might find in euery place
 game, mirth, & great solace."
 "certaine," said the maiden then,
 "if *that* I take any man,
 688 but if it were in spousing,
 any man either old or younge,
- she was
 buried
 alive.)

 The Fiend
 of the Air

 promises an
 old woman
 gold and
 land

 if she will
 make the
 eldest sister
 commit
 fornication.
 [page 155.]

 The old
 quean

 goes to the
 sisters,

 and tells the
 eldest
 what a pity
 it is that

 with her
 beauty

 she should
 not enjoy
 some young
 man.

 "But if I
 took any
 man.

¹ dug, buried. Chauc.—P.² The Air-Fiends (l. 580) were a separate set from the Hell-Fiends (l. 573).—F.³ Fr. *enfant* is to bring forth a child (Cotgrave).—F.⁴ promis'd.—P.⁵ honde.—P.

and it got known, I should be buried alive."	692	& itt were knowen in this countrie, all quicke I shold doluen bee."
"Not at all,		"nay, certaine," said the old queane, "yee may it doe without deane ¹ both in bower & in bedd, although noe man doe you wedd ; & therfore dread thee nought, for it needs neuer be forth brought ; & if thou wilt doe by my read, thou diddest neuer a better deede."
it need never be known ; do as I tell you."	696	soe thorow the queanes enchantment & the feends incumberment, the eldest sister, the sooth to say, lett a young man with her play ; & when shee liked best the game, it turned her to much shame, for shee was taken & forth drawen, & of her game shee was knowen, & for <i>that</i> worke doluen was. many a man sayd for her "alas !" the ffeende yett another while the other sister he can beguile, & made her to loue a faire young man, & after was his lemman ² then. shee was taken forth-wise, & brought before the hye Iustice her iudgment to vnderstand, as itt was the law of the Land. the Iustice opposed ³ her thee wherfore shee had done soe ; shee answered as shee was taught, & said shee forsooke itt nought, & said shee was a light woman to all <i>that</i> wold come to her common ;
The eldest sister sins,	704	
is caught,		
and buried alive.	708	
The fiend next beguiles the second sister, and makes her a man's mistress.	712	
She only es- capes death	716	
by professing	720	
herself a common prostitute,		

¹ ? *dean*, a din, a noise, Essex (in Halliwell); or for A.-S. *teóna*, reproach.
—F.

² mistress.—P.

³ apposed, examined.—P.

- 724 & soe shee scaped them away,
soe *that* her followed all that day
of Harlotts ¹ a great race
to fyle her body for *that* case.
- 728 yett the feende in *that* while
the 3^d sister can beguile.
then was the youngest sister soe woe
that nye her hart burst in tow,
732 for her mother had hangd her selfe,²
& her one sister quicke was delfe,³
& for that her father dyed amisse,
& her brother was strangled I-wis,
736 her other sister a whore stronge,
that harlotts was euer among;
almost for sorrow & for thought
in wan-hope ⁴ shee was brought.
- 740 to the Hermitt shee went then,
to that hight Blassye, *that* good man,
& told him all the sooth beforne,
How all her kindred were forlorne. [page 156.]
- 744 the Hermitt had wonder great;
on gods halfe he her besett,
"I bid thee haue god in thy mind,
& let be the lore of the feende,"
- 748 & bade her 'forsake in any wise
pryde, hate, & conetise,
alsoe sloth and enuye,
& mans flesh in lecherye,
- 752 all such workes for to flee;
& bade her 'gods servant beo,'
& bade her to 'take good keepe
that shee layd her not downe to sleepe,
- and being
defiled by
many men.

The third
sister is
nearly dead
for grief,

and nearly
brought to
despair.

She goes to
Hermit
Blassye,

who bids her
keep God in
mind,
forsake
sin,

be God's
servant,

never go to
sleep

¹ *Harlot*, apud Chauc. is a loose person of either sex. Urry.—P. Harlotte, *Scurrus*; Promptorium; see Mr. Way's note ⁴ to it there, p. 227; and a very curious passage about "the *harlotis* that *handelithe* women," in *The Knight de la*

Tour Landry, now in the press for the Early English Text Society, p. 81.—F.

² selve.—P. ³ delve.—P.

⁴ *wan-hope*, despair; so *wan-grace* is want of grace. *Wan* is privative apud A.-S. Gl. ad G. D.—P.

	756	& namelye ¹ not in the night, vnlesse shee had a Candle light, & windowes & dores in <i>that</i> stond to be spurred ² to roafe and ground,
without a candle burning, doors barred,		
and making the sign of the Cross aloud.	760	& make there againe with good noyce the signe of the holy crosse. ³ ' & when he had taught her soe, home againe can shee goe,
She does all this, and yet the	764	& served god with hart glad, & did as the hermitt her bade ; & yett the feend thorow enuye beguiled her with treacherye,
fiend beguilles her,	768	& brought her into a dreerye cheere : I shall you tell in what manner. vpon a day verament with neighbors to Ale shee went ;
thus : one day		
	772	long shee sate, & did amisse <i>that</i> drunken shee was I-wis. her other sister <i>that</i> I of told, <i>that</i> was a whore stout & bold, came thither <i>that</i> same day with many harlots for to play, & missaide her sister as shee was wood, & called her other then good.
she gets drunk ; calls her bad second sister	776	
no good,	780	soe long shee Chidd ⁴ in a resse, ⁵ the whore start vp without lesse, & went to her sister in a rage, & smote her on the visage.
and gets a blow in the face for it.		
She goes home ;	784	then home to her chamber shee can goe, & made to the dores betweene them tow, & cryed out ; & Neighbors came,
her neigh- bours		

¹ especially: Namely, *Præcipue*. Prom.
—F.

² spurred, sparred, &c., i.e. spar'd, bolted, locked, from *spar*, a wood bar, or bolt. Urry in Chauc.—P. A.-S. *spar-ran*, to spar, shut, stop.—F.

³ croise. qu.—P.

⁴ MS. has either *Child* or *Chidd*, with the short stroke of the *d* dotted for *i*.—F.

⁵ res. rees, rese, rage, ap^d Chauc. Urry.—P.

- & the whore soone thé name
 788 & drouen her away anon, drive away
 & the harlotts euerye one. the bad
 when they were driuen away, sister,
 the maid *that* in the chamber Lay
 792 all made, as shee were woode, and the
 weeped & fared as shee were with ill moodo. youngest one
 & when it was come to night,
 vpon the bed shee fell downe right,
 796 all both shodd & cladde ; goes to sleep
 shee fell on sleepe, & all was madd, in her shoes
 & forgott her howse vnblessed, and clothes,
 as the hermitt had her vised.¹ forgetting to
 800 then was the ffeende glad & blythe, The fiend,
 & thought to doe her shame swithe ; glad,
 ouer all well hee might,
 for there was noe crosse made *that* night.
 804 & to the Mayd anon he went, goes to her,
 & thought all christendome to haue shont.²
 a traine³ of a childe he put in her thoe,
 & passed away where hee cam⁴ froe. and begets a
 808 & when *that* woman was awaked, She wakes,
 & found her body lying naked,
 & shee grope with her hands,⁵
 & some seed there shee found,
 812 wherby shee wende⁶ witterlye finds that
that some man had Lyen her by. some one has
 Then shee rose vp in hast, [page 157.] lain by her,
 & found her dore sparred fast. and as her
 816 when shee found *that* it was soe, door is
 in her hart shee was full woe, locked,
 & thought it was some wicked thinge it must have
 been a

¹ A.-S. *wisian*, to instruct, direct.—F.

² The child begotten by the fiend on the virgin was intended by the devils to undo the work of Christ, supposed to have been begotten by the Holy Ghost on a virgin. See l. 1077, and 1082-3.—F.

³ ? MS. seemingly traine *altired to braine*: ? orig. *straine*, A.-S. *streónan*, *stryman*, to beget, procreate, breed.—F.

⁴ MS. *cann*—F.

⁵ *honde*.—P.

⁶ *ween'd*.—P.

wicked thing.		<i>that wold her to shame bringe.¹</i>
She goes to Blasye in the morning,	820	<i>all the night shee made great sorrowe, & to the Hermitt shee went att morrowe, & told him all the case.</i>
and he says		<i>the hermitt sayd, "alas! alas!</i>
	824	<i>that shee had broken her pennance; "</i>
it's the fiend's doing.		<i>& said it was the ffeends combrance.</i>
"If so,		<i>"A! good father!" said shee thoe,</i>
and men know I'm with child,	828	<i>"what if itt be fallen soe that a child be on me gotten, & any man may it witten, then shall I be deluen anon all quicke, both bodye & bone.²"</i>
I shall be buried alive."		
Blasye promises her	832	<i>"certaine," said the good man, "my deere daughter, after then I shall you helpe with all my might till of itt I haue sight.</i>
his help :		
	836	<i>goe home, daughter, now, mine, & haue gods blessing & mine, for he may—& his will bee— out of thy sorrow bringe thee."</i>
God may rescue her.		
	840	<i>home shee went with dreerye moode, & serued god with hart good ; & euerye day after then her wombe will greater began ³</i>
Her preg- nancy is seen,	844	<i>soe <i>that</i> shee might it not hyde, but itt was perceined in <i>that</i> tyde. then was shee taken forsoothe I-wisse, & brought afore the hye Iustice.</i>
she is taken before a judge, and	848	<i>the Iustice opposed ⁴ her thoe why shee had done soe ; & for shee wrought against ⁵ the law,</i>

¹ MS. bright: bringe.—P.² borne in MS.—F.³ still . . . became, or to greaten began.
—P. A.-S. *begdn*, to go over.—F.⁴ examined.—P. Aposen or oposen,
Oppono (3 MSS. cited in Promptorium)*Oppono*, to bring forward, adduce, allege,
&c. by way of accusation, &c. *White's*
Dict.—F.⁵ The first *a* is made over a *b* in the
MS.—F.

- he Iudged her for to be slowe.¹
 852 & shee answered & said, "nay,
 I wrought neuer against the law,²"
 & sware by him *that* dyed on tree,
 "was neuer man *that* neighed mee
 856 with fleshly lust or Lecherye,
 nor kissed my body with villanye.³"
 the Iustice answered anon,
 "Dame, thou Lyest by S^t Iohn!
 860 thy words beene false & wylde,
 when men may see thou art with childe!
 in this world was neuer childe borne
 but mans seede there was beforne,
 864 saue Iesu christ thorow his might
 was borne of a mayden bright.
 how may thou for shame then
 say thou had neuer part of any man,
 868 when I myselfe they⁴ soothe may see
that a child is gotten of thee?"
 "certaine, Sir," shee said then,
 "I goe with child without any man.
 872 by him," shee said, "*that* made this day,
 there was neuer [man] *that* by me Lay;
 but as I sleept one night,
 by mee lay a Selcoth⁵ wight;
 876 but I wist neuer what it was,
 therefore I doe me in thy grace."
 the Iustice said with-uten fayle,
 "I neuer hard of such a marueil!
 880 to-day nay⁶ shall the woman be delfe
 till I haue asked wifes 12
 if any child may be made
- condemned
to death.
She protests

 that never
man lay by
her.

 The judge
says
she lies.

 "No child
but Christ
was ever
borne
without
man's seed."

 She protests
again that
she is not
with child

 by any man

 but by a
Strange
Being.

 The judge
defers her
doom

 till he has
consulted
twelve wives

¹ slo, slaw, slain.—P.

² lay.—P.

³ The *n* has only one stroke in the MS.—F.

⁴ the.—P.

⁵ selcoth, strange, uncommon (Gl. ad G. Doug).—P. A.-S. *seld-cuð*, seldom known, rare, wonderful. (Boosworth).—F.

⁶ ne shall.—P.

whether a child can be made with- out a man.	884	without getting of Manhood ; & if thé say itt may soe bee, all quitt shalt thou goe, & free ; And if thé say <i>that</i> it may nay ;	[page 158.]
The twelve wives answer "None but Christ."	888	all quicke, men shall delfe thee to-day." on 12 wiues shee did her anon, & they answered euery one, <i>that</i> "neuer child was borne of maiden but Iesu Christ," they all saydden.	
Blasye	892	Blasye the Hermitt vpstart then, to answer the iustice he began, "Sir Iustice," he sayd thoe, "hear me in a word or tow :	
says that		<i>that</i> ¹ this woman hath told eche deale, certez I beleeeue itt weelee ; & yee beleeeven her right nought. by god & all ² this world wrought,	
he believes the young sister ;	896	I haue her shriuen & taught the law, to mee wold shee neuer a-know ³ <i>that</i> any man for any meede neighed her body with fleshlye deede ;	
he has confessed her, and she never ac- knowledged that a man had lain with her.	900	therfore it is against the law <i>that</i> shee doluen shold be this day. giff shee haue serued for to spilt, ⁴ the chylde in her wombe hath not gilt ⁵ ;	
Moreover, even if she deserve death, her child does not ; therefore confiner her	908	therfore, Sir, doe by my reade, & put her not this time to dead, ⁶ but doe her in warde before till the childe be bore ;	
till her child	912	& then," he sayd, "god itt wott, 2 yeere keepe it shee motte, & peradventure," he sayd, "then the child may proue a good man."	
is two years old.			

¹ that which, what.—F.² that all.—P.³ acknow, confess, to acknowledge.
Urry.—P.⁴ deserved to be spilt.—P.⁵ guilt.—P⁶ to the dead, vid. P. 4. P.

- 916 then said the Iustice,
 "Hermitt, thy words are full wise ;
 therefore by thy doome I will ;
 noe man to-day shall her spill."
- 920 they ¹ Iustice commanded anon
 to lead her to a tower of stone,
 & *that* noe wight shold with her goe
 but a midswiffe, & noe moe.
- 924 the tower was strong & hye,
that noe man might come her nye ;
 a window there was made thoe,
 & a cord tyed therto
- 928 to draw therein all thinke,²
 fire & water, Meate & drinke.
 & when the time was comen,
 Shee bare a selcoth sonne.
- The judge
agrees,

and has her
put in a
stone tower.

In due time
she bears a
strange sou,

[The Fourth Part.]

[Of Merlin, from his birth till he is seven years old.]

- 932 { Right faire shape he had then,
 all the forme *that* fell for a man ;
 blacke he was without lase,³
 & rough as a swine he was.
- 4¹ Parte. { then they midwiffe anon-right
 was afeard of that sight ;
 & for he was soe rough of hyde,
 full well shee wist *that* tyde
- 940 That he was neuer gotten by any ⁴ man,
 & full faine shee wold then
 in hell that he had beene her froe,
that neuer man had seene him moe.
- 944 the Hermitt *that* hight Blassye
 wist full well sikerlye
- black,
and as rough
as a sow.

The midwife

wishes him
in Hell.

Blassye

¹ the.—P.² thinge.—P.³ lese, loss, lying. Urry.—P.⁴ ? MS. my.—F.

comes, inquires how they've got on,	948	the time the Child shold be borne, & to the tower he came att Morne, & called vpward to them yare, ¹ & asked them how they did fare. they ² midwiffe said without lesse ³ a knaue child there borne was.
and asks for the child, to christen him.	952	"take him me," he sayd then, " & I shall make him a christen man ; whether he dye, or liue abyde, the fairer grace he may betyde."
The baby is let down to him by a cord,	956	full glad was the midwiffe, ⁴ & caught the chyld be-liue, ⁵ & by a cord shee lett him downe, & Blassy gaue him his benison, ⁶
baptized, and christened Merlin,	960	& bare him home with merry moode, & batptized ⁷ him in the holy floode, And called him to his christendome, ⁸ & named him Merlyn in gods name.
by which the Hell- Fiends	964	thorow <i>that</i> name, I you tell, all the ffeends <i>that</i> were in hell were agreeved, & that full sore ;
lose their power.	968	therefore was their power bore. ⁹ & when he had christened him soe,
Blasye takes Merlin to the midwiffe,	972	home againe he bare him thoe, & in the cord he can ¹⁰ him laine ; the Midwiffe drew him vp againe, & he bade her without blame call him Merlyne by his name. the midwiffe bare him anon-right
who warms him at the fire,	976	to the ffyer <i>that</i> was bright, & as shee warmed him by the fyre

[page 159.]

¹ yare, acutus, Lye : ready, Urry.—P.² the.—P.³ lese.—P. lies.—F.⁴ The *w* is made over an *f* in the MS.
—F.⁵ instantly, forthwith.—P.⁶ benediction.—P.⁷ The first *t* is very near the *p* ; per-
haps it has been altered to part of it.
—F.⁸ at (his baptism).—P.⁹ lore, q.—P.¹⁰ gan—laine (lay).—P.

- shee beheld this ¹ lodlye cheere ² :
 " alas," said shee, " art thou Merlyn ?
 whence art thou, of what kinne ?
 980 who whas thy father by night or day ?
that noe man I-witt ³ itt may.
 it is great ruth, by heauens King,
that for thy loue, thou foule thinge,
 984 thy mother shalbe slaine with woe !
 alas the time it shalbe soe !
 I wold thow were farr in the sea,
that thy mother might scape free ! "
- 988 when Merlyn hard her speake soe,
 he bradde open his eyen towe,
 & lodlye ⁴ on her can hee looke,
 & his head on her hee shooke,
 992 & gan to cry with lowd dinne :
 " thou lyst," he sayd, " thou foule queane !
 my mother," he sayd, " shall noe man quell
 for nothing *that* men can tell ;
 996 whilst I may speak or gone,
 manger them *that* wold her slonc,⁵
 I shall saue her liffe for this ;
that you shall see & heare I-wis."
- 1000 when the Midwiffe, shee heard *that*,
 shee fell downe almost flatt ;
 shee gan to quake as shee were wood,
 & had rather then any good
 1004 *that* shee had beene farr away ;
 soe had his mother where she Lay ;
 soe sore they were of him agast,
 thé blessed them, & that full fast,
 1008 & cryed on him in gods name
that he shold doe them noe shame ;
 & fast on him they can crye

asks
who his
father was,

and laments
that his
mother
should be
killed for
him.

Merlin looks
savage,

tells the old
woman she
lies, and says

he will save
his mother.

The midwife

quakes like
mad,

and Merlin's
mother is
frightened.

They ask
him

¹ his.—P.

² chere, countenance, visage. mien.
G. ad G. D.—P.

³ A.-S. *gewitan*, understand.—F.

⁴ hideous.—P.

⁵ slonc, slay.—P.

in God's name what he is.	1012	in gods name & St. Marye he shold them tell what hee were, & what misaduenture brought him there.
Merlin		he did lye & held him still, & lett them crye all their fill ;
will not answer a word.	1016	& if they shold haue slaine him tho, he wold not speake a word moe. & thé ¹ 3 lined there with much sorrow & with care ;
After half a year,	1020	& for after halfe a yeere, as shee held him by the fyer, rfullye shee gan to greete, & said to him, " my sonne sweete,
his mother laments her coming burial alive.	1024	for thy loue, with-outen ² weene, all quicke dolue shall I beene."
Merlin says		he answered & said, " Nay, Dame, thou gables ³ by this day ;
no one shall hurt her :	1028	there is neithe[r] man nor Iustice <i>that</i> shall yee deeme ⁴ in noe wise then whilest I may either goe or speak, in earth thy body for to wreak."
he makes her glad,	1032	Then was his mother a blythe woman [page 160.] & euerye day after then he made her gladd & bold, & Maruelous tales to her he told.
and tells her tales.	1036	when he cold speake & gone, the Iustice was ready anon, & bade bring forth anon then befor him <i>that</i> ilke woman
The judge orders her to be brought up for judgment,	1040	for to receiue her iudgment. & when shee came in present, the Iustice forgatt itt nought, but Egerlye he said his thought,
and swears	1044	& sware anon by heaueus Queene

¹ these three.—P.² without . . . so in Chauc.—P.³ ? for gabbes, *talkest nonsense* ; or
fables. —F.⁴ *dome. inter alia judicare.*—P.

- all quicke shee shold doluen beene.
 then the childe answered with words Bold—
 & he was but 2 yeeres old—
- 1048 he sayd to the Iustice with Egar Moode,
 “Sir Iustice! thou can but litle goode
 to doe my mother to the dead,
 & wotts not by what reade,
- 1052 saue a chance *that* to her ffell;
 therefore thou dost not to her well;
 for euerye man will wott well then
that against chance may be noe man,
- 1056 & thorow chance I was begott;
 therefore euerye man may well wott
that my mother ought nought
 for my lone to death be brought.”
- 1060 great wonder had both old & younge
 of the childs answering.
 then the Iustice was ffull wrath,
 & on Loud sware an oathe
- 1064 ‘all quicke shee shold doluen bee.’
 “Nay!” said Merlyn, “soe Mote I thee,
 thou shalt her neuer bring therto
 for ought that euer thou canst doe!
- 1068 it shall not goe as thou wilt,
 for shee hath done no guiltt,
 & I shall proue itt through skill,
 Manger of them *that* wold her spill.
- 1072 my father *that* begatt mee
 is a feende of great potencie,
 & is in the ayre aboue the light,
 & tempts men both day & night;
- 1076 & therefore to my mother he went,
 & wend all christendome to haue shent,
 & gott mee on her with-out Leasinge,
 & shee therof wist no thing.
- 1080 & for shee wist not when it was,

she shall be
 buried alive.
 Merlin (only
 2 years old)

answers

that
 accidents

cannot be
 guaried
 against,
 and by one
 he was
 begotten,
 so that his
 mother
 ought not to
 die for that.

The judge
 swears she
 shall be
 buried alive.

“No, she
 shall not,”
 says Merlin;

“my father
 is a Fiend
 of the Air,

and got me
 on my
 mother, to
 destroy
 Chris-ten-
 dom,
 she knowing
 nothing of it

and being therefore guiltles.		I prone <i>that</i> shee is guiltlesse ; for all the feends wenden by mee to haue shent all christentye, & had ¹ of me a wicked ffoode ² ; but god hath turned me to goode ; for now I am of god sende for to helpe all Englande ; & forsoothe," hee said then, "pardie, tell you I can all <i>that</i> euer was & now is. I can you tell well I-wis thou dost not wott, Iustice then, who was thy father <i>that</i> thee wanne ; & therefore I prone <i>that</i> mother thine rather to be doluen then mine." hearken now all the striffe how Merlyne saned his mothers liffe ! then was the Iustice in hart woe, & to Merlyne he said thoe, "thou Lyst ! " he sayd, "thou glutton ! my father was a good Barron, & my mother a ladye free ; yett on lue thou may her see." "Sir," said Merlyne then anon, "say[n]d ³ after her full soone, And I shall make her to be knowen, or else hange me on to drawen." the Iustice after his mother sent ; & when shee was comen present, the Iustice before them all to Merlyn can he call ; he said to him, "Belanye, ⁴
1084		
And God has turned me good, to help England,	1088	
and I can tell you all things.		
You, Judge, do not know who your own father was."	1092	
	1096	
"I do; my father was a baron ; my mother is still alive."	1100	
"Send for her then, and we'll see."	1104	
The judge does send. His mother comes,	1108	
	1112	

[page 161.]

¹ thro'.—P.² fewd. qu.—P. "*Fode* is found in early writers, especially in the old metrical romances, in the sense of *man, woman, girl, or boy*." Halliwell's Gloss. "I haveread somewhere *the findis fode*, i. e. an imp of the devil."—Th. Wright.³ Send.—P.⁴ forté, Belamy, good friend, apud Chauc.—P.

- be now soe bold & hardye
to proue thy tale, if thou can,
that thou saidest of this woman."
- 1116 Merlyn said to the Iustice,
"Sir, thy words be not wise;
if I tell theese folke beforne
how thow was gotten & borne,
1120 then shold it spring wyde & broad,
& thou shold lose thy manhood;
then shall thy mother doluen bee,
& all were for the loue of thee."
- 1124 the Iustice then vnderstoode
*that Merlyn cold mikle*¹ good.
then to a chamber can they goe,
he & Merlyne, & noe moe.
- 1128 "Merlyn," he said, "I pray thee,
what was *that* man *that* begatte me?"
"Sir," he said, "by St. Simon,
it was the parson of the towne!
1132 hee thee gott, by St. Iane,²
vpon this woman *that* is thy dame."
the Lady said, "thow fowle thinge!
thou hast made a starke Leasinge!
1136 his ffather was a noble Baron,
& a man holden of great renowne;
& thou art a misebegott wretch;
I pray thee god devill thee³ feitch!
1140 in wyld fyer thou shalt be brent,
for with wronge thou hast my⁴ shent."
"Dame," sayd Merlyn, "hold thee still,
for itt were both right [&] skill,
1144 for I wott with-uten weene
thou deserue doluen to beene,
ffor sithe thou was to this world brought,
- and he dares
Merlin to
prove his
charge.
- Merlin
advises him
not to have
it done in
public,
- or his
mother will
be put to
death.
The judge
- takes Merlin
to a private
room,
- and asks
who begat
him, the
judge.
- "The
parson,"
says Merlin.
- "That's a
lie," says the
judge's
mother:
- "may the
Devill take
you."
- "Be quiet;
- I know all
your doings:

¹ knew much.—F.² for Jame.—F.³ I pray God the devill thee. [Pencil
note].—P.⁴ me.—P.

		all the worke <i>that</i> thou hast wrought,
	1148	I can tell itt euerye word better then thou, by our Lord, how thy sonne was begotten. ¹
I can tell you how your son was got ;	1152	dame, if thou haue forgotten, I can tell you all the case, how, & where, & when itt was, & thou shalt be ashamed sore ; thee were better speake noe more."
you had better say no more.	1156	the Lady was sore dismayd, & Merlyn forth his tale sayd : " Dame," he said verament, " <i>that</i> time thy Lord to Carlisle went,— itt was by night & not by day,— the parson in thy bed Lay ; att thy chamber dore thy Lord can knocke, & thou didest on thy smocke & was sore afayd <i>that</i> tyde, & vndidst a windowe wyde, & there the parson thou out Lett, & he ran away full tyte. ²
When your lord went to Carlisle,	1160	dame," he said, " <i>that</i> ilke night was begotten thy sonne the Knight. Dame," he said, " lye I ought ? " shee stood still & sayd nought.
the parson lay with you ; your lord came home ;	1164	then was the Iustice wrath & woe, & to his mother he sayd thoe, " Dame," hee ³ sayd, " how goeth this ? " " sonne," shee said, " all sooth ⁴ I-wis ! for if thou hang me with a corde, hee belyeth me neuer a word."
you let the parson out of the window ;	1168	The Iustice for shame waxes redd, & on his mother shooke his head, & bade her in hast wend home
but your son was begotten.	1172	
Do I lie ? "	1176	
" No, it's all true."		
The judge tells his mother		
to go home shamed.	1180	

[page 162.]

¹ begotten.—P. MS. forgotten, ? *for* forthgotten.—F.² quickly.—F.³ hee.—P. MS. shee.—F.⁴ true.—P.

- with much shame as shee come.
 "belyue," sayd Merlyn, "send after a spye,
 for to the parson shee will her hye,
 1184 & all the sooth shee will him saine
 how *that* I haue them betraine;
 & when the parson hath hard this,
 anon for shame & sorrowe I-wis
 1188 to a bridge he will flee,
 & after noe man shall him see,
 into the watter start he will,
 liffe & soule for to spill:
 1192 & but itt [be] sooth¹ *that* I say,
 boldlye hang me to day."
 the Iustice withouten fayle
 did after Merlyns counsayle;
 1196 he sent after a spye bold,
 & found itt as Merline told;
 & the Iustice, for Merlins sake,
 him & his mother he lett take,
 1200 & lett them goe quitt & free
 before the folke of *that* countrye.
 & when Merlin was 7² yeere old,
 he was both stout & bold;
 1204 his mother he did a Nun make,
 & blacke habitt he let her take,
 & from *that* time verament
 shee serued god with good entent.

"Send a spy
after her,"
says Merlin,
"or she'll
tell all to
the parson,

and he, for
shame,

will drown
himself."

The judge
sends the
spy;

finds
Merlin's
words true;

and lets him
and his
mother go
free.

When
Merlin is
seven, he
makes his
mother turn
nun,

and she
serves God
truly.

¹ it's sooth.—P.

² It should be *five*, vide *infra*, p. 164,

Pt. 5, ver. 185 [of MS.; p. 465, l. 1392 here].—P.

[The Fifth Part.]

[Vortiger's messengers find Merlin, and he goes to the Court.]

- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| Let us now
tell of the
messengers. | 1208 | {
Now let vs of his mother fayle,
& turne vs to another tale,
& speake wee of the messenger ¹
<i>that</i> wenten from Sir Vortiger ²
for to seeke Merlin the bold,
to haue his blood, as I you told.
soe 3 of them came by chance
into the place where merlyn was |
| Three come
where
Merlin is | | |
| playing with
his mates, | 1216 | |
| one of whom
tells him | 1220 | |
| that no one
knows who
his father is.
The
messengers
hear this,
think they
have found
their boy, | 1224 | & as thé played in <i>that</i> stead ³
one of his fellows him misdeed,
& gan to crye on Merlyn thoe,
"thou cursed srow, ⁴ thou goe vs froe! ⁵
thou art a fowle thing gotten amisse!
noe man wotts what thy father is!"
the Messengers came fast bye,
& hearden well the child crye:
soone anon they were bethought
<i>that</i> it was the childe they after sought, |
| and draw
their swords.
Merlin | 1228 | & eche one his sword out droughe.
& Merlin shooke his head, & langhe,
"heere comen the <i>Kings</i> Messengers
<i>that</i> haue me sought both farr & neere |
| knows they
want to kill
him, | 1232 | for to haue my harts blood!
now thé thinke itt in their Moode
for to slay me this day;
but by my truth, if <i>that</i> I may,
or <i>that</i> they part away from mee,
well good freinds shall wee bee." |
| but means
to make | 1236 | |
| friends of
them; | | |

¹ messengers.—P.² Vortiger's.—P.³ place.—P.⁴ cursed shrow.—P.⁵ qu. MS. free.—F.

- Merlyn anon to them ran :
 hee greetes them fayre, as he well can,
 1240 & welcomed the Messenger,
 & sayes, "yee come from Sir Vortiger ;
 me to slay is all your thought,
 therof shall yee speed nought ;
 1244 & for to beare your *King* my blood,
that neuer shall doe him good ;
 for they *that* told him *that* tydinge,
 lyed of me a strong leasing,
 1248 & said my blood without wronge
 shold make his castle stiffe & strong." [page 163.]
 the Messengers had wonder then,
 & sayd to Merlyn anon,
 1252 "how can thou tell vs this priu[i]tye ?
 tell vs the sooth, I pray thee,
*that wee may haue tokeinge*¹
 to auow our tale before our *King*."
 1256 Merlin Led them a good pace
 till hee came where his mother was ;
 shee told them all the sooth beforne
 how Merlyne was gatten & borne,
 1260 & of his wisdom & of his reede,
 & how hee saued her from deade.
 the Messengers, as I you tell,
 all night there did dwell ;
 1264 att Morrow, soone when it was day,
 thé tooke leaue to wend awaye ;
 alsoe Merlyn *that* ilke tyde
 rode on a palfray them beside,
 1268 & wentt forth all in fere
 towards *King* Vortiger.
 as they thorow the countrye came,
 in a towne their inne they tane,
 1272 soe *that* Merlyne, as I you tell,

welcomes
them ;
says he
knows
they want

to take his
blood to
their king ;
but that's all
nonsense.

The
messengers
ask him

to tell them
how he was
born.

He takes
them to his
mother,
and she tells
them.

Next day
they start,

with Merlin,

for
Vortiger's
court.

They stop
at a town,
where

¹ Either means *token*, or is miswritten for *tokeninge*.— F.

- Merlin
laughs at
seeing shoes
on sale.
The messen-
gers ask
why he
laughs. 1276
- came there as shoone were to sell.
a great laughter vp he tooke ;
the Messengers fast on him can lookee,
& full soone asked him thoe
wherfore *that* he laughed soe.
then sayd Merlyne, "see yee nought
the young man *that* the shoone hath bought ?
he wendes to line them to weare ;
but by my hood I dare well sweare
his wretched liffe hee shall forgoe
or *that* he is one gate come to."
- " Because
the buyer
of the shoes
thinks he
shall live to
wear them,
but he will
die forth-
with." 1280
- 1284
- The man is
then found
dead. 1288
- Next day
- they ride on, 1292
- and meet a
corpe. 1296
- Merlin
bursts out
laughing, 1300
- and says
that
"one old
man there
weeping,
ought to
laugh ; 1304
- the Messengers att *that* tyde,
after *that* man can they ryde,
& found him dead as any stone
or *that* he had a furlong gone.
in *that* towne the dwelled all night :
on morrow, when it was daylight,
the dight their horsases, & made them yare
on there journey for to fare ;
& as they went on their Iourney
thorow a towne in *that* countrie
he came by a church yard ;
he mett a course¹ thither-ward,
with preists & Clarkes singing befor[n]e² ;
the corpes were on a beere borne ;
many a man therwith can gone.
Merlyn beheld them euerye one ;
a great laughter he vptooke.
the Messengers on him can looke,
& asked him with hart free
why he laughed soe hartilye ;
he said, " amongst these folkes then
I see an old sillye Man
that doth sore & fast weepe ;
he ought better to skipp & leape :

¹ corse [in pencil]. — P.² beforne, l. 1343. F.

- 1308 & others here goe & singe
that ought better their hands to wringe;
I shall you tell certainlye,
that you may know the cause whye:
- 1312 that corse that dead is & cold,
was a childe of 10 yeeres old;
that ilke preist," he sayd thoe,
"that goeth before & singeth soe,
- 1316 he was the father that the child begott;
& if he were bethought of that,
he wold his hands wring sore,
& for that child sorrow more;
- 1320 Now he singeth with Ioy & blisse
as the chyld had neuer beene his;
& to see the seely husband
for sorrow & care wring his hands,¹
- 1324 therfore he is a Mickle floole
that for his foomen maketh dole."
the Messengers eueriche one
to the chylds mother went anon,
- 1328 & Merlyn in a litle throw²
made the Mother to be know,³
wherfore shee cold not say nay,
but euer prayd them naught to say.
- 1332 then were the Messengers blythe,
& on their Iourney ridden swithe.
as they ridden on their way,
it was vpon the 3^d daye,
- 1336 when it was about the prime,
then laughe Merlyne the 3^d time⁴;
then asked they all in fere
why he Made such laughing cheere.
- 1340 then said Merlyne I-wisse

and others
singing,
to weep;

for the
corse is
that of a
child of 10;
the priest
singing is

its father,

[page 161.] and sings as
if he were
not;
while the
mother's
husband is
wringing his
hands:

for which he
is a Big
Fool."

The messen-
gers ask the
child's
mother if
this is true.

She says
"Yes, but
don't tell
any one."

On the third
day

Merlin
laughs
again

¹ hand.—P.

² throw, a cast, a stroke. Chaucer
uses it as the French do *coup*, for a short

space. Urry.—P. A.-S. *brag*, *trah*, a
season, time, space.—Th. Wright.

³ ? beknow, know thoroughly.—F.

⁴ tine in the MS.—F.

		"there-of I laugh, noe wonder is ; for sithe the time <i>that</i> yee were borne, such wonder heard yee neuer beforne ; I shall you tell with-ouen othe <i>that</i> yee shall find trew & soothe. this ilke day, by my truth, in the Kings house is mickle ruth of the Kings Chamberlaine ; for the Queene, sooth to sayne, hath Lyed on him a leasing stronge ; therfore shee ¹ shall be dead with wronge :
and tells his reason :	1344	
	1348	
Vortiger's Queen has made a lying charge against his chamber- lain (who is a woman in man's clothes).	1352	for his chamberlaine is a woman, & goeth in the clothing as a man ; & for shee is fayre & bright of hew, the false queene <i>that</i> is vntrew, besought her to her Lemman dearno ² ; & shee answered, & can her warne, & sayd, ' shee must <i>that</i> game forsake ; for noe comfort shee wold her make ; therfore the Queene was a foole, for had shee witt of her toole, & how short itt was wrought, shee wold of loue asked her nought.'
The Queen desired her in lust ;	1356	
she refused,	1360	
pleading inability.		
Whereupon the Queen	1364	the Queene forthwith was affrayd, & wend well to have beene bewrayd, & thought <i>that</i> shee shold be shent ; & before the King anon shee went, & sayd <i>that</i> his chamberlaine with strenght wold haue her forlaine. ³ the king therof was wonderous wrath, & swore many a great othe <i>that</i> shee shold both hang & draw : & <i>that</i> were against the law ; therfore wend you whome ⁴ belyue
accused her to the King of trying to violate her.	1368	
The King swore the chamberlain should be hung.	1372	
"Do you then make		

¹ viz. the chamberlaine.—P.² A.-S. *dearn*, secret, hidden.—F.³ *forlyne*, fornicari, adulterari. Chauc.
forliggan, Sax. eod. sensu. Lye.—P.⁴ home.—P.

- as fast as yee may driue,
 1376 & say to Vortiger the king,
 the Queene hath made a strong Leasing
 vpon his chamberlaine for hate;
 therfor bydd *that* shee¹ be take;
 1380 & search the chamberlaine then,
 & he shall find shee is a woman!"
 A knight there was both stout & stearne,
 & pricked forth the truth to Learne,
 1384 & he made noe tarrying
 till he came before the King.
 when hee came into the hall,
 downe on his knees can hee fall,
 1388 & said, thorow many a country he² went
 "on thy Message as thou vs sent,
 to seeke a child of selcoth Land³;
 & such a one haue wee founde
 1392 *that* is but 5 wynters old:
 you heard neuer none soe bolde;
 he is clypped child Merline,
 he can tell all Mannour of thing;
 1396 of all *that* was & now is ;
 He can tell you well I-wis;
 he can tell you full well
 what⁴ thing troubles *your* castell,
 1400 why itt may not stand on plaine,
 & alsoe of *your* chamberlaine
that yee haue mentt⁵ to draw & hang⁶:
 he saith ' forsoothe itt is for wrong
 1404 for to slay a woman
that goeth in clothing as a man;
 & therfore doe as I you fayne,⁷
 & doe take the chamberlayne,
- haste, and
 tell Vortiger
 that his
 Queen has
 lied,
- and that
 his cham-
 berlain is a
 woman."
 A knight
 rides on
- to Vortiger,
- and tells
 him
- "We have
 found
 a strange
 child
- called
 Merlin,
- [page 165.] who can
 tell you
 everything,
- why your
 castle won't
 stand,
 and all
 about your
 chamber-
 lain,
- who is, in
 fact, a
 woman
 in man's
 clothes.

¹ Hee, the king, or shee, i.e. the cham-
 berlaine be taken and confined.—P.

² we.—P.

³ Londe.—P.

⁴ wthat in MS.—F.

⁵ ment, meant.—P.

⁶ hong.—P.

⁷ for sayne.—F.

Have her looked at, and you'll find her ene."	1408	& of her bonds yee her vnbinde; a woman fayre yee shall her finde; & but itt be soe, with right Lawe doe mee to hang & drawe.'"
Vortiger	1412	Vortiger a-wondred was, & all <i>that</i> hearden of <i>that</i> case.
has the chamberlain searched, and she	1416	he commanded his men all his chamberlayne to bring in all ¹ ; anon thé serched her <i>that</i> stonde, ² & a woman shee was founde.
proves to be a woman. Vortiger asks who told him of this.	1420	wrath then was Sir Vortiger, & asked of <i>that</i> Messenger " Who told him he was a woman ? "
" Merlin,		" forsooth Sir," hee sayd then, " Merlyn it was <i>that</i> this can say as wee rydden by the waye;
who can tell all things."	1424	for he can tell—& lye nought— all things <i>that</i> euer were wrought; & all <i>that</i> euer you can him saine, he will tell you sooth Certaine."
Vortiger,	1428	Vortiger was glad & blythe, & said to the Messenger swithe, " I shall yee gine both Land & ploughe, & make yee a man right good enoughe;
	1432	therfore I command anon-right, Duke, Erle, Barron & Knight, to dight their horssees, & make them yare forth with Vortiger to fare."
with all his nobles,	1436	then wold he noe longer abyde, but leapt to horsse, & forth gan ryde to speake with Merlyn the younge, for glad he was of his comminge.
rides forth to meet Merlin.	1440	but when it was come to night, with Merlyne he Mett right; as soone as he can him meete,
At night they meet,		

¹ Hall, qu.—P.² time.—P.

- with fayre words hee can him greete.
 1444 of many things he spoke then—
 some of them tell I can—
 with much Ioy, & verament
 to the Kings court the went,
 1448 & were att ease all *that* night.
 & on the Morrow when it was light,
 to *that* steede¹ they went by-deene²
 where the castle shold haue beene
- talk
together,

and return
to the court.

Next
morning
they go to
the site of
the castle.

[The Sixth Part.]

[Of the castle building; the dragon's fight and its meaning.]

- 1452 { "Sonne," he sayd to Merlin then,
 "tell me, chyld, if thou can,
 why my castle in this stonde
 6th Parte { is euerye night fallen to ground,
 & why it may stand nought,
 of soe strong things as itt is rought."
 then said Merlyn to the King,
 "yee shall heare a wonderous thing:
 1460 Heere in this ground Deepe
 is a water strong and steepe;
 vnder the watter are stones towe,
 much & strong, & broad alsoe;
 1464 beneathe the stones vnder the Mold
 tow dragons Lyen there fould³;
 the one is white as⁴ Milke reeme,⁵
 the other red as any gleame;
 1468 grislye they are of sight both,
- Vortiger
asks Merlin

why his
castle falls
down every
night.

Merlin says

"deep down
here is a
spring;
under it
broad
stones;

under them
two
dragons,

one milk-
white,
one flame-
red.

¹ place.—P.² by deene, bedene, instantly, forthwith.

—P.

³ do fold.—P.⁴ The '&' is struck out in the MS.
before *as*.—F.⁵ milk creame, *fortis* milk or creame.—P. "*Reame* is used for *cream* in theNorthern dialect. This same line occurs
in *Arthur & Merlin*, p. 55:That on is white so *milkes rem*,

but the next differs rather:

That other is red so *feris lem*."

T. Wright.

Every night they fight,		& fare together as the wrothe ; & euerye day when itt is night they begin a strong fight,	
and their blast upsets your castle ;	1472	that through the strenght of their blast The worke thé can downe cast ;	[page 166.]
were they away, your castle would stand."	1476	& if the dragons were away, then might they ¹ workemen worke euerye day, & make thy worke both strong and still, & to stand att thy owne will. doe now looke, & thou shalt see that it is soothe that I tell thee."	
Vortiger tells his men	1480	Vortiger Commanded anon all his workemen euerye one— 15000 & yett moe—	
to see whether it's true. They dig down, find a spring,	1484	he bade them looke whether it were soe. anon they doluen in the ground, and a watter there they found : amonge them all, the soothe to tell, thé Made a full deepe well,	
drain the water out,	1488	& the watter thé brought out thoe ; & when thé hadden done ² soe, beneath the watter in the ground 2 great stones there they found.	
and find two great stones ;	1492	many men there they were the 2 stones vp to reare ; & when they were vp hent, 2 dragons there were bent ;	
these they lift up,		foule they were for to behold ; & found itt right as Merlyn tolde, the one dragon as red as fyer, with bright eyen as Bason cleare ;	
and see two dragons,	1496	his tayle was great & nothing small, his bodye was vnryde ³ with-all ;	
one fire-red,	1500		

¹ delend.—P.² The *d* is made over an *s* in the MS.
—F.³ forte *unryde*, horrible, hideous. see
p. 387, v. 171 [of MS.] Vid. Gloss. to
Gaw. Douglas.—P.

- his shape May noe man tell,
 he looked like a feende of hell.
 1504 the white dragon lay him by,
 sterne of Looke & grislye;
 his mouth & throate yawned wide,¹
 the fyer brast out on euery side;
 1508 his taylor was ragged like a feend,
 & vpon his tayles end
 there was shaped a grislye head
 to fight with *that* dragon redd;
 1512 for Merlyn said, forsooth I plight,
 soe grislye they were both in sight,
that when thé shold vprise,
 many a man they shall agrise.²
 1516 anon thé ryssden ³ out of their den;
 then was feard many a man;
 of all the folke there was *that* tyde,
 durst not one of them abyde.
 1520 the redd dragon & the white,
 hard together can thé smite
 both with mouth & with taylor;
 betweene them was a hard battele⁴
 1524 *that* they ⁵ earth quaked thoe;
 & lodlye whether waxed alsoe;
 soe strong fyer they cast anon
that they ⁵ plaines therof shone;
 1528 soe they fought, forsoothe to say,
 all the long summers day
 they neuer stinted their fighting
 till men to Euensong did ringe.
 1532 soe in *that* time, as I you tell,
 the red dragon *that* as soe fell,
- shaped like a
 fiend;
 the other,
 white,
 spitting fire,
 and with a
 head at his
 tail's end.
 All the
 workmen
 run away
 from fright.
 The dragons
 fight
 fiercely
 the whole
 day
 till evening,
 when the red
 dragon

¹ In the MS. one stroke of the *w* is dotted for *i*.—F.

² agrise, affright, attack, sett upon.
 A.-S. *agrisan*, horrere, Gl. ad G.D.—P.

³ ? MS. *d* is seemingly made over the two *ss* in the MS.—F.

⁴ battayle.—P.

⁵ the.—P.

drives the white one into the plain.	1536	draue the white from a downe ¹ into the plaines a great verome, ² till they came into a valley ; & there they rested them both tway, & there the white reconuered his flight & waxed Egar for to fight,	
Here they rest till the white reconuers,	1540	& Egerlye with-out fayle the redd dragon he can assayle ; & there the wh[i]te with all his might hent the red anon right,	
attacks the red,	1544	& to the ground he him cast, & with the fyer of his blast altogether he brent the red, That neuer after was found shread,	[page 167.]
and burns him right up	1548	but dust vpon the ground lay. & the white went away, & neuer sithe <i>that</i> time then heard noe man where he became:	
to dust.	1552	then sayd Merlyn the younge among them all before the King, & said to him with words bold, " now is itt sooth <i>that</i> I you tolde ?	
Then the white dragon disappears.	1556	itt is soothe ; yee may itt see ; therfore Sir King, I pray thee, doe yee the clarkes afore mee bring <i>that</i> Laid on mee <i>that</i> Leasing."	
Merlin	1560	& he asked them the King beforne " Why thé wold his blood were Lorne." ³ & thé answered with words myld, dreadfullye before the chylde,	
asks Vortiger	1564	& sayden, " thé saw witterlye beneath the welkin a skye, & shewed him all his begott,	
to have the clerks brought up who laid the blame on him. He demands why they sought his death. They say			
they saw a cloud in the heaven			
that told them			

¹ downe, Collis. A.-S. *dun*. Collis,
Mons. Jun.—P. ? adown, down below.
—F.

² *forté* Venome.—P. ? randoune; see
randome, l. 1820.—F.

³ lost, undone. Urry's Chauc.—P.

- how hee was on earth lote,¹
 1568 & thorow his blood the Kings castle
 shold stande both strong & weele."
 then said Merlyn thoe,
 "hee was a shrew ² *that* told you soe ;
 1572 *that* skye," he sayd, "*that* showed you *that*,
 he was the father *that* mee begatt,
 & for I serue him not att will,
 therfore he wold my blood spill ;
 1576 & for *that* he hath beguiled you soe,
 Sir Vortiger, I pray you thoe,
that yee grant them their liffe ;
 all my wrath I them forgieue."
 1580 the King his asking granted swithe ;
 then were the clarkes glad & blythe ;
 forth they went, both more & mynne,
 & with them went Merlyne.
 1584 Merlyn was with vortiger
 to his counsell all *that* yeere ;
 through his wisdom & counsayle
 the castle was built strong & well ;
 1588 & when the castle was all wrought,
 Erles & Barrons the King besought
that he wold know att³ Merlyn thoe
 why the dragons foughten soe ;
 1592 itt was some tokening, the said all,
that some aduenture shold befall.
 Merlyn was brought befor the King,
 & he him asked without Leasinge
 1596 what *that* tokening might meane,
 the fighting of the dragons keene.
 Merlyn stooode & Made danger.⁴
- his blood
would make
the castle
stand.
Merlin says
the cloud
was his
father,
who wanted
to kill him,
and beguiled
them,
but he
forgives
them.
Merlin stays
a year with
Vortiger,
and directs
the building
of his castle.
The nobles
ask that
Merlin
may explain
why the
dragons
fought so.
Vortiger
asks him.
Merlin
won't
answer.

¹ *lote*, vet. particip. pro *alighted*.—P.² a villain. Urry ad Chauc.—P.³ of.—P.⁴ Compare "Comme le tavernier *faisoit*
dangier ou difficulté de ce faire."—Carpentier. "With *danger* uttren we
all our chaffare," (Chaucer, *Wyf of*
Bathe), i.e. we make difficulties about
uttering our ware." Wedgwood.—F.

- Vortiger threatens to kill him. 1600 then bespake Sir Vortiger,
& sayd, "Merlyn, but thou me tell,
anon I shall cause thee to be quell."
- Merlin 1604 then answered Merlyn a-plight¹
with great wrath anon-wright,²
& sayd, "withouten weene³
that day shall neuer be seene³ ;
if thou take thy sword in hand
me to slay or bring in band,
yett may thou fayle of all thy fare,⁴
as the hound doth of the hare.
I warne you well, Sir vortiger,
I giue nothing of thy danger⁵ !
but if thou wilt find me a borrowe⁶
that thou shalt doe me noe sorrowe,
then will I tell you all bydeene
the fightinge of the dragons keene."⁷
- is not afraid of him ; but will tell him all if he'll guarantee his safety. 1612 then said Merlyn to the King,
"Sir, vnderstand well my sayinge ;
the red dragon so foule of sight
betokeneth thy selfe & all thy Might ;
for through thy false procuringe
Moyne was slaine, the younge King.
thou see the red dragon the white droue
ffar downe into the grone : [page 168.]
- you had Moyne slain. 1620 that betoekneth the heyres that thou didst
fleame⁸
- You banished Constantine's helra. 1624
- ¹ *Aplight*, adv., immediately, at once: Rob. of Glo'ster, 54. Coleridge's Gloss.—F.
- ² *anonrightes*, adv. immediately. Alysaunder, 824. Coleridge's Gloss.—F.
- ³ These two lines are written as one in the MS.—F.
- ⁴ way, It. [?] condition, welfare. Urry.—P.
- ⁵ out of danger from thee.—P. "To be in the *Danger* of any one, *estre en son danger*, came to signify to be subjected to any one, to be in his power, or liable to a penalty to be inflicted by him or at his suit ; and hence the ordinary acceptation of the word at the present day : 'In *danger* of the judgment, in *danger* of Hell-fire.'" Wedgwood.—F.
- ⁶ pledge, surety.—P. A.-S. *borh*.—F.
- ⁷ Hiatus.—P. The prose romance says, "And Vortiger made hym soche suerte as he wolde" (p. 39) ; but it makes Vortiger ask the question without any suggestion from his nobles, immediately after the dragons' fight, and before the clerks are summoned.—F.
- ⁸ bannish.—P. A.-S. *flyman*.—F.

- with wrong out of the realme.
 soe all the folke *that* with them held
 both in towne and in feilde,
 1628 the white dragon doth signifie;
 the right heyres haue great envye
that thou holdeth all their Land¹
 against them with much wronge;
 1632 alsoe the wh[i]te, can you well say,
 recovered his flyght into the Valley,
 & droue the redd dragon againe
 till he came to the plaine,
 1636 & to the ground he him cast,
 & with the fyer of his blast
 all to powder he burnt the redd,
that neuer of him was found a shread.
 1640 *that* betokens the heyres soe younge
²are now waxen, & succour found,
 & are readye with many³ a Knight
 against thee to hold fight.
 1644 into this castle they shall thee driue
 with thy child & thy wiffe;
⁴& all beene with thee then,
 into the ground shall the brenn;
 1648 & the King Sir Anguis
 shall be slaine, and hold noe price;
 his kingdome & thine alsoe
 shall doe England Mickle woe.
 1652 the head vpon the white dragons tayle,
that betokens withouten fayle,
 the heyres *that* be trew⁵ and good
 shall destroy all thy blood:
 1656 Sir Vortiger, this is the tokeninge
- Their
friends are
- the white
dragon;
- and the
white's
recovering,
- and burning
the red to
powder,
- means that
the young
heirs
- are ready to
fight,
- and will
drive you
into your
castle,
- and burn
you all.
- The head on
the white's
tail
- shows that
the true
heirs shall
kill all your
kin."

¹ Londe.—P.² I w^d read "are waxen now with succour strong."—P.³ Only half the *n* in MS.—F.⁴ and when all; or and all that been.

—P. Instances of the omission of the relative have occurred before.—F.

⁵ trew, true.—P. The *t* is made over a *d* in MS.—F.

- of the dragons fighting !
 as I thee say withouten othe
 thou shalt it find siker¹ & troth."
- Vortiger 1660
 sadly asks still him stood Sir vortiger,
 & bote his lip with dreery cheere,
 & sayd to Merline withouten fayle,
 "you must tell mee some counsell²
- Merlin for 1664
 counsel. without any more striffe,
 how I may best leade my life."
- Merlin says 1668
 Vortiger must die ;
 there is no help for it. & therfore soe hane I rest :
 I can noe read, but doe thy best."
- Vortiger 1672
 says he'll kill him. vortiger sayd, "but [thou] me tell,
 anon I shall doe thee quell."
- Merlin 1676
 vanishes, he start vp & wold him haue wrought³ ;
 but where he was he wist nought,
 soe soone hee was away then
that in the hall wist noe man,
 hye nor lowe, swaine nor groome,
that whist where Merlyne was become.
- goes to 1680
 Blasye, then went Merlyn hastilye
 to the Hermitt *that* hight Blassey,
 & told him without leasing
 how he had serued the king ;
 & told him without wronge
 the fighting of the dragons stronge.
- tells him all 1684
 about it ; of the red & of the white
 a great Booke he did endite,
 & told *that* the red dragon
 betokens much destruction
- and Blasye 1688
 writes down in a great book through vortigers kinred I-wis,
 & the heathen king Anguis ;
 in England shold be afterward
 strong battailes & happs hard.

¹ firm, sure.—P.² counsayle.—P.³ reached, seized.—P.

- 1692 all *that* Merline tolde & sayd,
in good writting itt was layd,
of all the ventures, I vnderstand,
that euer shold fall in England ;
- 1696 But for itt is soe darke a thing
that Merlyn made in his sayinge,
that few men withouten weene
can vnderstand what itt meane ;
- 1700 but on ¹ yee will a stond dwell,
of other things I will you tell.
of the hend children tow,
Vther & Pendragon alsoe,
- 1704 I told, as I you vnderstand,
how they were fleamed out of the Land ;
now will I tell you in certaine,
in what manner thé came againe
- 1708 with great strenght & power,
& how he ² draue Sir Vortiger
forth into his castle strong
for his vnright & for his wronge ;
- 1712 & how thé brent him flesh & bone,
& how they can *king* Anguis slaine,³
I will yee tell in what Mannour :
listen now & you shall heere.
- all *that*
Merlin said.
- [page 169.] But it is so
dark
- that few can
understand
it.
- I'll now tell
you how
Uther and
Pendragon
- came back,
- drove Sir
Vortiger
into his
castle,
- and then
burnt him.

[The Seventh Part.]

- 1716 { The merryest time itt is in may ;
then springs the summers day ;
soe in *that* time, as yee may heere,
- 7th Parte { the Barrons came to vortiger,
& said, " my Lord the kinge,
wee haue brought you heard tydinge
- 1720 { of Pendragon *that* is thye foe,
& of Vther his brother alsoe ;
- In merry
May,
- Vortiger's
barons tell
him
- that
Pendragon
and Uther

¹ For *an*, if.—F.² A.—S. *hi*, they.—F.³ alone, *idem*.—P.

have invaded his land,	1724	They are comen into this Land with many a <i>Knight</i> doughtye of hand, & they will stint nought till thou be to ground brought;
and are at Winchester. He must summon his friends.	1728	they are att Winchester almost; therfore send about in hast to all thy freinds, I thee reed, for thou had neuer see much need."
Vortiger sends	1732	vp him start vortigers, & called to him Messengers;
to Winchester and orders the gates to be shut.	1736	to winchester he them sent, & bade them, thorow his commandement, 'against Vther & Pendragon thé shold shutt the gates anon; as they wold his lone winne, they shold not let them come in; 1740 & he wold come anon-right to helpe them with all his might.'
He also sends to King Anguis to come and help him.	1744	other Messengers he sent anon to king Anguis soone, & bade him 'come to helpe att neede, with all the folke <i>that</i> he might leade, for to fight against his fone <i>that</i> were comen him to slone.'
Anguis comes; they march off;	1748	when King Anguis he was come, the way to winchester they nume ¹ ; & or they were halfe way there, Vther & Pendragon comen weare
but Uther and Pen- dragon are already at Winchester;	1752	to winchester ² towne soe nye, & reard their Bannors on hye; armes thé shewed rich there ³ <i>that</i> had beene their fathers before.

¹ nume, or nome, i.e. took.—P.

² The prose romance puts Winchester within sight of the sea—"the same day saugh thei of Wynchester the shippes comynge by the see," (p. 41)—and omits the battle, and defection of the hundred

knight, mentioned here, though it makes the people turn against Vortiger, and the latter take refuge in his castle, and get burnt, all in half a page of text.—F.

³ there.—P.

- 1756 then the burgesse *that* they Banners knew,
att the first he ¹ can them rue
the death of Constantine the King,
& of Moyne *that* was slaine soe younge,
- 1760 & said 'vortiger was a Traitor,
& all that wold him succor ;'
& said 'thé wold let into the towne
both Vther and Pendragon,
- 1764 & ceaze there into their hands,
for they were right heyres of the land.'
they sett open the gates wyde,
& lett Pendragon in ryde,
- 1768 And Vther his brother alsoe, [page 170.]
& all *that* came with them 2 ;
& yeelden to them both towne & tower,
& didden them full great honor,
- 1772 *that* euer after winchester then
great thanke & freedome wan.
when *that* vortiger the fell
the sooth Tydings hard tell,
- 1776 *that* Vther & Pendragon
were let into winchester towne,
then he comanded his men fast
to goe to winchester in hast.
- 1780 & when Pendragon vnder-nome,²
that vortiger did thither come,
he cast open the gates wyde ;
& all they can out ryde,
- 1784 & dighten them without fayle
to giue Sir Vortiger battayle.
but the English Barrons all in fere
that were comen with Vortiger,
- 1788 when thé can they ³ folke seene
that were some time of their kine,

the
burgesses of
which town

say Vortiger
is a traitor ;

and
therefore
they open
the gates to
Pendragon,

and give up
town and
tower to
him and his
host.

Vortiger
hears of this,

and orders
his men to
march on
Winchester.
Pendragon

at once
issues out
to give
Vortiger
battle,

On seeing
Pendragon,
a hundred of
Vortiger's
barons

¹ they . . . rue ; to pity, lament.
Jun.—P. A.-S. ði, they.—F.

² received, it perceived. Chauc., *vid.*
Urry. Lye.—P.

³ the.—P. they, those.—F.

		(with Vortiger was many a Knight that knew the Banners anon-right ;
	1792	well a 100 there were that had serued their father deere,
turn against him,		& saiden 'Vortiger was false in feild, & all that euer with him helde,')
and attack him.	1796	to vortiger thé ran soone, & thought for to haue slaine him anon.
		they had ment to haue slaine him there, but all too litle was their power,
	1800	for against one of them vortiger had 20 men
But Vortiger has 20 to 1 of them,		that were comen altogether with King Anguis thither.
	1804	King Vortiger & Anguis for wrath were neere wood I-wisse ;
orders them to be surrounded,		he commanded all his route to besett them all aboute,
	1808	& sware there shold scape none, but they shold all be slaine. ¹
and all slain.		Lance they broke, & shafts thé drew, many of the Barrons thé slew ;
Many are slain,	1812	but they were strong & wight, & fought againe with all their might ;
though they fight hard.		for nothing wold thé yeeld then, but slew many a heathen man ;
	1816	fast on him ² they can hew, but alas, they were to few !
One baron breaks through,		yett one Baron was soe stronge that hee scaped out of the thronge ;
	1820	hee pricked his steed with great randome till he came to Pendragon ;
gallops to Pendragon,		he sayd, "thou art heyre of this land, to my tale doe vnderstand !
	1824	for the loue of thy Brother & thee

¹ slone, *id.*—P.² A.-S. *hem*, them.—F.

- hither I come to helpe thee,
 & therfor now are wee shent;
 for our good will to thee meant,
- 1828 *King vortiger & King Anguis,*
 with many a Sarazen of great price
 shall hew vs downe to the ground,
 but yee vs helpe in this stonde."
- 1832 itt was noe reed to bid him ¹ ryde :
 the folke spurred out on euerye syde,
 & when they were together mett,
 there were strokes wel besett :
- 1836 there fought Vther & Pendragon
 as they were woode Lyons ;
 Many a sarazens head anon
 thé stroke of by the Necke bone.
- 1840 Many folke *that* ilke tyde ²
 were slaine on both syds ³ ;
 King Vortiger, without fayle,
 was ouercome in *that* battele ⁴ ;
- 1844 & Mangre him & all his
that were with king Anguis,
 thé were driuen soe nye
that into a castle they can flee,
- 1848 & *that* was both strong & merrie,

and appeals
to him

to come to
the rescue
of his
friends.

Pendragon's
men charge ;

he and
Uther fight
like raging
lions.

Vortiger is
defeated,

[page 171.]

and takes
refuge
in a castle
on Salisbury
Plain.

¹ them or hem.—P.

² The last twenty-eight lines of the Lincoln's Inn MS. of Merlin are as follows:

1630 Gret folke on bope syde
 þer was slawe at þat tide.
 Kyngs Fortager wip-owte faille
 was overcome in þat bataile ;
 And mawgre him and alle his
 þat weoren wip kyngs Aungys,
 þey weore dryuen so nygh
 Into a castel þat þey fleigh
 þat was bope god and mury
 vpon þe playn of salesbury.

1640 Pendragon and his broþir vter
 Prikenen after sir fortager ;
 And when þey to þat castel come,
 wilde fuyr a-non þey nome,

And casten hit ouer þe wal wip
 gynne.

And al so swipe hit was wip-ynne,
 hit gan to breanne owt of wit
 þat noman myghte staunchen hit ;
 And fortager wip child and wyf
 And al þat was þer-ynne on lyue,
 1650 Best and mon, wip lym and lyth,
 hit brente down wip-oute gryth.
 Fortager regnede here
 Al fully seouen jere.
 Now preyze we ihesu, heouene kyngs,
 And his moder þat sweete þynge,
 he blesse ows alle wip his hond,
 And sende ows pes in Engelond.

Explicit Merlyn.—F.

³ either syde. *sic legerem*.—P.

⁴ battayle.—P.

Pendragon and Uther		vpon the plaine of salsburye. Pendragon & his brother Vther pricked after Sir Vortiger ;
cast wild fire	1852	& when they to the castle came, wylde fyer soone them nume ¹
into the castle,		& cast itt in with a gynne ² ; & as soone as itt was within,
and it soon	1856	itt gann to bren out of witt <i>that</i> noe man might stanch itt ;
burns up Vortiger, and all other beasta and men with him.	1860	& vortiger, with child & wiffe <i>that</i> were theere in their liffe, beast & man, with lymes & lythe, ³ were brenned all forthwith. Vortiger raigned heere
He reigned seven years.	1864	ffullye the space of 7 yeere. now pray wee all the heauens King, & his mother, <i>that</i> sweet thinge,
God send us peace in England !		he blesse vs all with his hand, & send vs peace in England !

[The Eighth Part.]

Uther and Pendragon besiege Anguis in his strong castle,	1868	8 ^d Parte { Now when vortiger was brent, Vther & Pendragon went for to beseege <i>king</i> Anguis in his castle soe strong of price, with he was fled for dread & doubt. & Pendragon with all his rout besett him soe on euery side <i>that</i> noe man might scape <i>that</i> tyde.
but without success at first.	1876	
		But <i>King</i> Anguis within <i>that</i> castle was bestowed soe wonderous well, & soe stronglye itt was wrought

¹ name, *i.e.* took.—P.² engine.—F.³ lythe, joint. A.-S. *lith*, artus, mem-
brum, articulus. G.D. Lye.—P.

- that* noe man might deere itt nought.
 1880 & when they had beseeged him longe
 about they castile *that* was soc stronge,
 & when noe man might him deere,¹
 5 Barrons comen there
 1884 *that* had beene with vortiger,
 & told Pendragon & vther
 how Merlyne was begotten & borne,
 & how he came the King beforne,
 1888 & what words he him tolde
 of the dragons vnder the Mould,
 & how the King wold haue him slaine,
 & noe man wott where he become,²
 1892 & said, "Sir, verament
 & Merline were here present,
 throughe his counsell you shall anon
 Kinge Anguis ouer-come."
 1896 Pendragon was wound[r]ed thoe,
 & soe was his brother Vther alsoe,
 & sent anon the Knights 5
 for to seeke Merlyn beline,
 1900 & bade them, if they found the child,
 to pray him with words milde
 to "come & speake with Pendragon
 & Vther in his panillyon,
 1904 him to wishe,³ & them to reade,
 & if hee might, helpe them att needo
 for to winne *that* strong hold,
 & he shold haue what he wold."
 1908 the Messengers forth went
 to seeke Merlyn with good entent,
 & fare⁴ & wyde they him sought,
 but of him they heard right nought.
 1912 soe on a day the Messengers,

Then five
barons

tell
Pendragon
and Uther
about
Merlin.

and what he
told
Vortiger
about
the two
dragons.

They say
that if
Merlin were
present,

Anguis
would soon
be overcome.
Pendragon
and Uther
send the
knights
to seek out
Merlin,

and beg him
to come and
help them to

win Anguis's
stronghold.

The
messengers

can hear
nothing of
Merlin,

¹ *dere* Chancero, est *ladere*, *nocere*.
Lye.—P.

² became.—P.

³ *wisse*, to direct, instruct, teach, show.
Gl. ad Chauc.—P.

⁴ far.—P.

till one day in a west- country tavern		as they were sett att their dinners in a taverne in the west countrye, with meate & drinke great plentye,—	
an old white- bearded churl comes in	1916	an old churle, hee came in with a white beard vpon his chine, & a staffe in his hand he had, & shoone on feete full well made,	
and begs for something to eat.	1920	And begunn to craue more, & said he was an hungred sore, & praid them on the bench aboue to giue him something for gods lone.	[page 172.]
They refuse to give him anything,	1924	& thé then sayd, with-out Leasinge, “that he shold haue of them nothinge,” & sayd “if that the churle be old,	
say he is stronge and can work ;	1928	he is a stronge man & a bolde, & might goe worke for his meate if he itt wold with truth gett ;”	
he must pack,		& called to him euereche one, & bade him trusse ¹ & away gone,	
or have a doce of bark with the stick inside.	1932	& sware by the ruth that god them gaue, he shold drinke with his owne staffe. then Merlyn ² answered yorne ³	
Merlin says he's a man of the world, and they are impudent young scamps	1936	“fellow,” hee sayd, “I am noe churle I am an old man of this worlde, & many wonders seene & hearde ; & yee be wretches & younge of blood, & forsooth can litle good ;	
	1940	& if yee knew as yee nay can, ⁴ yee shold scorne noe old man ; yee shold be in the Kings neede, for old men can thes wishe and reede	
who should know better than to scorn an old man.			

¹ to truss, to pack up, close together. Johnson.—P.

² The name ought to be concealed here from what follows below, ver. 105. This should be an error of the Transcriber, & these 2 lines corrupt. *forte*

the old man.—P. The prose romance omits almost all the details here given. See page 42-3.—F.

³ yerne, presently, quickly, eagerly. Gl. ad Chauc.—P.

⁴ ne can.—P.

- 1944 where yee shold find Merlyn the chylde ;
therefore the *King* was full wilde
to send madmen out off rage
for to goe on such a message ;
- 1948 for Merlyn is of such Manner,
if he stood before you here
& spake to you right att this dore,
you shold know him neuer the more ;
- 1952 for 3rd this day you haue him mett,
& yett yee know him neuer the bett.
& therfore wend home, by my reed,
for him to find you shall not speed ;
- 1956 & bydd *that* prince take Barrons 5,
& bydde come & speake to Merlyn belyue,
& say *that* he shall them abyde
right here by this forrests side."
- 1960 & when he had said to them this,
anon he was away I-wisse,
& there wist none of them
where this old man was become.
- 1964 the Messengers wondred all
where the churle was befall,
& all about they him sought,
but of him they heard nought ;
- 1968 for in story it is told,
the Churle *that* was soe stout & bold,
that spake soe to the Messengers
as the sate att their dinners,
forsooth itt was merline the younge
that made to them this scorninge.
- 1972 the Messenger went soone anon,
& told Vther & Pendragon,
1976 & ¹ how the churle to them had tolde
& sware to them with words bold,
& told them how Merlyne the chylde
- The King
must have
been out of
his wits to
send such
madmen
out after
Merlin.
- They have
seen him
thrice that
day and not
known him :
they'd
better go
home
- and tell the
King to send
five decent
barons after
Merlin,
who will
meet them
by the
forest.
The old
churl
vanishes ;
- the
messengers
- can't find
where to ;
and indeed
- the churl
that scorned
them
- was Merlin
himself.
- So they go
back to
Uther and
Pendragon,
- and tell

¹ delend.—P.

them that Merlin is awaiting five fresh barons from them.	1980	was byding in the fforrest wylde, & bade them take Barrons 5, to come and speake with him belyue; & sayd Merlyn wold them abyde att such a place by the forrest syde.
Pendragon hands the siege of Anguis over to Uther,	1984	Pendragon had wonder thoe, & Vther his brother alsoe. Pendragon bade his brother gent to the seege to take good tent, ¹
	1988	<i>that</i> king Anguis scaped not away neither by night nor yett by day till they were of him wreake, ² for he wold goe with Merlyn speake. ³
and goes himself to see Merlin.	1992	then Pendragon with Barrons 5, went forth alsoe belyue. And [when] Pendragon was ⁴ forth went, [page 173.]
Merlin then appears to Uther,	1996	Merlyn anon verament wist full well <i>that</i> he was gone, & to Vther he came anon,— as itt were a stout garrison ⁵ he came to Vthers Pauillyon,—
and warns him	2000	& said, "Vther, listen to mee, for of thy harme I will warne thee, ffor I know well with-uten fayle
that Anguis		all <i>king</i> Angrius counsaile;
means to make a night attack on him;	2004	for he will come this ilke night with many a man full well dight, & into the forrest slippe anon for to waite thee for to sloen;
wherefore he must warn his host	2008	but herof haue thou noe dowbt, but warne thy host all about

¹ to take tent, to take heed; tent, attention, notice. Gl. ad G. D.—P.

² wroke or wrake.—P.

³ where . . spoke or spake.—P. MS. is right.—F.

⁴ had, or delend.—P.

⁵ forté, one of the garrison.—P.

Support: Old French, "*garison, sûreté, sauveité, provision, tout ce qui est nécessaire; garnison vivres, provision, tout ce qui est nécessaire* (cf. *garison*) renfort. *Burguy's Gloss.* The military sense of *renfort*, reinforcement, suits here.—F.

	<i>that they be armed swithe & weele</i>	to arm at once,
	<i>both in Iron & eke in steele,</i>	
2012	<i>& gather to-gether all thy host,</i>	
	<i>& hold yee still with-uten bost</i>	and keep still till the attack comes;
	<i>till that hee bee amonge ye comen,¹</i>	
	<i>for he shalbe the first groome</i>	
2016	<i>that shall vpon thy pauillion ren ;</i>	
	<i>& looke that thou be ready then,</i>	then be ready ;
	<i>& heard² on him looke thow hewe,</i>	
	<i>& spare not that old shrewe,</i>	bear hard on that old shrew Anguis, and kill him.
2020	<i>for thou shalt slay him with thy hand,</i>	
	<i>& winne³ the price from all this land."</i>	
	<i>& when he had told him all this case,</i>	
	<i>he vanished away from that place.</i>	Merlin vanishes. Uther thinks him God's messenger.
2024	<i>great wonder had Vther thee</i>	
	<i>that he was escaped soe,</i>	
	<i>& thought itt was gods sonde⁴</i>	
	<i>that warned him that stonde,</i>	
2028	<i>that had soe warned him of his fone,</i>	
	<i>& was soe lightlye from him gone.</i>	
	<i>& when itt drew vnto the night,</i>	At night Anguis arms
	<i>King Anguis anon-right</i>	
2032	<i>did arme his men wrath⁵ & prest,⁶</i>	
	<i>3000 men of the best,</i>	3,000 men,
	<i>& said how a spye had tolde</i>	tells them Pendragon has left his camp ;
	<i>that Pendragon, the prince bold,</i>	
2036	<i>forth into the countrye is⁷ gone,</i>	
	<i>& left his brother Vther att home ;</i>	
	<i>therefore, he sayd, he will⁸ out breake,</i>	and therefore they must attack Uther,
	<i>& on other⁹ he wold him wreake,</i>	
2040	<i>& sware an othe by Mahound¹⁰</i>	

¹ come.—P. MS. has conen.—F.² hard.—P.³ wime in MS.—F.⁴ a message, anything that may be sent. *God's sonde*, of God's sending. Urry's Chauc.—P.⁵ rath, soon, early, Chauc. *hinc*. rather.—P.⁶ prest, ready, Chauc.—P.⁷ was.—P.⁸ wolde.—P.⁹ Uther.—P.¹⁰ This Poem was probably written

and kill him.		he wold kill him in his Pauillyon. & soone they were ready light ; then <i>King Anguis</i> anon-right forthe of the castle he can ryde with 3000 by his syde, & forthe he went without bost vntill he came to Vthers host.
<i>Anguis salles out with 3,000 men ;</i>	2044	
	2048	& when he was comen right where Vthers Pauillyon was pight, ¹ <i>King Anguis</i> , a fell felon, he hyed him to the Pauillyon
<i>hies to Uther's pavilion to kill him, but is sold by Merlin,</i>	2052	& thought to slay Vther therin ; but he was beguiled thorow <i>Merlyne</i> , for <i>Merlyne</i> had <i>that ilke Morrow</i> warned Vther of all the sorrow
	2056	how <i>King Anguis</i> was bethought ; therfore in his Pauillyon was he nought, ² but had taken the feild with-out, with many a hardye man & stout.
for Uther is in the field ;	2060	& Vther was a hardy man ; vpon king <i>Anguis</i> hee ran, & smote him att the first blow <i>that</i> he cane him ouer-throwe ;
charges <i>Anguis</i> ,		
overthrows him,	2064	& Vther with his sword soe smart he smote him thorow the hart, & hent him by the head anon, & stroke itt from the necke bone.
stabs him through the heart,		
and cuts his head off. The heathens flee,	2068	And when the Sarazens this can see, [page 174.] fast away can they flee to the Castle <i>euer-eche</i> ³ one, & left their Lord all alone.
	2072	but or thé <i>Might</i> scape againe,

about the time of the Crusados, when all Europe so rung of the Sarracens and Mahomed, so that it became a general name for a Pagan & false God or idol.—P. The name can only prove that this poem was not written before the Cru-

sades. The names of the Saracens, and Mahound (for an idol), continued in use till perhaps the seventeenth century.—Th. Wright.

¹ i.e. pitched, præter. obsolete.—P.

² not.—P. ³ *eueriche*.—P.

500 were all slayne
of the stoutest *that* were there,
that came with their King I-fere.¹

losing 500
men.

[The Ninth Part.]

[Of Pendragon; his search for Merlin; and his death.]

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|---|---|
| 2076 | { | Now let vs be for a season,
& let us turne to Pendragon
<i>that</i> was gone to the forrest wilde
to speake with Merlyn the chylde.
the first time he asked for Merlyn,
he see a heardsman keeping swine
with an old hatt vpon his head,
& in gray russett was he cladd, | Pendragon
goes to the
forrest |
| 9 th Parte | | And a good staffe in his hand,
& a white whelp he followande;
stalworth he seemed, & well made.
the prince anon to him roade ² ; | after Merlin, |
| 2084 | | & well fayre he can him fraine ³
giff he heard ought of Merlyn,
& whether hee cold tell him any tythands ⁴
where was his most wininge. ⁵ | and sees a
swineherd, |
| 2088 | | “yea, Sir,” he sayd, “by St. Marye,
right now was Merlyn here with mee;
& thou had comen eare, ⁶ indeed,
thou might hane found him in <i>that</i> stead ⁷ ; | whom he
asks to tell
him |
| 2092 | | & if thou can Merlyn ken, ⁸
he is not yett far gone;
& therfore ryde forth in this way
as fast as euer thou may, | where
Merlin lives.
“He was
here just
now ; |
| 2096 | & on thy right hand rathe ⁹ | take the
first turn to
the right, | |
| 2100 | | | |

¹ together.—P.

² rade, rode.—P.

³ i. e. freine, ask.—P.

⁴ tyding.—P.

⁵ most his wonninge [dwelling].—P.

⁶ ere, before. (Gl. ad G. D.)—P.

⁷ place.—P.

⁸ conne.—P.

⁹ soon.—P.

		thou shalt find a verrey faire path <i>that</i> thorrow the faire forrest Lyeth, & in <i>that</i> way thou ryde swithe,
and you are sure to see him."	2104	& seekerlye ¹ with-uten weene soone thou may Merlyn seene."
Pendragon		then was the prince glád & blythe, & sped him forth swithe ;
	2108	& as he hard, soe he itt found, a well faire path on his right hand. ² thé turned their horsse euereche on,
takes the right-hand road,		& in <i>that</i> path thé rydden anon,
meets a man (Merlin),	2112	& with Merlyn they Metten then, & as itt were a stout Champyon, ³ & bare a great packe on his backe ; & to him the prince full faire spake,
whom he asks if he has seen Merlin. " Yee, and he is not far off ;	2116	& asked him if hee see Merlyn : " yea," said he, " by St Martin, a little heere before your sight ; he is not farr, I you plyght.
	2120	to you I say by S ^t Iohn, he is not yett far gone ; & therfore ryde forth belue
ride on,		as fast as your horsse may drine,
and you will meet him before you have gone a myle."	2124	& yee shall find him in a wyle ⁴ : by then yee haue rydden a myle, with Merlyn yee shall meete then, or yee shall speake with some other man
"	2128	<i>that</i> shall you tell full right where you shall haue of Merlyn a sight."
They ride on,		& when he had thus sayd, thé pricked forth in a brayd ⁵ ;
	2132	& by they ⁶ had rydden a stonde, as he him said with-out wronge,

¹ sickerlye, surely.—P.² honde.—P.³ *legerim* Chapmon.—P.⁴ while.—P.⁵ a starting; *brayd*, arose, awoke, also
a start. (Gl. ad Chauc.)—P.⁶ by then they.—P.

- he mett with Merlyn on the playne,
 as he were a doughtye swaine,
 2136 all cloathed in robes soe gay
 as it had beene a monkes¹ gray,
 & bare a gaulocke² in his hand ;
 his speeche was of another Land.
 2140 he, when the prince had him mett,
 faire & hendlye he did him greete.
 then the prince was all heauye,
 & asked him of his curtesie
 2144 If he mett by the way
 [page 175.] asks whether he
 with chyld Merlyn *that* day : has met
 "yea, Sir," hee said, " by S^t Michaëlle, Merlin.
 Merlyn I know verry well ;
 2148 for right now sikerlye
 Merlyn was here fast by ;
 & had yee rydden a litle bett,
 with Merlyn yee might haue mett ;
 2152 but Sir, I say with-out othee,³
 he is a quante⁴ boy for-soothe ;
 soe well I know Merlyns thought,
 with-out my helpe you find him nought ;
 2156 & if of him yee will haue speech,
 then must you doe as I to you teache :
 att the next towne here beside,
 there you must Merlyn abyde,
 2160 & in the towne take your ine,⁵
 & certainly then child Merlyn
 shall come to you this ilke night,
 & there yee shall of him haue sight,
 2164 & then yee may both Lowed & still
 speake with Merlyn all⁶ that you will."
 then was the prince blythe & glad,

and meet
with a
swain in
grey
(Merlin
again)

whom
Pendragon

asks
whether he
has met
Merlin.

" Yes,
I know him
well,

he is a
quaint boy ;

go to the
next town ;
there wait
for him ;

and he will
come to you
this night."

Pendragon

¹ monke.—P.

² a staff, vid. Bailey. An earlier meaning was "spear or javelin:" see Halliwell's Gloss.—F.

³ othe, oath.—P.

⁴ *quaint*, strange, odd. Gl. ad Chauc.

—P.

⁵ inne.—P.

⁶ delend.—P.

		& pricked forth as he were madd,
puts up in the town,	2168	& tooke his inne in the towne as shold a lord of great renowne. Now May you heare in this time how Merlyn came the 5 th time,
and Merlin comes to him	2172	& how he the prince Mett, & on what manner he him grett, & became to him as counsellour ¹ : hearken to me & you shall heare.
	2176	when itt was with-in the night, Merlyn came to the King full right, right in the guise of a swayne as he was in the forrest seene,
in the guise of a swain.	2180	& sayd—as I find in the booke— “ Sir Prince, god send you good lucke ! loe, I am heere <i>that</i> thou hast sought ! tell me what is thy thought, & what thou wilt to me saine, for I wold heare thee wonderous faine.”
Merlin announces himself to Pendragon, and says he will gladly hear all he has to say.	2184	then vpstart Pendragon, & into his armes he him nume ² ;
Pendragon		to bide with him he did him crane, & what hee wold aske, he should haue. & Merlyn sayd verament “ he wold be att his commandement ;
asks him to stop with him.	2188	ouer all, where-soe he were, he wold be att his bydding yare. ³ ” then was the prince gladd & blyth, & thanked Merlyn many a sythe. ⁴
Merlin consents,	2192	then sayd Merlyn, “ Sir, will you heare ? I come from thy brother deere ; for through my counsell hee hath this night slaine King Anguis, I you plight.”
and tells him that Uther has slain King Anguis.	2196	then was the prince blythe & gladd,
Pendragon	2200	

¹ a counsellere. qu.—P.² nume, i.e. took.—P.³ ready.—P.⁴ time, (vices).—P.

- & great solace & myrth made ;
 & all *that* were there were full faine,
 & on the Morrow rod ¹ home againe,
 2204 & found King Anguis slaine,²
 his head sett vp, his body drawne.
 Pendragon asked Vther I-wis
 ' who had slaine King Anguis ? '
 2208 & he answered and can saine
 that he [was³] warned by a swayne.
 when he had told all how he did,
 he thanked god in *that* steade.
 2212 then be-spake Pendragon,
 & sayd to Vther anon,
 " hee *that* thee holpe att need thine,
 forsooth itt was child Merlyn
 2216 That standeth now here by thee." [page 176.]
 Vther him thanked with hart free,
 & prayd him then in all thing
that he wold be att his bidding.
 2220 then thé wenten to the castle with-out lesse,⁴
 wherein many a Sarazen was,
that noe man might to them winne
 by noe manner of gynne ;
 2224 & therefore the oste ⁵ still lay,
 till after vpon the 3^d day
 word came from the Sarazen
 where thé lay in castle fine,
 2228 *that* they wold yeeld up the castle ;
 if they might passe well
 to their Land with-uten dere,⁶
 vpon a booke thé wold sweare
 2232 *that* they shold neuer againe come.
 but Merlyn sent them word soone
that they shold pass eache one

and his
company
ride home,

find Anguis
dead,
and ask who
slew him.

Uther tells
him how he
was warned
by a swain.

" That was
Merlin,"
says
Pendragon.

They all lay
siege to the
castle

till the
Saracens
(Saxons)
offer to
surrender it.

Their terms
are accepted,

¹ rode.—P.

² slawne.—P.

³ was, qu.—P.

⁴ lese.—P.

⁵ i. e. host.—P.

⁶ hurt, damage.—P.

- by leaue of his Pendragon.
- 2236 & when they had all sworne & some¹
that they wold neuer in this land come,
they passed anon to the sea strond
& went into their owne Land.²
- and they
return home.
- Pendragon
is made
king,
reigns three
years,
- 2240 then to Pendragon the crowne they name,³
& King of Englande he became,
& in England he raigned King
but 3 yeere with-out Leasing,
- and is then
slain :
- 2244 & after he was slaine rathe⁴
with Sarazens, & that was scathe⁵ ;
I shall you tell in whatt manner⁶ ;
listen a while & you shall heare.
- I'll tell you
how.
In Denmark
were two
Saracens
of King
Anguis's
kin,
- 2248 that time in the Land of Denmarke
2 Sarazens where, stout & starke,
& were of King Anguis kinde,
of his next blood that was soe hynde;
- 2252 the one was come of the Brother,
& of the sister come the other ;
strong men thew were, & fell,
& theire names I can you tell ;
- Sir Gamor,
and Sir
Malador,
- 2256 the one was called Sir Gamor,
& the other Sir Malador.
Gamor came of the brother beforne,
the other was of the sister borne,
- great lords,
- 2260 great Lords were they of Land :
Sir Malador held in his hand
2 duchyes, & Gamor 3 ;
- and stout,
- 2264 stowter men might none bee.
when they heard how king Anguis

¹ rather "sworne all and some."—P.
The *tmesis* is allowable in early English.
—F.

² Lond.—P. Instead of what follow
till the arrival of the Danes in England,
the Prose Romance, p. 50–4, has a story
of a baron, envious of Merlin, who, as
Merlin prophesied, breaks his neck; then
Merlin's foretelling of two days fight,

and, on the third, the appearance of a
flying dragon in the air, which will give
the British victory.—F.

³ i. e. took, from nym, to take.—P.

⁴ early, soon.—P.

⁵ Loss, damage, hurt. Gl. ad Chauc.
—P.

⁶ P. has added an *e* to the end.—F.

- in England was slaine I-wis,
altogether can they speake,
theire vnckles death they wold wreake;
2268 & soe great an oste together they brought
that they ¹ number they can tell nought;
but vnto shipp they gone anon,
& the seas ² to flowe began.
- 2272 the winde soe well began to blow ³
that they landed att Bristowe.
then Merlyn knew itt well anon,
& told it vther & Pendragon,
- 2276 'how there was comen from Denmarke
a stronge oste stout & starke,
with many Sarazens of Price,
for to Auenge King Anguis.'
- 2280 "In England," sayd Merlyn then,
"such an oste was neuer seene;
I say to you with-uten Layne,
the one of you shalbe slayne;
2284 & whether of you soe ere it is,
shall haue to meede heauens blisse."
but for noe meede he wold not saine
whether of them shold be slaine;
but neuer-the-lesse yee shall heare.
- 2288 Merlyn Loued⁴ well Vther,
the least heere ⁵ that was on his crownc,
then all the body of Pendragon.
- 2292 Hee bade them dight them anon
against their foemen for to gone,
& sayd 'Pendragon with-out fayle
Vppon the Land shold them assayle;'
"& Vther, alsoe I bidd thee,
2296 thou shalt wend by the sea,
& looke that theree scapen none

who resolve
to avenge
Anguis's
death.
They gather
a great host,
set sail,

and land at
Bristol.
Merlin
knows it;
tells Uther
and
Pendragon
of it;

and says it
will be the
death of one
of them;

he will not
say which:

but you
shall hear
(Merlin
loves Uther
best).

[page 177.]

Merlin bids

Pendragon
attack the
Saracen
Danes
in front by
land,
while Uther,
in their rear,
takes care

¹ the.—P.

² MS. may be *seat*.—F.

³ The *b* is an altered *f*.—F.

⁴ better.—P.

⁵ hair.—P

that none escape by sea.		till they be slaine euerye-eche ¹ one."
Pendragon	2300	Pendragon was a doughtye Knight, & fell & Egar for to fight; he neuer for stroakes wold forbear
		against noe man with sheeld or speare, nor better did with-uten fayle,
	2304	& <i>that</i> was seene in <i>that</i> Battaile; he tooke his oaste with might & mayne,
attacks the Saracens		& went the Sarazens fast againe; & when they were together mett,
fiercely,	2308	there were strokes sadlye sett; many a heathen Sarazen
and kills so many of them		he cloue downe to the chin; many a man was sticked tho,
	2312	& many a good steed was slayne alsoe. the Booke saith with-uten Lye
		there was done such chiuallrye; of the folke <i>that</i> Pendragon fell,
that their number cannot be told. Merlin tells Vther he shall not be slain,	2316	noe man can the number tell. & Vther to the sea went,
		& Merlyn told him verament <i>that</i> he shold not that day be slaine.
	2320	then was Vther wonderous fayne, ² & in his hart soe wonderous Lyght
and he assails		<i>that</i> hee was feirce & fell in fight, & Egerlye with-out fayle
the Saracens eagerly.	2324	the Sarazens he can assayle, & fast against them can stryde ³
		<i>that</i> many a Sarazen lost their liffe. Pendragon & his folke in hast
Pendragon	2328	the Sarazens fast to ground thé cast, <i>that</i> there were none against them stooode,
puts the Saracen Danes to flight. Vther interrupts them in their rear;		but fledd away as they were wood. but Vther in <i>that</i> ilke tyde
	2332	kept them in on the other syde;

¹ everiche one.—P.² glad.—P.³ strive or striffe.—P.

- with strong Battayle & strokes hard
 he droue them all againe backward ;
 & when *that* they noe further might,
 2336 on Pendragon can thé light,
 a 100 Sarazens on a rowte
 att once Layd him all about.
 who-soe had seene Pendragon then,¹
 2340 he might haue seene a Doughtye man ;
 for all *that* he might euer reach,
 trulye thé need noe other Leech.
 the Sarazens stout & grim,
 2344 slew his steed vnder him ;
 & when hee had Lost his steed,
 great ruthe itt is in bookes to reede
 how *that* he on foote stood
 2348 till *that* he lost his harts bloode.
 a 100 Sarazens att a brayd ²
 all att once att him Layd,
 & broken him body & arme,
 2352 & slew him there ; & *that* was harme.
 & when *that* Vither vnderstoode
 his brother was slaine, he waxt neere woodc,
 & bade his men fast fight,
 2356 & he bestirde him like a *Knight* :
 of all the Sarazens *that* were left aliue
 there scaped noe more but 5.
 of the Christian men were but slane
 2360 3031 certane ;
 & in that ilke country thoe
 a mile might noe man goe—
 neither by dale nor by downe—
 2364 but he shold tread on a dead man.³
 And when itt was against the night,
 Vther had discomfited them in fight ;
 he went home into his inne,

drives them
back ;

and
a hundred
surround
Pendragon,

kill his
steed,

and then he
fights on
foot till he
is slain.
A hundred
Danes
rush at him,

and slay
him, sad to
say.
Uther

bids his men
fight fast,

and only five
Danes escape
alive.

3031 Chris-
tians are
killed.

[page 178.]

Uther goes
home at
night.

¹ than.—P.

² on a sudden.—F.

³ mon.—P.

	2368	& asket counsell of Merlyne.
Pendragon's corpes is found,		Pendragon was out sought,
		& to the church full fayre brought;
and buried at Glaston- bury.	2372	he was grauen & layd full Merrye
		in the towne of Glasenburye,
		& thus ended <i>that</i> doughtye Knight.
God save his soul ! and the soules of all who die for the Right !	2376	God grant his soule to blisse soe bright !
		& all <i>that</i> done soe for the right,
		I pray Iesu for his might
		he grant them heauens blisse aboue !
Amen !		AMEN, AMEN, for his mothers loue !

ffins.

["*Dulcina*," printed in the *Loose Songs*, follows here, p. 178 of the MS.]

King: Arthurs Death.¹

PERCY remarks in a note to l. 96, p. 501 below, at the end of the first part of the following ballad, page 180 of the MS., "Hitherto the King himself speaks. In what follows the Poet carries on the narrative. From the difference of style and meter they should seem to be two different songs." This is evidently the case. The original ballad must have ended with l. 96, and is a simple narrative by Arthur of who and what he was, what countries he won, what giants and men he killed; how, while he was emperor at Rome, news of Mordred's treason came to him; how he returned and fought him, losing all his own valiant knights, and killing Mordred and every one of his men. Then a subsequent minstrel or copier must have thought "what a pity that all the details of that last great battle in the West should be left out!" So he set to work to add them, and has told again the oft-told tale that never dies: how the chance drawing of a sword by a knight to kill an adder, let loose on one another the hosts that were waiting to part as friends; how on that bloody field all Britain's "noble Chivalry took their end"—for one man's sin the fairest company that e'er was thought of, died;—how the fruit of Arthur's incest wounded to the death his father-king; how Duke Lukin, after thrice failing to obey his Lord's commands, threw Escalberd into the stream, and

. . ranne againe to tell the King.
but the King was gone from vnder the tree;

¹ A very curious Romantic old Ballad, or rather two. see st. 25.—P.

N.B. The facts here referred to may be found related at large in the Old Chronicles, especially an old Cronycle Folio, black Lettre, printed at Antwerp 1493, by Gerard de leeuw.—P.

The former part of this Ballad is upon the Plan of Guy & Phyllis. see Page 252.—P.

N.B. In this and the following, I made many corrections which I did not think it necessary to enumerate.—P.

but to what place he cold not tell,
for neuer after hee did him see;
but he see a barge from the land goe,
& heardè Ladyes houle & cry. . .

Arthur is
my name,

OFF Bruite his blood¹ in Brittainè borne,
King Arthur I am to name;
through christendome & heathynesse²
4 well knowen is my worthy fame.

and I believe
in God.

In Iesus christ I doe beleuee,
I am a christyan borne³;
the father, sone, & holy gost,
8 one god, I doe adore.

I ruled
Britain
in A.D. 490,

in the 490 yeere
over Brittainè I did rayne
after my savior christ his byrth,
12 What time I did maintaine

[page 179.]

and kept the
Round
Table
of 120
knights,

the fellow-shipp of the table round,
soe ffamous in those dayes,
wheratt 100 Noble *Knights*
16 & 30: sitt⁴ alwayes,

feared thro'
the world.

who for their deeds & Martiall ffates—
as bookes done yett record—
amongst all⁵ Nations
20 wer feared throwgh the world.

Uther begat
me on
Agyana.

& in the castle of Tyntagill⁶
King Vther mee begate
of Agyana,⁷ a bewtyous Ladye,⁸
24 & come of his estate.

¹ Brutus' blood, rather Bruty's.—P.

passim.—P.

⁴ sat.—P.

² As wel in Cristendom as *hethenesse*.
Chauc. *Cant. T. Prol.* Harl. MS. 7334.
—F.

⁵ other.—P. pronounce na-ti-ons.—F.

⁶ Tyntagel.—P.

⁷ It is *Igerne* in the old Chronicles.—P.

⁸ bore is used in G.D. for borne

⁸ dame.—P.

- & when I was 15 yeere old,
 then was I crowned King ;
 all Brittain was att an vprore,
 28 I did to quiett bringe,
- & droue the Saxons from the realme,
 who had opprest this Land;
 & then I conquered througe Manly feats
 32 all Scottlande¹ with my hands.²
- Ireland, Denmarke,³ Norway,
 these countryes wan I all,
 Iseland, Gotheland, & Swethland,
 36 & made their Kings my thrall.
- 5 Kings of Pauye⁴ I did kill
 amidst *that* bloody strife ;
 besides the grecian Emperour,
 40 who alsoe Lost his liffe.
- I conquered all Gallya
that now is called ffrance,
 & I slew the hardy froland feild,⁵
 44 My honor to advance ;
- & the vgly Gyant Danibus⁶
 soe terrible [to] vewe,
that in St Barnards mount did Lye,
 48 by force of armes I slew ;
- & ⁷ Lucyas the Emperour of Roome,
 I brought to deadly wracke ;

At fifteen
 I was
 crowned,

drove out
 the Saxons,
 and
 conquered
 Scotland,

Denmark,
 and Iceland.

I killed five
 Pavian kings
 and a Greek
 emperor.

I conquered
 France,
 slew Frollo,

the giant
 Danibus,

Lucius of
 Rome,
 and 1000
 of his
 knights.

¹ All Scotl^d then thro' manly feats
 I conquerd with my hands.
sic legerim.—P.

² hand.—P.

³ and.—P.

⁴ Pauye.—P.

⁵ Froll in feild : Frollor Frolle, accord-
 ing to the old Chronicles, was a Roman
 knight, Governor of France.—P.

⁶ called Dynabus in the Chronicles.

—P.

⁷ delend.—P.

- & a 1000 more of Noble *Knights*
 52 for feare did turne their backes,

 whose carkasse I did send to Roome,
 cladd poorlye on a beere.
 & afterward I past Mountioye,
 56 the next approaching yeere ;

 then I came to roome,¹ where I was mett
 right as a conquerour,
 & by all the cardinalls solempnelye
 60 I was crowned an Emperour.

 one winter [there] I made ² abode,
 & then word to me was brought
 how Mordred, my sonne,³ had ⁴oppressed the
 crowne,
 64 what treason he had wrought

 att home in Brittainne heere with my Queene ;
 therfore I came with speede
 to Brittainne backe with all my power,
 68 to quitt⁵ *that* traiterous deede.

 & when att Sandwiche I did Land,
 where⁶ Mordred me with-stood⁷ ;
 but yett att last I landed there
 72 with effusion of Much blood,

 ffor there my nephew Sir Gawaine dyed,
 being wounded on⁸ *that* sore⁹

Then I
passed
Mountjoye,

and in Rome
was crowned
emperor.

Then, news
came of
Mordred's
adultery

with my
queen.
I came
home.

Mordred
opposed my
landing,
but I
effected it,

losing Sir
Gawaine.

¹ Rome.—P.

² there I made.—P.

³ In *the* Chronicles &c. he is called his nephew.—P. The romances make him Arthur's son by incestuous intercourse with his sister, King Lot's wife.—F.

⁴ per.—P. (*so*) ⁵ i.e. requite.—P.

⁶ there.—P.

⁷ There is a dip-stroke between the *d* and *e*.—F.

⁸ in that sore.—P.

The w^{ch} Sir Lancelot in fight.
Had, &c.—P.

⁹ shore.—P.

- that Sir Lancelott in fight*
 76 *had giuen him before.¹*
- thence chased I Mordred away,*
who fledd to London wright² ;
ffrom London to winchester,
 80 *& to Cor[n]walle, hee tooke his flyght ;*
- & still I him pursued with speed*
till at the Last wee mett,
wherby appointed³ day of fight
 84 *was⁴ agreeede & sett,* [page 180.,
- ⁵ where wee did fight soe Mortallye*
of line eche other to⁶ deprive,
that of 100:1000 men
 88 *scarce one was left aline ;*
- there all the Noble chivalrye*
of Brittain tooke their end !
O ! see how fickle is their state⁷
 92 *that doe vpon⁸ feates depend !*
- there all the traiterous men were slaine,*
not one escaped away ;
& there dyed all my Vallyant Knights !
 96 *alas that woefull day !⁹*
- I chased Mordred to Cornwall,*
- till we met.*
- We fought ; nearly 100,000 were slain,*
- all Britain's noble knights!*
- All Mordred's men were killed, and all my valiant knights. Alas !*

[Part II.]

but vpon a Monday ¹⁰ after Trinity sonday
 this battaile foughen cold bee,

On Trinity Sunday before the battle

¹ 1. 76 & 75 are written in one line in the MS.—F.

² right.—P.

³ an appointed.—P.

⁴ there was.—P.

⁵ where we did fight of mortal life Eche other to deprive.—P.

⁶ life each to.—P.

⁷ state.—P. The *s* has a flourish like *s* at the end.—F.

⁸ on.—P.

⁹ Percy's note here is printed in the Introduction to this Poem.—F.

¹⁰ The Morn.—P.

where many a *Knight* cryed well-away !
 100 alacke, the more pittye !

Gawain's
ghost
appears to
Arthur,

but vpon Sunday in the euening then,
 when the *King* in his bedd did Lye,
 he thought Sir Gawaine to him came,
 104 & thus to him did say ¹ :

and prays
him not to
fight next
day,

"Now, as you are my vnckle deere,
 I pray you be ruled by mee,
 doe not fight as to-morrow day,²
 108 but put the battelle of if you may ³ ;

as Lancelot
and his
knights
are away in
France.

"for Sir Lancelott is now in france,
 & many *Knights* with him full hardye,
 & with-in this Month here hee wilbe,
 112 great aide wilbe ⁴ to thee."

Arthur tells
his nobles
his vision.

hee wakened forth of his dreames :
 to his Nobles *that* told hee,
 how he thought Sir Gawaine to him came,
 116 & these words sayd Certainly.

They advise
negotiation
with
Mordred.

& then thé gaue the *King* councill all,
 vpon Munday Earlye
that hee shold send one of his heralds of armes
 120 to parle⁵ with his sonne, if itt might bee.

Arthur
sends twelve
knights to
the parley,

& 12 knights *King* Arthur chose,
 the best in his companye,
that they shold goe to meete his sonne,
 124 to agree if itt cold bee.

¹ crye.—P.

² delend.—P.

³ but put it off if you may.—P.

⁴ to give.—P.

⁵ parle, parly.—P.

& the King charged all his host
 in readynesse for to bee,
that Noe man shold noe weapons sturr
 128 with-out a sword¹ drawne amongst his *Knights* thé
 see.

and ordere
 his host not
 to stir
 unless any
 knight
 draws his
 sword.

& Mordred vpon the other part,
 12 of his *Knights* chose hee
that they shold goe to meete his father
 132 betweene those 2 hosts fayre & free.

Mordred
 also sends
 tweve
 knights,

& Mordred charged his ost
 in like mannor most certainly,
that noe man shold noe weapons sturre
 136 with-out a sword drawne amongst² them thé see ;

and gives
 like ordere
 to his host.

for he durst not his father trust,
 nor the father the sonne³ certainley.
 alacke ! this was a woefull case
 140 as euer was in christentye !

Neither
 could
 trust the
 other.

but when they were mett together there,
 & agreed of all things as itt shold bee,
 & a monthes League then there was
 144 before the battele foughten shold bee,

The knights
 agree on
 a truce ;

an Adder came forth of Bush,
 stunge one of *king* Arthurs *Knights* below his knee :
 alacke ! this was a woefull chance
 148 as euer was in christentye !

an adder
 stings one
 of them ;

the *Knight* he found him wounded there,
 & see the wild worme there to bee ;
 his sword out of his scabberd he drew ;
 152 alas ! itt was the more pittye !

he draws
 his sword ;

¹ unless swordes.—P.

² against.—P.

³ some in MS.—F.

the hosts
join battle;

& when these 2 osts saw they sword drawn,
thé loyned battell certainlye,

and of
100,000 men
only three
are left,

Till of a 100:1000: men
of one side was left but 3.

[page 181.]

156

but all were slaine *that* durst abyde,
but some awaye *that* did flee.

1. Arthur,

King Arthur vpon his owne partye
himselfe aliue cold be,

160

2. Duke
Lukin,
and 3.
Bedever.

& Lukin the Duke of Gloster,
& Bedever his Butler certainlye.

the *King* looked about him there,

164 & saw his *Knights* all slaine to bee;

Arthur
moans to
see his
knights
slain and
Mordred
alive.

"Alas!" then sayd Noble *King* Arthur

"*that* euer this sight I see!

to see all my good *Knights* lye slaine,

168 & the traitor yett aliue to bee!

He will slay
Mordred.

"loe where he leanes vpon his sword hillts
amongst his dead men certainlye!

I will goe slay him att this time;

172 neuer att better advantage I shall him see."

Duke Lukin
dissuades
him,

"Nay! stay here, my Leege!" then said the Duke,

"for loue & charitye!

for wee haue the battell woone,

176 for yett aliue wee¹ are but 3:"

but Arthur
mounts his
horse,

the *King* wold not be perswaded then,

but his horsse then Mounted hee;

his Butler t[hat] helped² him to horsse,

180 his bowells gushed to his knee.

¹ altho alive we.—P.

² 'helped, or as he helped.'—P. MS. thelped.—F.

"alas!" then said noble *king* Arthur,
 "that this sight I euer see,
 to see this good *knight* for to be slaine
 184 for loue ¹ for to helpe mee!"

grieues over
 Bedeuer's
 wounds,

he put his speare into his rest,
 & att his sonne he ryd feirclye,
 & through him there his speare he thrust
 188 a fatham thorow his body.

charges at
 Mordred,
 and spears
 him through.

the sonne he felld² him wounded there,
 & knew ³ his death then to bee;
 he thrust himselfe vpon his speare,
 192 & gaue his father a wound certainlye.

Mordred
 wounds
 Arthur,

but there dyed Sir Mordred
 presently vpon *that* tree.
 but or ere the *King* returned againe,
 196 his butler was dead certainlye.

and dies on
 his spear.

then bespake him⁴ Noble *King* Arthur,
 these were the words sayd hee,
 sayes, "take my sword Escalberd⁵
 200 from my side fayre & free,
 & throw itt into this riuer heere;
 for all the vse of weapons Ile deliuer vppe,
 heere vnderneath this tree."

Arthur
 bids Lukin
 throw
 Escalberd

204 the Duke to the riuer side he went,
 & his sword in threw hee;
 & then he kept Escalberd,
 I tell you certainlye;

into the
 river.

Lukin
 throws in
 his own
 sword,
 and keeps
 Escalberd.

¹ for his love.—P.

² felt.—P.

³ MS. may be know.—F.

⁴ viz. Lukyn, Duke of Gloster.—P.

⁵ Caliburn, the sword of *King* Arthur
 was presented A.D. 1191 to Tancred,
King of Sicily, by our *King* Richard I.
 See Rapin, vol. i.—P.

- 208 & then he came to tell the *King*.
 the *king* said, "Lukin, what did thou see?"
 "noe thing, my leege," the[n]¹ sayd the duke,
 "I tell you certainlye."
- 212 "O goe againe," said the *king*,
 "for loue & charitye,
 & throw my sword into *that* riuier,
that neuer I doe itt see."
- 216 the Duke to the riuier side he went,
 & the *kings* scaberd in threw hee;
 & still he kept Escalbard
 for vertue sake faire & free.
- 220 he came againe to tell the *King*;
 the *King* sayd, "Lukin, what did thou see?"
 "nothing, my leege," then sayd the Duke,
 "I tell you certainlye."
- 224 "O goe againe, Lukin," said the *King*, [page 182.]
 "or the one of vs shall dye."
 then the Duke to the riuier sid went,
 & then *Kings* sword then threw hee:
- 228 a hand & an arme did meete *that* sword,
 & flourished 3 times certainlye.
 he came againe to tell the *King*,
 but the *King* was gone from vnder the tree,²
- 232 but to what place, he cold not tell,
 for neuer after hee did him see,
 but he see a barge from the land goe,
 & hearde Ladyes³ houle & cry certainlye;

¹ then.—P.² This is the tradition alluded to by Don Quixote.—P.³ By this word old English writersexpressed what the Romans called *Nymphae*, &c. Summo ulularunt vertice Nymphae. Æn. 4, 168.—P.

236 but whether the *king* was there or noe
 he knew not certainlye.
 the Duke walked by *that* Riuers side
 till a chappell there found hee,

Lakin walks
 to a chapel,

240 & a preist by the aulter¹ side there stood.
 the Duke kneeled downe there on his knee
 & prayed the preists, "for christis sake
 the rights² of the church bestow on mee!"

prays for the
 rites of the
 church,

244 for many dangerous wounds he had vpon him,³
 & liklye he was to dye.
 & there the Duke liued in prayer
 till the time *that* hee did dye.

and liues
 there till he
 dies.

248 ⁴ *King* Arthur liued *King* 22 yeere
 in honor and great fame,
 & thus by death suddenlye
 was depriued from the same.

Arthur
 reigned
 twenty-two
 years.

ffins.

¹ altar.—P.

² rites.—P.

³ delend.—P.

⁴ I take this stanza to belong to the
 first part.—P.

[The loose songs "*Of a Puritane*" and "*Cooke Laurell*"
 follow, pages 182-4 of the MS.]

King John & Bishoppe.

[Page 184 of MS.]

"IN most copies of y^e old song 'tis 'the Abbots of Canterbury,'" says Percy's note in the manuscript. Another copy is "In the printed collection of old Ballads, 1726, Vol. 2. p. 43. N. viii.," but "N.B. This song is more ancient and very different from the printed copy: containing double the quantity." In his Introduction to "K. John and the Abbot of Canterbury," "Reliques," v. 2, p. 302, 1st ed., the Bishop says, "The common popular ballad of 'King John and the Abbot' seems to have been abridged and modernized about the time of James I. from one much older, intituled 'King John and the Bishop of Canterbury.' The editor's folio MS. contains a copy of this last, but in too corrupt a state to be reprinted; it however afforded many lines worth revising, which will be found inserted in the ensuing stanzas [of "K. John and the Abbot"], chiefly printed from an ancient black-letter copy "to the tune of Derrydown." Besides the above names, the tune is also referred to as "A Cobbler there was," and as "Death and the Cobler" (Chappell's "Pop. Music," i. 348; tune at p. 350). "Both 'The King and the Abbot' and 'The King and the Bishop' are in the catalogue of ballads printed by Thackeray in the reign of Charles II. The story upon which these ballads are founded can be traced back to the fifteenth century" (*ib.* p. 350).

I'll tell you
a tale of
King John,

a bad lot he, 4

OFF an ancient story He tell you anon,
of a notable prince *that* was called *King* Iohn,
in England was borne, with maine & with might
hee did much¹ wrong, & mainteined litle right.

¹ mickle.—P.

- this Noble prince was vexed in veretye,
for he was angry with the bishopp of canterbury
ffor his house-keeping & his good cheere.
8 the rode post for him, as you shall heare ;
they rode post for him verry hastilye ;
the King sayd the bishopp kept a better house then hee ;
a 100 men euen, as I say,¹
12 the Bishopp kept in his house euerye day,
& 50 gold chaines,² without any doubt,
in veluett coates waited the Bishopp about.
the Bishopp, he came to the court anon
16 before his prince *that* was called King Iohn.
as soone as the Bishopp the King did see,
"O," quoth the King,³ "Bishopp, thow art welcome
to mee !
there is noe man soe welcome to towne
20 as thou *that* workes⁴ treason against my crowne."
"My leege," quoth the Bishopp, "I wold it were
knowne ;
I spend, your grace, nothing but *that thats*⁵ my
owne ;
I trust your grace will doe me noe deare⁶
24 for spending my⁸ owne trew gotten geere."
"yes," quoth the king, "Bishopp, thou must needs
dye⁸ :

and he was
angry with
the Bishop
of Canter-
bury

for being
richer than
himself.

The Bishop
comes to
court ;

King John
welcomes
him,

accuses him
of treason,

and says he
must die
unless
he answers

¹ hear say, conj.—P.

² Neck-chains were occasionally worn during the middle ages by knights and gentlemen ; and to them were [*was orig.*] afterwards appended the badges of royalty and nobility. In the sixteenth century gentlemen ushers and stewards used generally to wear *gold chains* as badges of office. In Middleton's "Mad World, my Masters," 1608, Sir Bounteous Progress, a rich old knight, exclaims : "Run, sirrah, call in my chief gentleman in the *chain of gold*." Peacham, writing in 1638, says of the days of Elizabeth :

"*Chains of gold* were then of lords, knights, and gentlemen, commonly worn ; but a *chain of gold* now (to so high a rate is gold raised) is as much as some of them are worth." (Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 416-17.)—F.

³ 'qth he, Bp.' conj.—P.

⁴ workest.—P. *workes* is right in the Northern dialect.—F.

⁵ what is.—P.

⁶ injury.—F.

⁷ of my.—P.

⁸ needs must thou die.—P.

- three
questions: except thou can answere mee questions 3,
thy head shalbe smitten quite from thy bodye,
28 & all thy liuing remayne vnto mee.
1. What he,
the King, first," quoth the King, "tell me in this steade,
with this crowne of gold heere vpon¹ my head,
amongst my Nobilitye² with Ioy & much Mirth,
is worth. 32 lett me know within one pennye what I am worth :
secondlye, tell me without any dowbt
how soone I may goe the whole world about :
2. How soon
he can go
round the
world. & thirdly, tell mee or euer I stinte,³
3. What he
is thinking
about. 36 what is the thing, Bishopp, *that* I doe thinke.
20 dayes pardon thoust haue trulye,⁴
&⁵ come againe⁶ & answere⁷ mee."
The Bishop the Bishopp bade the King 'god night'⁸ att a
word.
40 he rode betwixt Cambridge & oxenford,
but neuer a Doctor there was soe wise
cold shew him these questions or enterprise;
wherewith the Bishopp was nothing gladd,
44 but in his hart was heauy & sadd,
& hyed him home to^a house in the countrye
To ease some part of his Melanchollye. [page 185.]
his halfe brother dwelt there, was feirce & fell,
noe better but a shepard to the Bishoppe him-sell ;
the shepard came to the Bishopp anon,
saying, " my Lord, you are welcome home !
asks what
ailes him. what ayles you," quoth the shepard, "*that* you are
soe sadd,
52 & had wonte to haue beene soe Merry & gladd ? "
" Nothing." " Nothing," quoth the Bishopp, " I ayle att this
time,
will not thee⁹ auaile to know, Brother mine."

¹ on.—P.² all my nobles.—P.³ you shrink.—P.⁴ verilye.—P. On *thoust*, see note ¹,
p. 20.—F.⁵ then.—P.⁶ truly.—P.⁷ to.—P.⁸ goodnight.—P.⁹ that will thee.—P.

- "Brother," quoth the Sheppard, "you haue heard
itt,¹
- 56 *that a ffoole may teach a wisemane witt²;*
say me therfore what-soeuer you will,
& if I doe you noe good, Ile doe you noe ill."
- Quoth the Bishop: "I haue beene att thy court anon,
60 before my prince is called *King Iohn*,
& there he hath charged mee
against his crowne with traitorye;
if I cannott answer his Misterye,
- 64 3 questions hee hath propounded to mee,
he will haue my Land soe faire & free,
& alsoe the head from my bodye.
the first question was, 'to tell him in *that* stead
68 with the crowne of gold vpon his head,
amongst his Nobilitye³ with Ioy & much mirth,
to lett him know within one peny^e what hee is
worth;'
- & secondlye 'to tell him with-out any doubt
72 how soone he may goe the whole world about;'
& thirdlye, 'to tell him, or ere I stint,
what is the thinge *that* he does⁴ thinke.'" "Brother," quoth the shepard, "you are a man of
Learninge;
- 76 what neede you stand in doubt of soe small a
thinge?
lend me," quoth the shepard, "your Ministers⁵
apparrell,
Ile ryde to the court & answe^r your quarrell;
lend me your serving men, say me not nay;
80 with all your best horsse^s *that* ryd on the way,
Ile to the court, this matter to stay;

"Brother, a
fool may
teach a wise
man; tell
me your
trouble."

The Bishop
tells his
half-brother

the three
questions
which he
must answer
or die:

1. What
King John
is worth.

2. How
quickly he
can circle
the world.
3. What he
is thinking
about.

"Mere
trifles,"
says the
Shepherd.
"Lend me
your dress,

men,
and horses,

and I'll to
court and

¹ never heard yet. Pr. copy.—P.

² 'A fool may put somewhat in a wise
body's head.' Ray, in Bohn's *Handbook*,
p. 94. 'Fools may sometimes give wise
men counsel:' *ib.* p. 356. 'A fool may

give a wise man a counsel:' *Proverbs of
Scotland*, ed. Hislop, 1862, p. 281.—F.

³ all his nobles.—P.

⁴ that he doth.—P.

⁵ Abbots or Bishops.—P.

- answer the
King." Ile speake with *King Iohn* & heare what heele say."
the Bishopp with speed prepared then
- 84 to sett forth the shepard with horsse & man ¹ ;
the shepard was linely with-out any doubt ;
I wott a royall companye came to the court.
the shepard hee came to the court anon
- The
Shepherd
comes to
court. 88 before [his] prince *that* was called *King Iohn*.
as soone as the king the shepard did see,
"O," quoth the king, "Bishopp, thou art welcome
to me !"
- King Iohn
asks, "Can
you answer
my ques-
tions ?" 92 the shepard was soe like the Bishopp his brother,
the *King* cold not know the one from the other.
Quoth the *King*, "Bishopp, thou art welcome to me
if thou can answer me my questions 3 !"
said the shepard, "if it please your grace,
show mee what the first quest[i]on was."
- "What was
the first ?"
"To tell me
what I am
worth." 96 "first," quoth the king, "tell mee in this stead
with the crowne of gold vpon my head,
amongst² my nobilitye³ with Ioy & much mirth,
within one pennye what I am worth."
- 100 Quoth the shepard, "to make⁴ your grace noe offence,
I thinke you are worth 29 pence;
for our *Lord Iesus*, *that* bought vs all,
for 30 pence was sold into thrall
- "Twenty-
nine pence,
1d. less than
Christ was
sold for." 104 amongst the cursed Iewes, as I to you doe showe ;
but I know christ was one penye better then you."
then the *King* laught, & swore by St. Andrew
he was not thought to bee of such a small value.
- 108 "Secondlye, tell mee with-out any doubt
how soone I may goe the world round about."
saies the shepard, "it⁵ is noe time with your grace
to scorne ;
but rise betime with the sun in the Morne,
& follow his course till his vprising,
- "Follow the
sun, 112

¹ horses and men.—P.² all.—P.³ nobles, conl.—P.⁴ give.—P.⁵ this.—P.

- & then you may know with-out any Leasing—
 & this¹ your grace shall proue the same—
 116 you are come to the same place from whence you came; and you'll do it
 24 houres,² with-out any doubt, [page 186.] in twenty-four hours."
 your grace may the world goe round about;
 the world round about, euen as I doe say,
 120 if with the sun you can goe the next way."
 " & thirdlye tell me or euer I³ stint, 3. "What do I think?"
 what is the thing, Bishoppe, *that* I doe thinke."
 "that shall I doe," quoth the shepeard; "for veretye "That I am the Bishop,
 124 you thinke I am the Bishopp of Canterburye."
 "why? art not thou? the truth tell to me;
 for I doe thinke soe," quoth the king, "by St.
 Marye."
 "not soe," quoth the shepeard; "the truth shalbe and I aint!"
 knowne,
 128 I am his poore shepeard; my brother is att home."
 "why," quoth the King, "if itt soe bee,
 Ile make thee Bishopp here to⁴ mee." John offers to make him his Bishop.
 "Noe, Sir," quoth the shepard, "I pray you be still, The Shepherd refuses.
 132 for Ile not bee Bishop but against my will;
 for I am not fitt for any such deede,
 for I can neither write nor reede."
 "why then," quoth the king, "Ile giue thee cleere John gives him 300l. a year,
 136 a patten⁵ of 300 pound a yeere;
 that I will giue thee franke & free;
 take thee *that*, shepard, for coming⁶ to me.
 free pardon Ile giue," the kings grace said, and pardons the Bishop.
 140 "to saue the Bishopp, his land & his head;
 with him nor thee Ile be nothing wrath⁷;
 here is the pardon for him & thee both."

¹ thus.—P.² then in 24.—P.³ you, vid. *supra*.—P.⁴ here unto.—P.⁵ patent.—P.⁶ coming in MS.—F. coming.—P.⁷ wroth.—P.

The Shepherd rides home,	144	then the shepard he had noe more to say, but tooke the pardon & rode his way. when he came to the Bishopps place, the Bishopp asket anon how all things was :
tells the Bishop	148	" Brother," quoth the shepard, " I haue well sped, for I haue sau'd both your Land & your head ; the <i>King</i> with you is nothing wrath, for heere is the pardon for you & mee both."
he is pardoned,		then the Bishopes hart was of a Merry cheere, " brother, thy paines Ile quitt them cleare, for I will giue thee a patent to thee & to thine of 50 ^{li} a yeere land good & fine."
and the Bishop gives him land worth 50 <i>l</i> . a year.	152	" I will to thee noe longer croche ¹ nor creepe, nor Ile serue thee noe more to keepe thy sheepe." whereeuer wist you shepard before, <i>that</i> had in his head witt such store to pleasure a Bishopp in such a like case, to answer 3 questions to the <i>Kings</i> grace ? whereeuer wist you shepard gett cleare 350 ^{li} pound a yeere ?
" No more keeping sheep for me, then !"	156	I neuer hard of his fellow before, nor I neuer shall. now I need to say noe more: I neuer knew shepard <i>that</i> gott such a liuinge But David the shepard <i>that</i> was a <i>King</i> .
Who ever heard of such a clever shepherd before ?	160	
I never did,	164	
except King David,		ffins.

¹ crouch.—P.

Mary Ambree.

PERCY's Introduction is: "In the year 1584, the Spaniards, under the command of Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, began to gain great advantages in Flanders and Brabant, by recovering many strong-holds and cities from the Hollanders, as Ghent (called then by the English Gaunt), Antwerp, Mechlin, &c. See Stow's Annals, p. 711. Some attempt made with the assistance of English volunteers to retrieve the former of those places probably gave occasion to this ballad. I can find no mention of our heroine in history, but the following rhymes rendered her famous among our poets. Ben Jonson often mentions and calls any remarkable virago by her name. See his 'Epicæne,' first acted in 1609, Act 4, sc. 2. His 'Tale of a Tub,' Act 1, sc. 4. And his masque intitled 'The Fortunate Isles,' 1626, where he quotes the very words of the ballad,

". . . *Mary Ambree,*
(Who marched so free,
To the siege of Gaunt,
And death could not daunt
As the ballad doth vaunt),
Were a braver wight &c.

She is also mentioned in Fletcher's 'Scornful Lady,' Act 5, *sub finem*:

" 'My large gentlewoman, my Mary Ambree, had I but seen into you, you should have had another bedfellow.'

¹ An English virago, not inferior to the Pucelle d'Orleans.—P.

"¹ It is likewise evident, that she is the virago intended by Butler in 'Hudibras' (P. i. c. 3. v. 365), by her being coupled with Joan d'Arc, the celebrated 'Pucelle d'Orleans.'

"A bold virago stout and tall
As Joan of France, or English Mall."¹

"This ballad [in the *Reliques*] is printed from a black-letter copy in the Pepys Collection, improved from the Editor's folio MS. and by conjecture.² The full title is, 'The valorous acts performed at Gaunt by the brave bonnie lass Mary Ambree, who in revenge of her lover's death did play her part most gallantly. The tune is the blind beggar &c.'" Mr. Chappell has printed the tune in his "Popular Music," vol. i. p. 159.

At the siege
of Ghent

CAPTAINE courageous, whome death cold daunte,
beseege the Citye branelye, the citty of gaunt³!
they mustered their soliders by 2 & by 3:
4 & the fformost in Battele was Mary Aumbree!

Mary's lover
was slain.

When braue Sir Iohn Maior was slaine in *that* fight,
that was her true louer, her Ioy & delight,
shee swore his death vnrenenged shold not bee⁴;

She swore to
revenge him

8 was not this a braue, bonye lasse, Mary Aumbree?

with fire
and sword.

The death of her trueloue shee meant to requite
with fire & ffamine [&]⁵ sword shining bright,
which lately was slaine most villanouslye;

12 was not this a brane, bonnye Lasse, Mary Aumbree?

¹ Not in the first, second, and third editions of the *Reliques*. Inserted in the fourth, edited by Percy's nephew.—F.

² "Compared with another in the Editor's folio MS." 1st. edn. 1765; "improved from the Editor's folio MS." 2nd.

edn. 1767, and 3rd. 1775.—P.

³ bravely besieged the city of Gt.—P.

⁴ that his death revenged should bee.—P.

⁵ & famine & sword.—P.

16 Shee cladd her selfe from the top to the toe
in buffe¹ of the brauest most seemlye to show,
& a faire shirt of Male slipped on shee;
was not this a brane, bonye lasse, Mary Aumbree?

Shee clad
herself
in mail,

20 A helmett of prooffe² shee tooke on her head,
& a strong arminge sword shee wore by her side;
a goodly fayre gauntlett on her hand put shee;
was not this &c.

put on
helm
and
gauntlet,

24 Shee tooke her sword & her targett in hand, [page 187.]
bidding all such as wold, wayte on her band.
to waite on her person there came 1000³ 3 :
was not this a brane &c.

and got
3,000 men.

28 "My soldiers," shee saith, "soe valiant & bold,
now ffollow your Captain which you doe beholde;
in the fight formost my selfe will I bee!"
was not &c.

"Soldiers,
follow me,"
shee says.

32 Then cryed out her souldiers, & loude thé did say,
"soe well thou becomes this gallant array,
thy hands & thy weapons doe well soe agree,
there was neuer none like to Mary Aumbree!"

They cry.
"There's
none like
thee."

36 Shee cheared her good souldiers *that* foughten for
life,
with the cominge of Ancyents,³ with drum & with
fife,
that braue sonding⁴ trumpetts with ingines soe free,
att last thé made mention of Mary Aumbree.

Shee cheers
her soldiers
with music,

¹ *Buff-coat*. A leathern outer-garment, made exceedingly strong and unyielding, and sometimes an eighth of an inch thick, exclusive of the lining. They were much used by the soldiers in the civil wars. *Fairholt*.—F.

² proof.—P.

³ An *ancient* or *anshent*, a flag or streamer, set up in the stern of a ship. *Phillips*.—F.

⁴ sounding.—P.

and
promises
to save
them.

“ Before *that* I doe see the worst of you all
come in the danger of your enemyes thrall,
this hand & this sword shall first sett him free ;”
40 was not &c.

She routs
her foes,

Shee forward went on in Battaile array,
& straight shee did make her foes flye away ;
7 houres in skirmish continued shee ;
44 was not &c.

fires into
them,

The skyes shee did fill with the smoke of her shott,
in her enemies bodyes with bulletts soe hott ;
for one of her owne men, a sckore¹ killed shee ;
48 was not &c.

and cuts a
traitorons
gunner in
three.

Then did her gunner spoyle her intent,
pelletts & powder away had he sent :
then with her sword shee cutt him in 3,
52 was not &c.

She is
betrayed,
retires to a
castle,

Then was shee caused to make a retyre,
being falsely betrayd, as itt doth appeare ;
then to saue her selfe into a castle went shee ;
56 was not &c.

and is sur-
rounded.

Her foes thé besett her on euerye side,
thinking in *that* castle shee wold not abyde ;
to beate downe those walls they all did agree ;
60 was not &c.

She dares
any three of
her foes.

Shee tooke her sword & her targett in hand,
shee came to the walls, and vpon them did stand,
their² daring their Captaine to match any 3,
64 was not &c.

¹ score.—P.

² there.—P.

"Thou English *Captain*, what woldest thou giue
to ransome thy liffe *which* else must not lue?
come downe quickly, & yeeld thee to mee!"

They call
on her
to yield.

68 then smiled sweetlye Mary Aumbree ;

"Good gentle *Captain*, what thinke you by mee,
or whom in my likenesse you take mee to bee?"

72 "a knight, sir, of England, & *Captain* soe free,
that I meane to take away prisoner with me."

"Good gentle *Captain*, behold in your sight
2 brests in my bosome, & therfore no knight ;
noe *Knight*, Sir, of England, nor *Captain* soe free,
76 but ene[n]^e 1 a pore² bony³ Lasse, Mary Aumbree."

She says
she is no
knight,
only Mary
Aumbree;

"If thou beest a woman as thou dost declare,
that hast mangled our soliders, & made them soe
bare ;

80 the like in my liffe I neuer did see ;
therfore Ile honor thee, Mary Aumbree."

"Giue² I be a woman, as well thou doest see,
Captain, thou gettst noe redemption of mee
without thou wilt fight with blowes 2 or 3."
84 was not &c.

her foe will
get nought
of her with-
out blows.

God send in warrs, such euent I abide,
god send such a solider to stand by my side !
then safely preserued my person wilbe ;
88 there was neuer none like to Mary Aumbree !

God send
one like her
to fight by
me !

¹ even.—P. read *den*.—F.

² one of these seems redundant.—P.

³ giff, *i.e.* if.—P.

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NEW-STREET SQUARE

Appendix.

THE BODLEIAN FRAGMENTS

OF

Sir Lamwell.

Malone, 941; and Douce fragments, II. 95.

THE statement in the Introduction to *Sir Lambewell*, p. 142, line 6, that "the print [of *Sir Lamwell*], with the exception of one single page preserved in the Douce collection, has perished," is wrong. Mr. Halliwell, in a note to me of last June, said:

"Some years ago, I had *another* unique fragment of 'Sy^r Lamwell,' differing from that in the Douce collection. Thinking it better for both to be preserved together, I gave my fragment to the Bodleian Library. Both these fragments might be worth printing in your Appendices, if you print any. At any rate, I thought it no harm to name it to you."

This fragment of nine leaves—eight of which only belong to *Sir Lamwell*—is now reprinted here, with some of the lost part filled up in italics, by guess¹ and by comparison with the text of the Folio and the Douce leaf. The Halliwell fragment corresponds, with omissions and additions, to the first 420 lines of our Folio text, pp. 144–57. The Douce fragment of one leaf corresponds—also with omissions and additions—to lines 344–95 of our text, pp. 155–7. The Douce and Halliwell (or Malone) texts are of the same type—both containing the same omissions from, and additions

¹ Mr. Skeat has kindly helped me.—F.

to the Folio text; but the Douce and Halliwell versions are of different editions—the Halliwell one being the more carefully printed, and seemingly the earlier. It contains one line that the Douce leaves out, and does not print *Aals* for *Alas*, *lyese* for *lyfe*, *eze* for *eye*, &c., as the Douce does, lines 12, 13. Altogether this matter forms an interesting little bit of bibliographical cram, which justifies the reproduction of the fragments here.—F.

¶ THE TREATY.

[leaf 1.]

<i>I sing of kin]</i> . . .	ges by the dayes of Arthur	[leaf 1b.]
<i>Who held Brit]</i> . . .	ayne in great honoure	
<i>And in his time a]</i> . . .	great whyle	
<i>He sojourned in m]</i> . . .	ery carlyle	4
<i>To him there ca]</i> . . .	m many an heyre	
<i>As he had many a w]</i> . . .	yde where	
<i>Of his Round Ta]</i> . . .	ble the knyghtes all	
<i>Had much mirt]</i> . . .	he in bowre and in hall	8
<i>From every land of]</i> . . .	the worlde so wyde	
<i>They came to hi]</i> . . .	n on euery syde	
<i>Both yonge knights and]</i>	squyers eke	
<i>All bold bachel]</i> . . .	ers came hym to seke	12
¹ <i>For he was of gre]</i> . . .	t noblenes	
<i>And feastes were in hi]</i>	s courte alwayes	
<i>And he gave gifts]</i> . . .	and treasure	
<i>To knights that weren]</i>	of honoure ¹	16
<i>And with him there]</i>	was a bachelere	
<i>Who had been there m]</i>	any a yere	
<i>A yonge knight]</i> . . .	of moche myght	
<i>Sir Lamwell]</i> . . .	forsothe he hyght	20
<i>And he]</i> . . .	gaue gyftes myghtely	
<i>And spared not]</i> . . .	but gaue full largely	
<i>His good so largely]</i>	he it spente	
<i>Much more he gaue th]</i>	an he had rente	24
<i>Soe outrageous]</i> . . .	ly he it sette	
<i>That he became]</i> . . .	fer in dette	
<i>And when he sa]</i> . . .	we well that all was gone	
<i>Then he began]</i> . . .	to make his mone	28
² <i>And said Alack w]</i> . . .	o is that man	
<i>That no good]</i> . . .	hathe ne no good can	

¹⁻¹ Not in the Folio.—F.

different in the Folio, which adds

² The two following lines are two after them.—F.

- When he is far in a st]. . raunge lande*
And no good h] athe I vnderstande 32
- ¹ Men wyll me holde for a v[ile wrecche; [leaf 2.]
 Where I become, certeyns I *ne recche*.
 He lepte vpon a fayre cours[er
 Without chylde or yet squy[er 36
 And rode so forthe in great [haste
 For to dryue awaye sore lo[
 His waye he taketh toward [the west
 Bytwene a water and a fo[rest 40
 The sonne was at the euy[n[tide
 He lyghted there downe an[d thought to abide
² For he was hote in the we[ther fayre,
 He toke his mantell and [lapped hym there,³ 44
 And layde hym downe tha[t knight free
 Vnder the shadowe of a tr[ee
³ Alas he sayd no good I ha[ve
 I wote not whether to go [or lave 48
 And all the knyghtes that [I knew
 Of the rounde table that b[e true
 Echeone to haue me was [glad
 Nowe wyll they be on me [sad 52
 Weleawaye than is my [case
 With sore wepyng his h[art did pase
 With sorrowe and care th[as he had thore³
 Tyll on slepyng that he [fell sore 56
 All for-sobbed and for-w[orn.
- [P 8 lines cut off: lines 61-66 of the Folio, p. 146 above.]
- ⁴ Mantles they h] ad of reed veluet [leaf 26.]
 Fringed with go] lde full well set 68
 And they were tyred a] . . . boue ouer all
 On their heads with] . . . a Joly carnall⁵
 Their faces as whit] . . . e as snowe or downe
 Of lovesome co] loure and eyen browne 72
⁶ Such had h] e neuer before se
 He thought thei] n aungelles of heuen hye⁶
 And one of them had a go]lde basyne
 And the other a to]. well of alysene 76
 Lamwell, they nighe] . . . de hym bothe twayne
 He rose, a] nd wente them agayne
 Welcome, said he,] damoyelles so free

¹ For the next two lines the Folio has twenty, l. 31-50.—F.

²⁻³ Not in the Folio.—F.

³⁻⁴ Not in the Folio.—F.

⁴ Line 67 of Folio.—F.

⁵ carnall, orig.—F.

⁶⁻⁶ Not in the Folio.—F.

¹ *Sir Knight, they*] . . . answered well be ye 80
Our lady thats b] . . . ryght as the floure
Thee greetes Sir L] . . . amwell as paramoure
And prays you] . . . to come and speke with her
If it should be your w] . . . yll nowe syr 84
Lamwell answered them] . bothe there
I am most fain w] . . . ith you to fare

² *Your mistress, bring ye me*] her two
And from her will] . . . I neuer go
He washed his fac] . . . e and handes also
And with these may] . . . dens than dyde he go 90

[8 lines cut off: lines 101-8, p. 147-8, above].

kyng Alyxander the conqueroure [leaf 2.]
 Ne Salamon in his moost honoure 100
 Ne yet Charlemayne the ryche kyng
 Had they neuer suche a thyng
 He founde in that paulyon
 The kynges doughter of Mylyon 104
 That is an yle in fayry
 In oxyan full nere therby
 There laye a bed of moche pryce
 Couered ouer in goodly wyse 108
 Theron sate a mayden bryght
 Almost naked vp ryght
 All her clothes besyde her laye
 Full sengle she sate I saye 112
 In a mantell of whyte armyne
 Couered ouer with golde full fyne
 The mantell downe for hete she dyde
 Ryght vnder the gyrdell stede 116
 There was she as whyte as lylly in maye
 Or snowe that fallethe in wynter daye
 Blossome on breere ne floure
 Was nothyng to her coloure 120
 The reed rose that was so newe
 To her reednesse was it no hewe

[8 lines cut off: lines 131-8 of the Folio].

Lamwell she sayd my harte swete [leaf 2A.]
 For thy loue my harte I lete 122
 There is no kyng ne emperoure
 That and I loued hym paramoure
 As moche as I do nowe the

¹ Folio has three lines for this one.—F.

² Folio has ten lines for two here.—F.

- But they wolde be ryght glad of me 136
- ¹ Lamwell behelde that lady bryght
 Her loue hym rauysshed anone ryght¹
 He sate hym downe the lady besyde
 Damoyzell he sayd tyde what betyde 140
 Euermore bothe lowde and styll
 Commaunde me ryght at your wyll
- ² Syr knyght she sayd curtoysse and hende 142
 I knowe thy state bothe fyrst and ende
 Wylte thou trustly to me take
 And all other for me forsake
 I shall mayntayne thyne honoure
 With golde and syluer and ryche treasure 146
 On euery man spende greatly
 And ryche gyftes largely
 The more thou spende the meryer thou syt
 I shall the fynde ynoughe of it 150
- ³ His loue brente lyke the fyre
 For than she had all his desyre³
 Of her profer he was full blythe
- [? 8 lines cut off: lines 161-4 of the Folio, with 164-8, p. 149, altered
 for the next 2 of this text.]
- Also they wasshed and downe sette [leaf 4.] 162
 And at soupere together they ete
 Mete and drynke they had plente
 Of euery thyng that was daynte
 After soupere whan daye was gone
 To bedde they wente bothe anone 166
- ⁴ All that nyght they laye in fere
 And dyd that theyr wylls were
 For playe they aleped lytell that nyght
 Till it began to be daye lyght 170
 Lamwell she sayd ryse and go nowe
 Golde and syluer take ynoughe with you
- ⁵ Largely to spende on euery man
 For ye shall haue ynoughe than 174
 And when ye wyll gentyll knyght
 To speke with me by daye or nyght
 Vnto some secrete place ye go
 And thynke on me so and so 178

¹⁻¹ Not in the Folio.—F. Folio has eight, l. 173-80, p. 150.

² Folio inserts four lines here, —F.

1. 149-52.—F. ³ For the next two lines the

³⁻³ Not in the Folio.—F. Folio has three, l. 188-90, and

⁴ For the next two lines the transposes four, l. 191-94.—F.

- And I shall anone with you be
 No man saue you shall se me
¹ Of one thyng syr I the defendaunte 182
 Of me syr to make thyne auaunte
 For yf thou do beware before
 For euer thou hast my loue forlorne ¹
 The maydens brought hym his hors anone
 He taketh his leue and forthe is gone 186
² Of treasure he hathe great plente
 And so rode he thurgh the cyte
 Whan that he came there he shulde bene
 A meryer man had they not sene 190
³ Hym selfe he rode full rychely
 And his squyers full stoutely ³
 Lamwell maketh the noble feestes [leaf 4b.]
 Lamwell fynde mynstrelles that gestes 194
⁴ Lamwell byethe the great stodes
 Lamwell gyueth the ryche wedes
 Lamwell geueth plente of mete and drynke
 Lamwell helpe there as he nede coude thynke ⁴ 198
 Lamwell rewarde relygyous
 Lamwell helped euery pore hous
 For were he knyght squyre or swayne
 With his goodes he helped them 202
 Of his largenes euery man wote
 But no man knewe howe he it got
 And whan hym lyked pruely and styll
 His lady was redy at his wyll 206
 Well happy were now that man
 That in these dayes had suche one
⁵ But on a tyme syr Gawayne
 That curtoys knyght and syr Ewayne 210
 Syr Lamwell with them also
 And other knyghtes twenty and mo
 Wente to playe them on the grene
 Vnder the towre there as was the quene 214
 These knyghtes on theyr game played tho
 And sythe to daunsynge gan they go
 Syr Lamwell was before set
 For his large spence they loued hym bet 218
 The quene in her towre behelde this all
 She sayde yonder is large Lamwell

¹⁻¹ Lines 191-94 of the Folio.—F.²⁻² Not in the Folio.—F.³ The Folio inserts lines 203-4 here.—F.⁴⁻⁴ Not in the Folio.—F.⁵ Part II. in the Folio.—F.

Of all the knyghtes that ben there	
Is none so fayre a bachelere	322
And hathe neyther lemman ne wyfe	
I wolde he loued me as his lyfe	
Betyde me well betyde me yll	[leaf 5.]
I shall she sayd go wete his wyll	226
She toke with her a company	
Of damoysselles that were ryght praty	
And gothe her downe anone ryghtes	
For to daunce with the knyghtes	230
The quene went to the fyrst ende	
Bytwene Gawen and Lamwell the hende	
And all her maydens so forthe ryghtes	
One and one bytwene two knyghtes [sic]	234
Whan all the daunsynge dyde aslake	
The quene Lamwell to counsaile gan take	
Shortely she sayd thou gentyll knyght	
I have loued and dothe with all my myght	238
And as moche desyre I the	
As Arthoure the kynge so fre	
Good happe is now to the tane	
To loue me and none other woman	242
Madame he sayd nay certays	
I wyll not be traytoure neuer my dayes	
I owe the kynge feate and homage	
Shall I neuer do hym that damage	246
Fye on the thou false cowarde	
Dastarde harlot that thou arte	
That thou lyuest it is pyte	
That louest no woman nor woman the	250
¹ Me thynke harlot thou shuldest be fayne	
And answer me with ye agayne	
Syth I the loue ywys	
Before all that in the courte is	254
But as thou arte so thou doost	
No woman on the wyll make boost ²	
The knyght was sore agreued tho	[leaf 5b.]
And answered her and sayd ryght so ¹	258
Madame he sayde thou sayst thy wyll	
I can loue bothe lowde and styll	
And am loued with my lemman	
That fayrer hathe no gentylman	262
Nor none so fayre this saye I	

¹ Not in the Folio.—F.

² The signature at the foot of the page is "Syr Lam. . . . 32."—G.P.

Neyther mayden nor yet lady	
That the symplest mayde with her I wene	
Ouer the madame myght be a quene	266
Then was she ashamed and full wrothe	
She cleped her maydens and forthe gothe	
To chaumbre she went all heuy	
For tene and angre she wolde dye	270
Kynge Arthure came from huntynge	
Glad and mery for all thyng	
To the quenes chaumbre gone is he	
And she fell downe vpon her kne	274
Sone lorde gan she crye	
Helpe me lorde or I dye	
And without ye Juge ryght	
I shall dye this enders nyght	278
I spake with Lamwell on my game	
And he besought me of shame	
As a full vylayne traytoure	
He wolde haue done me dyshonoure	282
¹ And of a lemman praysement he made	
That the symplest mayde she had	
Myght be a quene ouer me	
And all lorde in dyspyte of the	286
The kyng therwith waxed wrothe	
And for angre he swore his othe	
That Lamwell shulde abyde the lawe	[leaf 6.]
To be hanged and drawe	290
He commaunded foure knyghtes	
To fetch the traytoure forthe ryghtes	
The foure knyghtes seketh hym anone	
But to his chambre was he gone	294
Alas he sayd my lyfe is lorne	
Hereof she warned me beforne	
Of all thynges that I dyde vse	
Of her shulde I neuer make rouse	298
He cleped and called and her besought	
But all that auayled hym nought	
He wepte and sorowed and he dyde crye	
And on his knees he prayd her of marcy	302
² He bete his body and his heed eke	
And cursed his mouthe of her dyde speke ³	
O my lady o gentyll creature	
How shall my wretched body endure	306

¹ Folio inserts here, lines 287-8, ²⁻³ Not in the Folio. See line
p. 153.—F. 308, p. 154.—F.

My worldes blysse I haue forlorne
 And falsely vnto my lady forsworne
 For sorowe and care he made that stounde
 He fell on sowne vpon the grounde 310
 So longe he laye that the knyghtes came
 And in his chambre they toke hym than 312
 And as a thefe they ledde hym th[en]

[^p 8 lines cut off: lines 318-24 in the Folio, p. 154.]

Lamwell answered with mylde mode [leaf 66.]
 And tolde hym the sothe euery worde
 That it was none otherwyse than so
 That wolde he make good tho 326
 What all the courte wolde to hym loke
 Twelue knyghtes were put to a boke
 The sothe to saye in that case
 All together as it was 330
 These twelue knyghtes as I wene
 knewe the rule of the quene
 All thoughte the kynge was bolde and stoute
 She was wycked out and oute 334
 And she had suche a comforte
 To haue lemmans vnder her lorde
¹ Wherby they coude all tell
 It was longe of her and not of Lamwell ¹ 338
 Here of they quyte a trewe man
 And sythe they spake forthe on
 That yf he myght his lemman brynge
 Of whome he made his auntyngs 342
 And yf he myght proue in place
² That her maydens fayrer was
 And also bryghter and shene
 And of more beaute than the quene 346

[8 lines cut off: l. 4-11 of the Douce fragment, l. 347-54 of the Folio, which also has 8 lines, l. 355-62, for the next 4 here and in the Douce version.]

Alas he sayd I shall dye [leaf 7.]
 My lefe I shall se neuer [with eye
 Ete nor drynke wolde he [neuer
 But wepyng and in w[o was euer 360
 So is he with sorowe [nome
 He wolde his endyng [day were come
 That he myght from his [life go

¹⁻¹ Not in the Folio. See lines 338-9.—F.

² The Douce fragment begins here.—F.

Eche man for hym wa[s ful wo	364
For a larger spender th[en he	
Came neuer in that c[oun]tree	
Therto was he fyers [and bolde	
None better in the ky[nges housholde	368
The daye was [come of his appearing	
They brought th[e knyght before the kyng	
His borowes that h[ys suertyes was	
To apere before the ky[nges face	372
The kyng lete it be re[hersed there	
Bothe the playnte and [his answers	
He bad hym brynge hi[s Leman in sight	
And he answered tha[t he ne myght	376
¹ The wordes that I sa[yed eche one	
Wete ye well I lyed [of none	
If I so myght be take[n thereby	
In that quarell wold [I dye ¹	380
For this I saye to you [alone	

[8 lines cut off: l. 35-42 of the *Douce fragment*; l. 380-82 of the *Folio*.]

Or yet to come with] . . . in her boure	[leaf 7b.]
But if it were for her] . . . pleASURE	
² I would deeyre no mo]. . . re of ryght	
But once of her to hau] . . . e a syght	392
Forsooth, for no] . . . more wold I care	
But to th]. . . e dethe wolde I fare ³	
Not to displease her s]. . . kerly	
³ Yet would I ye saw her] . . . or that I dye	396
But it is not at my wil] . . . lynge	
It is as she wyll this w] . . . orthy thynges ³	
Bryng her forth the ky] . . . nge sayse	
That thou now so fast d] . . . othe prayse	400
To prove the soth that thou sa] yst of	
Forsoth my lord that can I] nought	
The kyng sayed vnto] . . . hym thore	
Forsoth thy disworsh] . . . yp is the more	404
What may we all kno] . . . we here by	
But that thou liest lou] . . . de on hye	
The barons all had com] . . . maundement ⁴	
That they should ge] . . . ue iugement ⁵	408

¹⁻¹ Not in the Folio.—F.

⁴ The Douce fragment ends

²⁻² Not in the Folio. See lines here.—F.

384-5, p. 156.—F.

⁵ The Folio inserts here, l. 397-8,

³⁻³ Not in the Folio. See lines p. 157.—F.

386-7, p. 156.—F.

Then bespake the Erle of C] ornewayle
Who was one of the co] . . unsayle
And sayd we know the kin] . ge our lorde
His own mouth it dot] . . h recorder 412
 [? 8 lines cut off: l. 403-410 of the Folio.]
 Therfore syrs by our rede [leaf 8.]
 We wyll the kynge suche [way lede
 That he shall commaund [him to goe
 And voyde hys courte for [evermoe 424
 Whyle they stode thus spe[king
 They sawe two ladyes co[me ryding
¹ That was bryght as blossom on bryer
 On whyte palfrays with [rich attire 428
 Fayrer creatures with they[r hew
 Ne better attyred they neu[er knew
 All them iuged on them t[o be set
 Ouer the quene as Lamw[ell had het ¹ 432
 Than sayd Gawayne that [gentle knight
 Lamwell drede the for no [wight
 Here comethe thy lemman [yond maist thou see
² Truly the fayrest creature [of blee 436
 That euer man sawe befor [with ey
 Lo where she rydethe vpon [a palfrey
 More fayrer they be certay[n bag fer
 Than euer the praysement [thou madest er ² 440
 Lamwell behelde them bo[th with thought
 And sayde of them two ne [know I nought
³ They are nothyng so fayre [as my lemman 444
 Of theyr seruauntes maye [they be than
 But wete ye well and we [ferre sought
 Myne owne lemman is it [nought parde
 To her I trespaced so great[lie
 I wote I shall her neuer se ³ 448
 The maydens that came so [riding
 Wentte to the castell to the k[ing
 When they came syr Lamw[ell nigh
 Obeysaunce to hym they m[ade humbly 452
 No tarrying with th] . em that they made [leaf 8b.]
 But to the King bo] . the they rade
 To him they can] . . ne and saluted hym there
 Let dresse the walls] . of a chaumbre fayre, 456

¹⁻¹ Four different lines in the Folio, l. 417-20, p. 157.—F.

²⁻² The Folio gives line 424 for these five.—F.

²⁻² For these six lines the Folio has line 427, p. 158, and has eleven lines following which differ from the next fourteen here.—F.

<i>Our Lady of price]</i>	. . is here comynge	
<i>Of al the world th]</i>	. . e fayrest thyng	
<i>With clothes of gol]</i>	. . de hange it eke	
<i>Strew it with carpet]</i>	. . tes vnder her fete	460
<i>Soon will ye know]</i>	. . what wyll she done	
<i>Her fairnes all ye]</i>	. . shall wete sone	
¹ <i>The King comma]</i>	. . nded for her sake	
<i>The fairest chamber]</i>	. . e to them take	464
<i>The ladyes are gone to]</i>	. . bowre on hye	
<i>The King then bade his]</i>	baronye	
<i>Have done & gi]</i>	. . ue your iugement	
<i>The Barons a]</i>	. . . nswered verament	468
<i>We have beholden]</i>	. . these maydens so bryght	
<i>And ye have letted us]</i>	. . by this lyght	
<i>But to it Lord now will]</i>	. . we gone	
<i>We will have don]</i>	. . e sone anone	473
<i>A new speech they]</i>	. . began tho	
<i>Some said well a]</i>	. . nd some sayd not so	
<i>Some to death th]</i>	. . ey wolde hym deme	
<i>For to please the k]</i>	. . ynge and quene	476
<i>And other some wold]</i>	. . e make hym chere	
<i>Whilst they stood thus]</i>	. . pledynge in fere	
<i>Other two mayd]</i>	. . ens came rydynge tho	
<i>Much fairer tha]</i>	. . n the other two	480
<i>Upon two good]</i>	. . ly mules of spayne	
<i>Their saddles an]</i>	. . d brydels were campayne	
<i>They were cloth]</i>	. . ed in ryche atyre	
<i>That every man]</i>	. . had great desyre ²	484

¹ Cp. line 339, p. 158 of the Folio text.—F.

² Line 460, p. 158 of the Folio text.—F.

This fragment, that follows the foregoing, does not belong to *Sir Lamwell*:

[7(?) lines cut off.]

. ought [leaf 9.]
 orth brough

 kynge than
 man
 e mete and dryn
 after thyne
 d myght
 s lyght
 he

ht
 n leue
 [(?) 12 lines cut off.]
 ow [leaf 96.]
 that he hy
 as * * one
 ger was he o
 ntes he gaue
 as sparle
 e myght no ma
 his caple was ale
 an that he thus lo
 Erle out of the bat
 Vpon an hyghe mount
 his Erle there chau
 d set hym on a full
 an went . . .
 [End of Fragments.]

MR. HALLIWELL'S MS. NOTES TO THE MALONE COPY.

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Malone, 941.

DOUCE FRAGMENTS,

CORRESPONDING (BUT WITH OMISSIONS AND ADDITIONS) TO
LINES 344-393 OF THE PERCY FOLIO, VOL. I, P. 155-7.

That her maidens fairer was
And also brighter¹ shene
And of more beautye then the quene,
And also of countenance and of hewe
They would quite hym as trewe
yf he myght not stande there til,
He should abyde the kynges wyl,
This verdit was geuen before the king
The day was set her in to bryng
Suerties her founde to come agayne
Syr Gawayne, and syr Ewayne,
'Aals² (he sayed) I shal dye,
My lyese³ I shal neuer see with axe³
Eate nor drinke would he neuer,
But in wepyng and wo was euer,³
So is he with sorow nome

12

16

¹ Bright &, *Folio*, line 345; 362 of the *Folio*, p. 155-6, above.
brighter and, *Halliwell*.—F. —F.

²⁻³ These differ from lines 355-

³ So in original.—G. Parker.

He woulde his endyng day were come,
 [That he might from his life goe¹]
 Eche man for hym was ful wo
 For a large spender then he 20
 Came neuer in that cuntrye
 Therto was he fiers and bolde
 Neuer a better in the kynges housholde,
 The day was come of his appearing, 24
 They brought the knyght before the kyng,
 Hys borowes that hys suertes was,
 To appere before the kynges face ²
 The kyng let it be rehersed there 28
 Both the plenty and his answeres,
 He bad hym bryng hys Lemon in sight,
 And he answeret, that he ne myght.

B. iii.

³ The wordes that I sayed eche one [back of leaf.] 32
 Wete ye wel I lyed of none
 Yf I so myght be taken thereby,
 In that quarel would I dye
 For thys I say to you a lone ³ 36
 A Fairer then she was nener [*sic*] none
 But of beautye and of shape
 I am to symple to touche her lape
⁴ There was neuer man yet I wate 40
 Emperour kyng, or high estate
 Where euer they dwel far or nere
 For her fairenes myght be her pere ⁴
 Nor yet come within her boure, 44
 But if it were for her pleasure
⁵ I would desyre no more of right
 But once of her to haue a sight
 Truly my lorde for no more would I care 48
 Forthwith then to death would I fare ⁵
 Not to displease her sikerly
 Yet would I ye saw her or I dye,
⁶ But it is not al my willing 52
 It is as she wyll that worthie thing, ⁶
 Bryng her forth the kyng sayes,
 That thou now so fast doest praise,
 To proue the soth that thou sayest of,

¹ Line 365, p. 156, above.—F.² They brought him forth, alas!

line 374, p. 156, above.—F.

³⁻⁵ Not in the Folio.—F.⁴⁻⁴ Not in the Folio.—F.⁵⁻⁵ Not in the Folio.—F.⁶⁻⁶ Not in the Folio.—F.

Forsoth my lord that can I not,
The kyng sayed vnto him thore,
Forsoth thy disworship hys the more.
What may we know al hereby
But that thou liest loude and hye.
'The barons all had commaundement.
. of

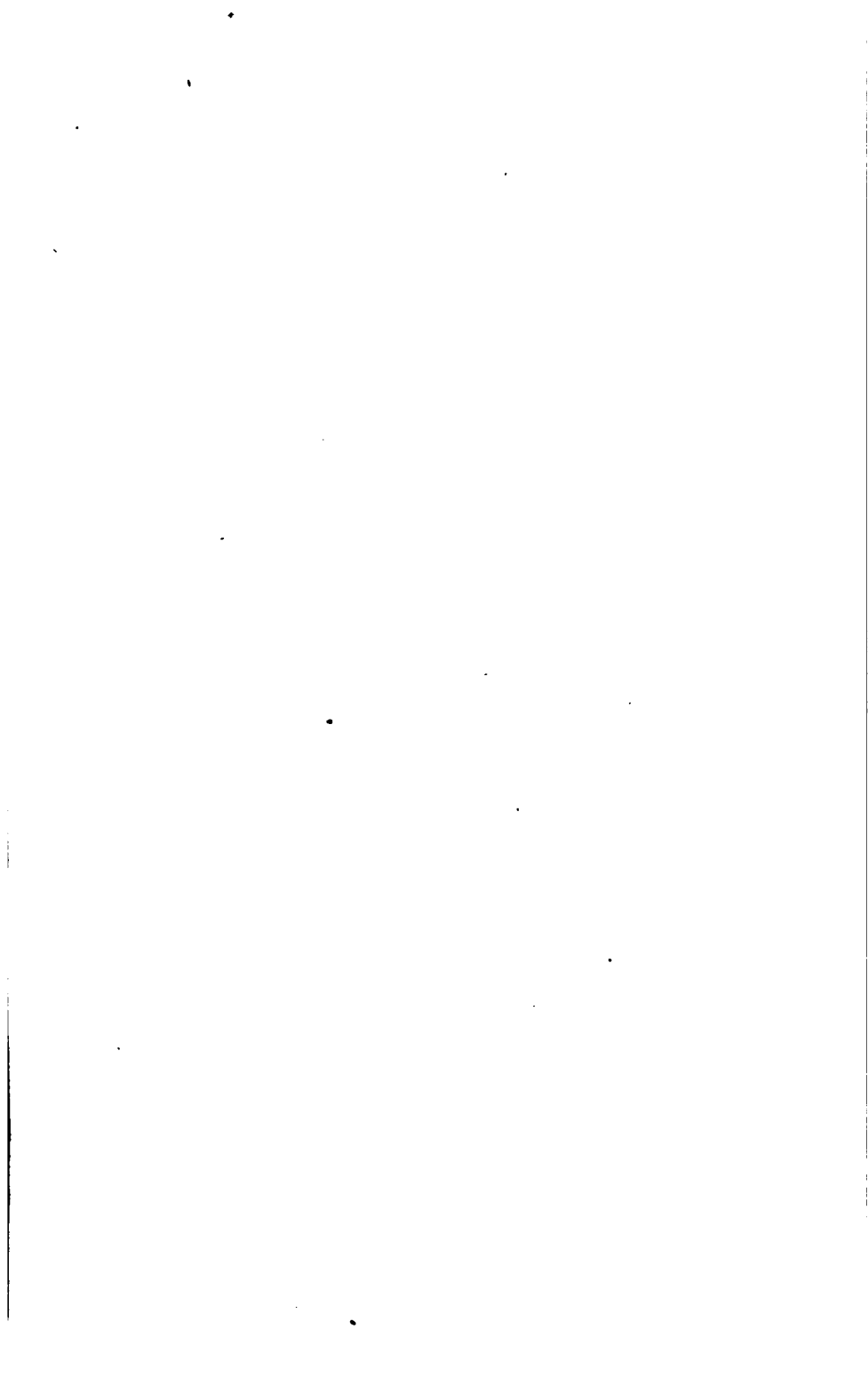
60

[*End of Fragment.*]

INDEX.

	PAGE		PAGE
As it befell one Saturday . . .	241	Merline	417
Came you not from Newcastle . . .	253	Musleboorowe Feild	123
Captaine Carre	79	Old Robin of Portingale . . .	235
Earle of Westmorelande	292	Robin Hood, a Beggar, and the	
Earles off Chester	258	Three Squires	13
Eger and Grime	341	Robin Hood and the Butcher . .	19
Flodden Feilde	313	Robin Hood and the Pindar of	
Glasgerion	246	Wakesfeld.	32
I haue a Love thats faire . . .	255	Robin Hoode and Quene Kathe-	
King Arthur and the King of		rine	37
Cornwall	59	Robin Hoode his Death . . .	50
Kinge Arthurs Death	497	Robine Hood and Fryer Tucke . .	26
Kinge James and Browne . . .	135	Scotish Feilde	199
Kinge John and Bishoppe . . .	508	Sir Aldingar	165
Listen Jolly Gentlemen	130	Sir Lambewell (see <i>Appendix</i> , p. 521)	142
Little John, the Beggar, and the		Sir Lancelott of Dulake . . .	84
Three Palmers	47	Sir Lionell	74
Lord Barnard and the Little Mus-		The Child of Ell	132
grave	119	The Heir of Lin	174
Lord of Learne	180	The Marriage of Sir Gawaine . .	103
Mary Aumbree	515	The Turke and Gowin	88
		Thomas Lord Cromwell	127

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